

# The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute

## Reports From The New-York Times (1887-1904)

Compiled by:

Ronald Ramdayal  
&  
Odeen Ishmael

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GNI Publications

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## Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a major dispute broke out between Venezuela and Great Britain over the location of the frontier between its colony of British Guiana\* and the Spanish-speaking republic. A flurry of diplomatic exchanges over the territorial dispute took place between Venezuela and Great Britain and various proposals on finding a solution were presented by both sides, but no agreement was ever possible. Each side proposed boundary lines; Venezuela insisted that the boundary should be as far east as the Essequibo River while Great Britain, on behalf of British Guiana, claimed the entire Cuyuni basin and insisted that the colony's boundary in the north-west should stretch as far as the mouth of the Orinoco River.

With each side disagreeing with the other's territorial claims, a diplomatic stalemate thus existed.

But the situation took a new turn in the 1880s when the government of the United States of America decided to support the Venezuelan contention. At the start of the 1890s the United States became very vociferous in support of Venezuela and from 1895 it, almost in all respects, carried the diplomatic and political campaign with the British government on behalf of Venezuela. The American government demanded that the dispute involving the Venezuelan claim to all territory west of the Essequibo River should be settled by arbitration, but the British government refused to accept this proposal. However, the British government did agree to a limited form of arbitration with respect to the territory it claimed and occupied west of the "Schomburgk line", drawn at a minimum distance of about one hundred miles west of the Essequibo River. This survey line was marked as the proposed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela in 1840 by the British-appointed surveyor, the German-born naturalist Robert Schomburgk.

The American president, Grover Cleveland, himself became totally involved in the matter and in December 1895, in a special message to the US Congress, he issued an ultimatum to the British Government to agree to arbitrate the dispute. Cleveland, with the support of the Congress, even established a special boundary commission to investigate the issue and decide where the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana should be drawn.

In the United States, the border dispute spurred up much animosity against the British with some leading American politicians and newspapers, in support of the Venezuelan claim, openly advocating war against the British. The American army and navy were even placed in readiness in case of such an eventuality.

However, with the British government in late 1896 finally agreeing to arbitration, the American commission was disbanded, but all its research materials were made available to the government of Venezuela which hired a team of American lawyers, including ex-US President Benjamin Harrison, to argue its case before the arbitral tribunal. The five-member tribunal, which met in Paris, also included two American judges who were chosen by the Venezuelan government.

As could be expected, the American newspapers carried numerous reports of the American involvement in support of Venezuela in its territorial claims. The New-York Times, in particular, reported regularly on various aspects of the border dispute, and the majority of its reports and commentaries expressed support for the Venezuelan contention. In fact, the newspaper reflected the general view of the American government which throughout the decade of the 1890s rigidly backed the Venezuelan government.

These reports were especially intensive during December 1895 and the early month of 1896 when American involvement was at its height, and when anti-British emotions in the US were

## *Introduction*

relatively strong. The meetings of the arbitral tribunal in Paris in 1899 and its final decision were also prominently featured by the newspaper.

(More than six decades later when Venezuela reopened its claim based its allegation of nullity of the territorial award, that country carried the line that the award was biased and was based on a collusion between the Americans and British against Venezuelan interests. But these report, articles and editorials in this collection completely debunk that theory as they accurately captured the mood during the moment of the anti-British sentiments by the United States government and the vigour and almost warlike stand it took in support of Venezuela.)

This volume presents a compilation of those reports by *The New-York Times* between 1887 and 1904. The collection, culled from the online published archives of the newspaper, is presented in this volume in a chronological order. It should be noted that no reports on the dispute for the years 1893 and 1894 could be located.

Readers will observe variations in the spelling of important names in the reports. “Essequibo” and “Schomburgk”, for example, along with the names of many rivers and persons involved in this historical period, were presented in different spelling forms by the reporters of *The New-York Times*. These various spellings are reproduced in this collection as they appeared in the original news reports. And regarding the headlines, they are shown in this compilation as they appeared in the newspaper—totally upper case in some and lower case in others.

It is interesting to note that up to the early years of the twentieth century, “New York” was a hyphenated name. Also, at the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the American spelling “system” had not yet dispensed totally with that of the British, and this was reflected clearly in the reports and articles in American newspapers, including *The New-York Times*.

Finally, I must thank Mr. Ronald Ramdayal, a Guyanese petroleum engineer currently residing in England, for his collaboration in putting together this compilation. Mr. Ramdayal worked assiduously with me in gathering the reports, articles and editorials which, hopefully, will provide greater illumination to the history of Guyana during the period when the border dispute and the work of the arbitration tribunal grabbed the international spotlight in the closing decade of the nineteenth century.

Odeen Ishmael  
Editor  
Caracas, October 2010

\* On 26 May 1966, British Guiana achieved political independence and was officially renamed Guyana, a name which was already being used by pro-government politicians since 1962.

- Part 1 -

1887-1892

*1887 - 1892*

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### SECRETARY BAYARD'S VIEW

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—Secretary of State Bayard smiled to-night when he heard that a circumstantial account had been published of the intention of Great Britain to seize gold mining territory in Venezuela on the British Guiana border, and that Venezuela would call upon the United States to apply the Monroe doctrine. “Doesn’t that strike you as absurd?” was Mr. Bayard’s reply to a question about the truth of the story. “How can the United States apply the Monroe doctrine,” he added, “when three Governments were there before the United States were here? The trouble between Venezuela and Great Britain is of long standing, and so far as is known in the State Department here, there is nothing new in it. It is a dispute about the boundaries of Venezuela and British Guiana, and its settlement would be much more easily accomplished if President Guzman Blanco, who spends most of his time in Europe, had not seen fit to break off diplomatic relations with Great Britain. It is regarded here as not at all unlikely that some of the subjects of Great Britain have taken up land on the Venezuelan side of the disputed boundary line. The United States has been quietly using its good offices to promote peace and harmony between the disputing Governments, but it does not expect to apply the Monroe doctrine in the case nor to be drawn into any controversy over which timid people may be alarmed.”

[17 February 1887]

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### SOUTH AMERICAN GOLD MINING

From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, London

The necessity for a prompt settlement of the boundary dispute with the republic of Venezuela is strikingly illustrated by a few items of intelligence we take almost at random from the British Guiana newspapers just to hand. One item tells of about 200 laborers and others—the laborers would be chiefly negroes—leaving Georgetown in one day for the gold mining districts in the tributaries of the Massaruni River. Another tells of a digger selling his placer claim to a private company in Georgetown for \$30,000 – no less than 45 pounds of gold having been taken by him from this claim in one month. The district of the Puruni seems to be passing rich in mineral wealth. According to an expert examined by a commission appointed by the local Government to frame mining regulations, quartz abounds in “thousands of tons” in the Puruni creeks. In 1885 but 903 ounces of bullion were exported from the colony, whereas in 1886 the total export was over 6,500 ounces. The total for 1887 promises to surpass that of 1886 as the total for that year excels that for 1885. That is, of course, if the home Government guarantees security to the enterprise now being shown by keeping Venezuela to her own domain

[10 April 1887]

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### ENGLAND AND THE GUIANA FRONTIER

The Agencia Pumar, a Venezuelan news agency, thus summarizes the situation of affairs respecting the British Guiana frontier question with Venezuela: "The English have taken possession of all the territory up to Borua and Amacuro, thus depriving us of the exclusive dominion on the Orinoco River. The Venezuelan Government claimed this territory should be evacuated, but the British Minister claimed that this action of his Government was correct. Answer was made to him that this action violated the 1850 treaty, which stipulates that neither party would exercise jurisdiction beyond Pomar, and that if, prior to the meeting of the Boundary Commissioners, matters were not placed on the same footing on which they stood in 1850, friendly relations would be interrupted and Venezuela would protest. This was done on Feb. 21, but up to latest dates from Caracas the English Minister had not asked for his passport."

[17 April 1887]

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### FRANCE AND SPAIN OFFER TO MEDIATE

The controversy between Venezuela and England over the frontier of British Guiana is not yet settled. The former insists that the recent English advance into the disputed territory violates the treaty of 1850, which stipulates that neither should go beyond Pomar. It is now said that France and Spain have offered to act as mediators, and that Italy and Belgium could also be relied upon for this purpose. It is fortunate that arbitrators can be so easily had, as the dispute is a very old one and by no means easy to settle. The English want all the region west of the Essequibo which is drained by its tributaries. There are several of these smaller streams between that river and the Orinoco, and British dominion would be carried far toward the latter. The boundary has never been determined although it is nearly a century since the western part of Guiana passed from the hands of the Dutch into those of the English.

[4 June 1887]

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### VENEZUELA'S BOUNDARY

The application of the Monroe doctrine which Venezuela invokes, or at least suggests to the United States in her dispute with Great Britain, may not be entirely clear. The question at issue is not the acquisition of a foothold in the New World by a European power, but simply a dispute as to the proper boundary of territorial possessions which already exist.

The controversy between Venezuela and British Guiana as to their mutual frontier is one that dates back through generations. It arose out of the fact that the Dutch established a colony something like three centuries ago in the region of the Essequibo River, which, two centuries later, was united to Demerara, and, after once being captured by the British and afterward restored, eventually passed into the permanent possession of Great Britain under the treaty of 1814. As the exact boundary claims of the Dutch against the Spanish were somewhat obscure, the difficulty naturally continued when Venezuela secured her independence, and the matter became the less likely to receive proper adjustment from the fact that after the republic of Colombia was formed by Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador, these States again separated in 1831, and an almost constant state of political disorder subsisted in Venezuela for about thirty years.

During that period a British authority had assumed to lay out the western boundary of British Guiana according to what he considered geographical principles by including in it the valley of the River Essequibo, and also the entire watershed of the affluents of that stream. While this boundary was said to consort with nature's indications it also gratified the people of British Guiana, since it added to the latter an exceedingly large tract of land beyond what Venezuela considered to be the true boundary. Venezuela, however, went no further at that time in practical opposition to this claim than pulling up the British landmarks. Her first definite effort to procure the settlement of the question was made about seventeen years ago, during the Presidency of Guzman Blanco, who, as was recently noted, gave up the few remaining months of his late Presidential term for the sake of going to Europe as a Commissioner with full powers to arrive at some settlement of the dispute. Once before, we believe, he went on a similar mission, and it appears to be rather doubtful whether he will achieve all the success he desires in the present undertaking.

The serious character of the controversy arises, not only from the large amount of territory disputed, which is something like 40,000 square miles, but also and perhaps chiefly from the fact that of late years the settlers from British Guiana have pushed their way gradually, until now they will practically command, unless they should be driven out, a position at the mouth of the Orinoco itself. It can readily be understood why Venezuela is anxious to retain the control of this great waterway which furnishes the outlet for so much of her trade, and also communicates with the very heart of her dominions. She is made additionally anxious by the fact that her aggressive neighbor is a great maritime power with whose resources and capabilities of controlling and diverting trade she is not able to compete. On her part Great Britain fully appreciates the advantage of retaining such a foothold, while the country which she has, whether rightly or wrongly, overrun is valuable alike for its timber and its gold mines. Venezuela seems willing to submit the matter to arbitration, and Great Britain, having lately sounded the praises of this method of settling international disputes, apparently ought not to refuse such an arrangement.

[26 September 1887]

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SEIZED BY GREAT BRITAIN  
ANNEXING A PART OF VENEZUELAN TERRITORY  
A REGION RICH IN GOLD IS TAKEN—THE VENEZUELAN

## ASKING THIS COUNTRY FOR PROTECTION

The Consul of Venezuela at this port claims that England has made another grab of land in South America, and this time has annexed a large portion of Venezuelan territory said to be an exceedingly rich mining region, especially in respect to gold. This annexation, he says, virtually gives England control of the South American Continent from the Caribbean Sea to Patagonia. The Venezuelans are not only urging the United States Government to interfere, on the ground that the stealing of territory by Great Britain is a violation of the Monroe doctrine, but a distinct menace to the commerce of the United States in South America.

The territory seized by the British Government is what is known as the Yuruari region. Under the treaty of 1850, Great Britain owned 64,000 square miles of territory in this region, the western boundary of which abutted on the vast mining section of Yuruari. It seems, however, that the British and German colonists were continually encroaching on the disputed territory, and the question of boundary has been under advisement for several years. In the Yuruari region are 14 mines, the average production of which is \$3,000,000 a year. The British residents of Demerara had considerable interest in the mines and had put some money into the scheme. Then came a happy thought of annexing the country, and, accordingly, early in the present year, the Yuruari country was invaded by an armed force of British cavalry, and the following proclamation distributed:

### BRITISH GUIANA

By his Excellency Charles Bruce, Esq. Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Guiana, Vice Admiral and ordinary of the same, etc.

Whereas, it has come to the knowledge of the Government of British Guiana that certain concessions have been granted by the President, and by and with the sanction of the Government of the United States of Venezuela, purporting to give and grant certain rights and privileges for constructing a railway to Guacipati, and in and over certain territories and lands within and forming part of the colony of British Guiana,

Now, therefore, I do hereby intimate to all whom it may concern that no alleged rights purporting to be claimed under any such concession will be recognized within the said colony of British Guiana, and that till persons found trespassing on or occupying the lands of the colony without the authority of the Government of this colony will be dealt with as the law directs.

Given under my hand and the public seal of the colony, Georgetown, Demerara, this 31st day of December, 1887, and in the fifty-first year of her Majesty's reign. God save the Queen!

By his Excellency's command,

GEORGE MELVILLE  
Acting Government Secretary

The Englishmen claim that it was necessary to settle once and for all this long-pending boundary question, and that in order that it should not again cause trouble, took the entire territory from the boundary of 1850, to the Orinoco River, including all the valuable mines. The seized district is computed to be about the size of the State of New-York. The English further claimed that the question of boundary had been in status quo for a period of nearly half a century, to the detriment of the colony, and to the retardment of the internal growth and development of British Guiana. They also made the statement that the Venezuelans had gradually extended their jurisdiction, mile by mile, to the south, until they actually trespassed on British territory, and that their motive for so doing was doubtless due to the large discoveries of gold in recent years. They allege that hardly 100 of the residents south of the Yuruari are Venezuelans, but that on the contrary they are English and German, all desirous of a change of rule. The English have already taken steps for the formation of

a road from Demerara to the mines in the Yuruari region. That the English and German element is much larger than the Venezuelan in the Yuruari region is quite true, so that the conquest of the country was very easily achieved.

All this has of course greatly irritated the Venezuelans and they are looking to the United States Government as their only friend in the controversy on the ground that this new acquisition of territory and change of form of government in America by a European power directly violates the Monroe doctrine. Venezuelans are in Washington endeavoring to influence the United States Government to move in the matter.

Gen. Francisco A. de Silva, the Venezuelan Consul at this port, said yesterday: "The English invasions in the Venezuelan territory are shameful and bare-faced. On Nov. 29 it was proposed in the Colonial Legislature of Demerara to construct a road which, crossing the rivers Mazaruni and Cuyuni, would extend to the boundary line of the colony. During the discussion it was claimed by the Queen's Counselor that the Yuruari district was included within the limits. An army was sent to the Yuruari and no resistance on the part of Venezuelans was then feared, as they numbered only about 100 and all the rest of the inhabitants were English. A decree of the Governor of Demerara, dated Dec. 31, 1887, does not recognize the validity at a contract made with the Government of Venezuela for the opening of a railroad between Ciudad Bolivar and Guacipati. Therefore they do not only want the Yuruari, the Orinoco, and the Amacuro, but Ciudad Bolivar.

"The British have given no excuse for the act. They simply wanted the territory took it. England has also violated her treaty with Venezuela, made in 1884, when she agreed not to interfere with any other portion of the country than Demerara. I consider the act an outrage, an insult, and a robbery, and if the United States does not interfere Venezuela will fight rather than submit. We can raise an army of 50,000 men. It seems as if England desired to make a second India of South America."

In Wall-street it was difficult to get any expression of opinion in the matter, but among shipping merchants and others engaged in South American trade there was an almost unanimous belief that the annexation of this large territory by England could not do otherwise than injure business here.

W. H. Crossman of the firm of Crossman & Brother, merchants, at 77 Broad Street, said: "I have no doubt that it will injure business with South America. It will naturally have the effect of increasing British trade there. I don't know that the United States can do anything in the matter, for it generally happens that when Great Britain grabs anything she keeps a tight hold."

J. M. Slydan, of Talbord Brothers, 85 Broad-street, was also of the opinion that it would produce a falling off in trade. "Still," he said "I don't know that it makes very much difference what country rules Venezuela, for while raw materials are taxed at the present high rate we cannot manufacture goods for South America at the prices charged by English merchants."

Ex-Mayor Grace said the matter did not affect his firm, their business being confined to Peru. Still he imagined it was an important matter for those interested in trade at that point.

A. F. Fitz-Gerald of Vanderveer & Holmes said: "I have no doubt that it will injure South America. Still, we could never do much business with Venezuela. Their staple product is sugar. For the sake of protecting a few sugar planters in the South we put a high protective tariff on sugar. England admits sugar practically free and consequently Venezuela gets most of her merchandise from that country."

[17 February 1888]

THE AFFAIRS OF BRITAIN  
A DENIAL OF REPORTS ABOUT VENEZUELA  
NO MILITARY OR NAVAL ACTION TAKEN—  
THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION DISCUSSED

LONDON, Feb. 20.—In the House of Commons this evening Sir James Fergusson, Parliamentary Secretary of the Foreign Office, declared that there was no truth whatever in the report that any military or naval action was being taken or was contemplated against Venezuela. Negotiations had been carried on respecting doubtful territory between British Guiana and Venezuela and the latter had proposed that the matter be submitted to arbitration. The British Government were not averse to the principle of arbitration, but they were unable to accept the basis that Venezuela proposed. The negotiations were temporarily stopped in consequence of the suspension of diplomatic relations by the late President Blanco.

[21 February 1888]

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THE YURUARI DISPUTE

The circular just issued to Venezuela's representatives in foreign countries by Minister Urbaneja declares that the Caracas Government is prepared to defend its territory by arms against the encroachments of British Guiana, though backed up by the overwhelming power of England. Should Great Britain really undertake to maintain by force her claims to the disputed mining region on the Upper Yuruari she would have every advantage. From her base at Trinidad Island, opposite the delta of the Orinoco, she could send her warships up that broad and deep river to the Carony, and with her smaller craft hold the line of the latter river, while dispatching her troops to take possession of the entire territory eastward between it and British Guiana. But there is no good reason why this, like other boundary disputes, should not be submitted to arbitration, as Venezuela desires.

If the case of British Guiana is as strong as the recent Exeter Hall meeting, under the Chairmanship of Sir Richard Temple, recently declared, there could, of course, be no difficulty in convincing a competent referee of that fact.

The Yuruari gold mines have now been known for many years, and while it is a strong point in the Venezuelan case that the present assertion of British Guiana's claims to this region have been made only since the richness of these mines was discovered, yet the boundary dispute in a different form has existed for more than half a century, and indeed was an inheritance of the English from the Dutch, who formerly owned the Essequibo country. It must also be admitted that English capital has largely been concerned, in the development of the mining district. Half a dozen of the mines are owned by English companies, with perhaps eight more owned by Venezuelans and two by French companies. It will be seen therefore that England has a large vested interest in the region,

and English subjects form a considerable proportion of the laborers, who largely come from her West India islands, as well as the mining engineers and officials.

But if these facts, which the richness of the country and the promise of future developments, account for British interest in is region, still more do they justify the resolution of Venezuela, as announced by Minister Urbaneja, to hold it for herself at all hazards. Venezuelans own not only the greatest number of the principal mines in addition to the small claims of single individuals, but the richest of all, those of the Callao Company, which alone yield more than a million a year and have been worked steadily from the first. In this region, also, are Venezuelan towns like Tupuquen and Caratal, and like Callao, Guacipati, Piacoa, and Las Tablas. Should Great Britain seize the whole region south of the Orinoco and East of the Carony, she would have something like 60,000 square miles more than she claimed under the boundary drawn in her interest by Schomburgk nearly fifty years ago, which boundary was deemed by Venezuela so unjust that the indicating marks were torn up and the claim to so westerly an extension of British Guiana repudiated whenever it afterward came up in formal discussion. Besides, such an annexation would give Great Britain the right bank of the Orinoco, Venezuela's great water highway, for a long distance from its mouth, although to be sure, just now the Yuruari region is in dispute.

The interests of our country are mainly those of friendly solicitude that a neighboring republic shall not be despoiled through the exercise of force by a European power. The Monroe doctrine does not enter into the case, as there is no threatened acquisition of a new foothold by a European power or overthrow of republican institutions. It is simply an ordinary boundary dispute like the one between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, just settled at Washington. Like that dispute it ought to be left to the determination of a competent referee, and while Venezuela's resolve not to submit to force is natural, it would be unworthy of modern civilization to apply the law of the stronger to such a controversy.

[25 February 1888]

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## THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA

The rumor that the British Government had sent troops into that part of Venezuelan Guiana known as the territory of Yuruari has been officially contradicted by the British Foreign Office. Whether the English troops have or have not been sent into Yuruari has nothing whatever to do with the collection of the moneys which were undoubtedly paid over by Venezuela to Great Britain in the early part of the present Winter. If Lord Salisbury contemplates sending a force into the district in question it will be for the sole purpose of putting England in a position to urge with better chances of prompt success her claims to certain territories which she asserts belong to her by reason of the terms of a treaty made with Holland one hundred years or more ago.

The claims which were settled satisfactorily to Great Britain in December last were for indemnity for the capture of two schooners, (the Henrietta and another,) which at the time of their capture were flying the British flag and were said to belong to British subjects. The Venezuelans assert that these two vessels were engaged in contraband trade—that is to say, in smuggling — and all the facts

in the case warrant very much more than a slight suspicion that their captors were right in detaining the schooners at least until the skippers in command of them could clear their skirts of the grave and well-supported charge that they were indeed contrabandistas. It was clearly a case, as lawyers would say, "for a jury to decide," and when Great Britain bluntly insisted on being indemnified without any discussion of the subject the Venezuelan authorities requested that sufficient delay be granted to try the case in the courts, guaranteeing a fair trial—indeed, they expressed themselves, it is said, willing to submit the whole matter to the arbitration of disinterested panics. This, on the basis proposed by Venezuela, England promptly refused, following up her refusal by anchoring two men-of-war off the town of La Guayra (the seaport of Caracas) and boldly announcing that if the sum of \$40,000 was not paid in seven days Venezuela would have cause to bitterly regret the delay. After vainly attempting to persuade the English Admiral to withdraw his ultimatum so that they would not be obliged to pay the money under duress (promising meanwhile that the total sum would be promptly forthcoming) the Government at Caracas paid under protest the sum claimed, thus settling the affair of the *Henrietta* and her consort, and the English gunboats sailed away from La Guayra.

Now for the much-vexed and little-understood boundary question which will be better understood after consulting the above official map. England bases her principal claims to the territory she now seeks to occupy on the terms of a treaty with Holland, made more than a century ago, whereby Great Britain acquired her rights to the colony now known as British Guiana, which is bounded on the west by the Essequibo River. Her right to stile territory east of the Essequibo River has never been in dispute. She has, however, from time to time, claimed that certain of the territory west of that river belonged to her, although just how far west her jurisdiction extended she never definitely stated until after Venezuela had succeeded in freeing herself from Spanish rule in 1821. Spain admitted the right of her ancient colonies to self-government in 1830, and in 1840 Sir Robert Schomburgk visited British Guiana. Schomburgk was a German by birth, but he was sent to Guiana by the London Geographical Society, and was afterward, in 1847, British Consul at San Domingo, so that it can be claimed for him that he was countenanced in his work by the British Government. He surveyed and somewhat imperfectly marked out a boundary line to the westward of the Essequibo River, which for a time limited the claim of England to territory then admittedly under the jurisdiction of the Venezuelan Government.

In 1842 this line was repudiated by the British Government, which then made an offer to accept the Moroca River as the western boundary; this was declined by Venezuela but under Gladstone's Government, in 1881, England secured an outlet to the sea through the Orinoco River.

In 1870 valuable mines were discovered at Callao (pronounced Calya-o). The stock of the company owning the mines was floated in England. Until 1875 no dividends were paid, but since that time this wonderful bonanza has paid its lucky owners such profits that, for an original share of the mine which cost but 1,000 bolivares, 475,000 bolivares have been offered and declined. The shares are now quoted at 208,500 bolivares, and each original shareholder has received 13,000 bolivares per annum on each 1,000 invested in Callao.

The discovery of gold and copper in this district has caused a flow of English and German emigration into it, and now England renews, not her pretensions to the territory as far as to the line of Schomburgk or to the Moroca River, but claims all the country as far west as the Rio Caroni, a territory as large as, if not larger than, the State of New York. The Venezuelans base their claims on the following facts among others: When they drove the Spaniards out of their territory the mother country was in undisturbed possession of the Yuruari district, and by their treaties of peace with Spain they fell heirs to all the country then under the jurisdiction of the Spaniards. They also allege



The Venezuelans claim that by making this recommendation England recognized the right of Venezuela to jurisdiction over Barima Point, and therefore to the territory to the west of it, a claim that certainly has at least some color of reasonableness. Undoubtedly England desires to get control of the district, the riches of which even Sir Walter Raleigh romances about in a wonderful way, saying that the gold that might be taken from its mines would load the ships of an armada. A few years ago the Venezuelan Government notified navigators that they intended to build a lighthouse on Barima Point, as recommended by the British Minister before mentioned.

The British Government then informed the authorities at Caracas, that while Venezuela might build the lighthouse if she saw fit, it would not be regarded by England as an admission of the right of the Venezuelans to claim jurisdiction over the territory to the west of that point. After much negotiation and correspondence Guzman Blanco then President of Venezuela ordered St. John, then Minister to Caracas, to leave the country.

Lately the Government of Venezuela expressed a desire to leave the matter to arbitration, and suggested that the arbitrator be the United States or Commissioners appointed to meet at Washington. Lord Salisbury met this proposition by promptly declining to communicate with the Venezuelan Government until Venezuela of her own motion renewed diplomatic relations with Downing Street by inviting the British Minister to return to Caracas. There the matter rests. What will be the result of the next phase of this interesting question, who can tell? England is all-powerful and Venezuela is apparently, indeed, practically is, at her mercy, but her people are not likely to submit tamely to any invasion of their territory.

[23 February 1888]

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## THE CONTROL OF THE ORINOCO

Venezuelans are becoming unpleasantly awakened by the fact that British Guiana is establishing herself in the delta of the Orinoco with an evident purpose to stay. This in some respects is quite as important an encroachment upon what they consider their territory as the grabbing of the Yuruari gold tract in the interior. The Orinoco is the great highway of commerce for the northern slope of South America. With its multitudinous affluents it drains almost every part of Venezuela, and its possession is a source of pride as well as of profit for that republic. Point Barima, where the officials of Georgetown have established a customs post, is at the junction of a river of the same name, with the Orinoco at its broad mouth. Its possession, of course, implies the extension of the boundary of British Guiana, and, in fact, the line now claimed by the latter strikes the right bank of the Orinoco considerably further to the west than Point Barima.

There is not much doubt that in the boundary dispute which has been going on for a long time between Venezuela and British Guiana both sides have advanced extreme pretensions. Venezuela, for example, cannot expect to confine the British to the Essequibo as their western limit. She derives her rights, of course, through Spain, having proclaimed her independence in 1811, and, after some vicissitudes, achieved it several years later. Great Britain takes her title from the Dutch, who ceded to her the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice in 1796, but reacquired them half a dozen years later, then parted with them again to Great Britain, this disposition being confirmed in 1814.

The present question is therefore simply the old one between the Spaniards and the Dutch, who had frequent disputes over it. But what is clear from the treaty of Munster, made in 1648, is that the Spanish were recognized as possessed of the Orinoco and the Dutch of the Essequibo. So in the extradition treaty of the two nations made in 1691, the Essequibo colonies were spoken of as belonging to the Dutch and the Orinoco colonies to the Spaniards. But it would be rather a stranger interpretation that the entire valley of the Orinoco was intended in the one case and only half of the valley of the Essequibo in the other. In fact, the remains of what unquestionably were Dutch forts are found on the Pomazon River, which flows into the sea west of the Essequibo, and also at the junction of the Tapuru with the Cuyuni, which last is a western tributary of the Essequibo. There is little doubt that Dutch possession could be proved as far north on the coast as the Maruco.

This, however, is quite a different matter from carrying the British Guiana boundary completely up to the Orinoco on the coast and then westward in the interior almost to the Caroni, a branch of the Orinoco flowing about parallel to the Essequibo. The ground taken by the British is that the whole region drained by the Essequibo belonged to the Dutch, as that of the Orinoco belonged to the Spanish. This claim might not be seriously resisted save that the great tributary of the Essequibo, the Cuyuni, rises far to the west, beyond the rich Caratal gold fields, whose possession is one of the chief elements in the present controversy.

But even were the British claim to the entire watershed both of the Essequibo and its branches conceded, that itself would not give them Point Barima or any of the adjoining territory immediately south of the Orinoco. The reason is that between the valley of the latter river and that of the Cuyuni there is a range of mountains called the Imataca which makes a decided division line. According to Guzman Blanco, in 1836 the British Legation at Caracas spontaneously recognized the sovereignty of Venezuela at Point Barima by asking to have a lighthouse put there to aid the navigation of the Orinoco. Five years later, it is true, a British engineer, Schomburg, put up posts as far as Barima, but these were objected to and removed. So far as geographical conditions can rule, the Imataca Mountains, forming a watershed which carries all the streams on one side of it northward into the Orinoco, whereas those on the opposite side flow southward into the Cuyuni, would seem a thorough example of a natural boundary. This could be completed by the river Maruco, which flows from this range eastward into the Atlantic about forty miles north of the mouth of the Essequibo. No doubt those persons interested in the English mines of the Yuruari region would be content with this boundary could they at the same time secure possession of the gold tract south of it. But the importance of holding a firm foothold on the Orinoco itself causes British Guiana to maintain herself there in spite of Venezuelan protests.

[19 January 1889]

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#### A MEDDLING CONSUL

It is a little more than two years since Venezuela broke off diplomatic relations with England on the refusal of the latter power to evacuate posts within the disputed territory lying between Venezuela and British. As to the wisdom of that action or as to the merits of the controversy which

led up to it we do not propose to inquire. It is certainly worth noting, however, that the effort to involve this country in the dispute is being renewed. Such seems at least to be a fair inference from the attitude assumed by the Venezuelan Consul-General in this city, Señor Mijares. In an interview granted to a reporter of the Sun of March 1, in addition to a necessarily *ex parte* statement of the difficulty between his own Government and that of Great Britain, he spoke strongly of what he called the large American interests involved, and thought that it was high time this country should take steps to express its disapproval of the alleged usurpations of England.

This is an altogether improper and ill-advised position for the Consul to take. If Venezuela desires to ask for the good offices of this country in her dispute with England she has her own legation at Washington, and there is the ace and there the means for her to make whatever representations she may choose. Unless, which is not to be supposed, the Venezuelan Minister directly inspired the words of the Consul, the latter is acting in a way wholly insulting to the former and ought at once to be called to book for his imprudence. It would be bad enough for the Minister himself to be found endeavoring to embroil this country in the disputes of foreign powers through the medium of the public press; that was the kind of thing for which Washington insisted upon the recall of the French Minister, Genet; but for a Consul to undertake it is not only an act of insubordination, but would be altogether ridiculous if there were not some likelihood that it may be mischievous.

That it was the latter is the judgment of the organ of the Spanish-American republics in this city, *Las Novedades*, which strongly advised Señor Mijares to keep his fingers out of pies with which he had no concern. And in the same newspaper appeared shortly after a long letter from a Venezuelan citizen giving an outline of the whole trouble and reprobating the interference of the Consul as likely to do far more harm than good.

According to this gentleman the Venezuelan Government has already seen reason to repent of the high tone it took with England and the precipitate rupture of diplomatic relations into which it rushed. However strong its case might be, it was folly to try to bully England. In fact, so this writer says, Venezuela is just about ready to ask England to resume diplomatic relations as a preliminary to a peaceful arbitration of the difficulty between the two countries. And it is understood that the British Government will meet the request in the most friendly manner, Mr. Labouchère recently declared in his newspaper, *Truth*, that such would be the case. Certainly the history of the entire controversy reveals a succession of attempts on the part of Great Britain to settle the question by mutual concessions.

It is not very rash to associate this outbreak of the Consul with the change in Administration. He has probably heard of Mr. Blaine and of the rigorous foreign policy which is that gentleman's delight, and may have particularly remembered his exploits in South American affairs on a former occasion. A man who could decide off-hand the disputed boundary between Mexico and Guatemala, even if it turned out that he was egregiously in the wrong and had to withdraw from his first position, would be just the Secretary, so the innocent Consul may have thought, to haul down the British flag on the right bank of the Orinoco and tell the English that they had no rights there. Possibly, too, the Consul may have divined that sentence of the President's inaugural address, in which he says that this country expects that no European power will attempt to found a colony on this continent.

If the boundary of British Guiana should be pushed 125 miles further along the ocean that might be interpreted as the equivalent of founding a colony. At any rate, the Consul cannot be blamed for thinking, after all that was promised us last Summer, that Mr. Blaine would manage our foreign

affairs with a high hand, once in the Department of State again, or for believing that a newspaper cry for spirited action would be just the sort of influence to bring to bear upon the new Secretary.

[16 March 1889]

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BLAINE'S TORTUOUS POLICY  
VENEZUELA FINDS HIS REPUTATION AS A TAIL TWISTER UNDESERVED

WASHINGTON, April 19.—One of the best-kept secrets of the Pan-American Congress has been the efforts made by Venezuela to get help in her quarrel with Great Britain. The Venezuelan delegates came to the conference in the highest hopes that they would be able to secure substantial moral aid and comfort, even if not something more tangible. They were encouraged in these hopes by the attitude of the Secretary of State's personal organ in New York which paper indulged in a good deal of talk about the great advantage which would result to Venezuela from Mr. Blaine's lofty ideas of all-American solidarity. In the congress itself they have been eagerly watching their opportunity to get the expression they desired.

As it has long been their hope to have their dispute with England submitted to arbitration, they naturally felt that their best chance would be in connection with the recommendations made by the congress in favor of a broad system of arbitration among all the nations of this continent. Accordingly they proposed and strenuously advocated a clause solemnly calling upon England, in the name of the international congress and in the face of the civilized world, to recede from her present position and consent to arbitrate her difficulty with Venezuela. Many of the South American delegates ardently supported the proposition. But alas! for the delusive promises made by the Tribune, energetic objection was made by Mr. Blaine's representative, Mr. Trescot, and the suggestion of the Venezuelans was rejected. The most they could get was the vague resolution reported by the Welfare Committee, expressing the benevolent hope that European powers would be willing to resort to arbitration in any dispute that might arise with an American nation.

The disappointment of Venezuela's delegates would not be so great if they had not been misled by Mr. Blaine's reputation as the great American twister or the lion's tail. Yet a recurrence to the history of their efforts to secure the intervention of the United States in their behalf should have shown them that Mr. Blaine's tail twisting was confined to the stump, and was never exhibited in the Department of State. The first approach made to the United States was in 1876 when the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign affairs appealed to Mr. Fish, requesting the United States to "lend their powerful moral support" to his country, at the same time submitting an outline of the case against Great Britain, which is, by the way, an almost overwhelming argument for the justice of Venezuela's position. No reply appears to have been made to this application, and things ran along until just at the close of the Hayes Administration. Then Secretary Evarts was appealed to on the occasion of fresh British aggressions, He responded with an expression of the "deep interest which the Government of the United States takes in all transactions tending to attempted encroachments of foreign powers upon the territory of any of the republics of this continent." A month later he sent a second note to the Venezuelan Minister, saying that "the severe pressure of public business at

the close of an Administrative term” would prevent him from following up the matter, but adding that he did not doubt that “your representations will have like earnest and solicitous consideration in the hands of my successor.”

Naturally the Venezuelans had no doubt of it either, as “my successor” was the intense American and anti-English statesman, James G. Blaine. It was not long, therefore, before a formal application was made by Venezuela to the American Department of State for “the support, in some form, of the Government of the United States.” Will it be believed that to this urgent appeal Mr. Blaine returned no reply except a cold acknowledgment of its receipt. Yet that is all the official correspondence shows. The only truly American Secretary left it to the English sympathizer, Frelinghuysen, and the English tool, Bayard, to take up and actively press the case of Venezuela, as they faithfully and persistently did.

The attitude of England throughout the whole dispute has been little short of outrageous. Little by little edging her way northward from her possessions in Guiana, she has passed far beyond the Essequibo, the boundary fixed in all the maps and recognized universally as the proper terminus of English Guiana, until now she has occupied the south bank of the Orinoco. Venezuela has all along protested against this advance, and has been so sure of her rights that she has even offered to submit the case to a board of arbitrators composed entirely of Englishmen, provided they were personally disinterested and competent. Under the late Liberal Government, some progress toward peaceful settlement making.

Lord Granville proposed arbitration under certain conditions, and Lord Rosebery offered a compromise. With the advent of Lord Salisbury to power, however, all was changed. He brusquely declined to be bound by the promises of his predecessor—a breach of diplomatic propriety, to say the least. His tone grew so increasingly high that finally Venezuela, early in 1888, lost patience, and said that if the British did not at once retire the English Minister would receive his passports. Of course, England never gives in to threats from a power like Venezuela, and so the only result has been to break off diplomatic relations.

England has steadily gone on just the same, asserting sovereignty over the disputed territory and pushing on colonization. Unless Venezuela consents to eat humble pie and beg for the renewal of diplomatic relations, there is no prospect whatever that England will even consider the question of arbitrating the dispute. To judge by the inaugural address of the new Venezuelan President, his country is in no mood to make a craven submission to Great Britain. The Venezuelan delegates say that his talk about an attack on the English troops and colonists within the disputed area, in case all peaceful measures fail, is by no means to be considered as buncombe. It represents, they say, the prevailing national sentiment. They are fully aware of the hopeless nature of the struggle with England, though they maintain that it would be an immense undertaking for any foreign power to attempt to subjugate their country. It would be impossible to stamp out a guerrilla warfare among their vast forests and inaccessible mountains. They point to the example of France in Mexico and say that Venezuela would repeat the Mexican tactics against the French. If the Liberal Party should be restored to power in England they would have good hopes of more decent treatment and of ultimate peaceful settlement of the long-standing difficulty. At present they consider the outlook gloomy and think that an armed collision may occur. Then they expect to be cut off from the rest of the world by an English fleet, and what the end will be they cannot imagine. Meanwhile they do not conceal their disappointment at not getting from the Pan-American Congress the support they have asked or their special surprise that their greatest difficulty should have been encountered in the person of a delegate from the United States.

[20 April 1890]

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DRIVEN OUT OF VENEZUELA  
TWO MAP CANVASSERS FROM NEW YORK BANISHED

There seems to be a possibility that the United States Government will become involved in the dispute of Great Britain and Venezuela as to the boundary line between the latter country and British Guiana. The manner in which our Government becomes interested is peculiar. Early last May Gaylord Wilson, the map publisher of this city sent two canvassers, Charles A. Conolly and W. T. Stevens, to Venezuela to sell his new map of South America and a book in which he is interested.

The first intimation that the ways of the Venezuelan are not our ways was conveyed in a letter written by Conolly at Caracas on May 16, in which he said he had been “prohibited from offering maps because they say boundaries are wrong. Came very near having all the maps confiscated.” But the Venezuelan thunderbolt was launched May 22, when Conolly wrote: “Since writing you last I have been ordered to leave the country within twenty-four hours, owing to what they call the illegality of the map of South America.”

Conolly appealed to the United States Minister, William L. Scruggs, who interceded with the Venezuelan authorities in his behalf, but without success, and the men were forced to leave. Conolly went to Trinidad while Stevens went to Barbados. The decree of banishment was published in a Caracas paper with extended comments. The Venezuelan objection to the map is that it agrees with the English and German official maps fixing the eastern boundary of Venezuela at the River Amacura, while the Venezuelan Government claims the territory extending further eastward to the River Essquiba, which all these maps place in British Guiana.

Mr. Watson said yesterday to a Times reporter: “The matter has been brought, I understand, to the attention at our Government by the United States Minister, but I do not know that any action has been taken in regard to it. I have not myself appealed to the Government yet, because I am waiting for full particulars, and I think it probable that Mr. Conolly will be here himself in a few days. I think this is a chance for Mr. Blaine to give an exhibition of his vigorous foreign policy.”

[19 June 1890]

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TROUBLE IN VENEZUELA  
A BRITISH GUNBOAT CAPTURES A GOVERNMENT VESSEL

MONTREAL, Quebec, Aug. 26.—A private dispatch received to-day by Mr. Barnet Lawrence, Consul for Venezuela, states that the British gunboat Ready, from Demerara, with Commissioner McTurck on board, arrived at Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, and ordered the Captain of the Faro, a Venezuelan man-of-war, to haul down his colors. The Captain submitted to superior force.

The Venezuelan Government has sent a commission to the spot to investigate, and the commander of the *Faro* will be tried by court-martial for having yielded without making a proper show of resistance. The press of Caracas suggests that another vessel be sent with her guns shotted and the Venezuelan flag nailed to the mast, and, if worsted, that an appeal be made to the United States and sister republics of South America and to the Parliament of England.

A dispute has existed for some time between England and Venezuela as to a portion of the territory lying between British Guiana and the mouth of the Orinoco River, which is the natural outlet for the produce of the country. Lately two Canadians named William Try Stevens and Charles A. Connolly, representing themselves as Americans from New-York, were expelled from the country for selling maps in the city of Caracas showing this belt of land as being disputed territory.

[27 August 1890]

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#### THE CONTROL OF THE ORINOCO

Whatever the special circumstances attending the recent treatment of the Venezuelan flag at Point Barima by the British gunboat *Ready*, the act indicates that Great Britain is determined to maintain her foothold at that place. Point Barima is at the westerly end of Barima Island, at the mouth of Venezuela's great river, the Orinoco. The establishment of officials there, whose authority is supported by British naval vessels, apparently shows that, against the protest of Venezuela, the frontier line of British Guiana is to be carried to and beyond Point Barima, so as to bring the mouth of this river under British control. Even Mr. Hugh Watt, M.P., the Chairman of the New Chili Gold-Mining Company, which has urged the British Government to possess itself of the Yuruari gold fields in the interior of Venezuela, hardly thinks it right to make so great a seizure upon the coast, "Should the Government," he once wrote, "in order to effect a peaceable and amicable settlement, decide to declare by the river now called Yuruari, I would suggest that the Punta Barima be given to Venezuela, so that she could command the mouth of the Orinoco, which, I do not hesitate to say, was intended by the treaty of Munster." This treaty, made in 1648, was the one in which Spain recognized certain conquests of the Dutch in Guiana that had formed part of the Captain Generalcy of Caracas. Even at that time, or soon after, disputes arose as to the exact boundary line. These disputes continue to the present day, Venezuela having, in 1810, inherited by her independence the rights of Spain, whatever they were, and Great Britain, in 1814, the rights of the Dutch to the colonies of the Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara. But even in 1691 an extradition treaty of the Spaniards and the Dutch spoke of the Orinoco colonies as belonging to the former and the Essequibo colonies as belonging to the latter. If, accordingly, the English claim, this agreement refers to settlements on both banks of the Essequibo instead of only on the east bank, as the Venezuelans claim, it must by the same reasoning accord to the latter both banks of the Orinoco.

That the English have never until late years practically sought to exercise jurisdiction upon the Orinoco seems clear. It is true that about fifty years ago Engineer Schomburg marked out as the western boundary of British Guiana a line scores of miles beyond the Essequibo, and striking the Orinoco considerably west even of Point Barima. But this appears to have been in the main a purely

arbitrary or experimental line, and only five years earlier the British legation had inferentially recognized the sovereignty of Venezuela at Punta Barima by asking the construction of a lighthouse there in order to make the navigation of the Orinoco safer. However, on the remonstrance of Venezuela, the posts and other boundary marks of Schomburg were removed, and a few years later, in 1844, the British suggested as the boundary line the River Moroco, a small stream which enters the Atlantic very far south of the mouth of the Orinoco and much nearer the Essequibo. Still later, Lord Granville intimated that England would accept line twenty-nine miles east of the Barima River.

It is unfortunate for Venezuela that she declined to accept the former suggestions, which would have been a fair compromise. The Dutch, crossing the Essequibo centuries ago, founded a colony about forty miles north of the latter, on the River Pomaron, which empties into the Atlantic at the same point as the Moroco. Relics of Dutch settlement show this, and it is also known that the English, shortly after their acquisition of the country from the Dutch, proceeded across the Essequibo to the same points. The River Moroco, which runs more directly east, would have given British Guiana only the same coast acquisition as a line bounded by the Pomaron, with a little more of the interior. Of course, the subsequently proposed line, running only twenty-nine miles to the east of Barima, would demand more; still, even that would have left the Orinoco wholly in Venezuelan control. But the diplomacy of the republic has been conducted rather bunglingly, and with a foolish unwillingness to recognize that delay may be dangerous in dealing with a much stronger power. After having first proposed a joint convention for mutually settling the boundary dispute, to which Great Britain responded by proposing to add sundry British pecuniary claims against Venezuela for adjustment, Venezuela changed her ground to a demand for arbitration. This change seems to have been made on the ground that her Constitution prohibited any voluntary cession of territory. Great Britain apparently was indisposed to quibble about the notions of a Spanish-American country on that point, doubtless holding that she did not ask Venezuela to cede any of her own territory, but only to come to an agreement as to what was British territory and abandon that. Still, the present, like most other boundary disputes, is eminently adapted to international arbitration, and Great Britain, as the stronger power, might well accept it. In view, too, of the agreements of 1850 between the two countries not to occupy territory in dispute, she should refrain from encroachment upon the Orinoco, even if these are made on the ground of securing the free navigation of that river.

[2 September 1890]

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EDITORIAL

[ENGLAND AND VENEZUELA SHOULD AGREE ON ARBITRATION]

Since France and Holland have very sensibly concluded to settle the question of boundary between French Guiana and Dutch Guiana by arbitration, the Emperor of Russia consenting to act as the referee, why should not England and Venezuela resort to the same method for settling the disputed boundary of British Guiana? The three Guianas have experienced many changes of ownership. Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, was visited by the French in 1640, taken by the English in 1650, occupied by the Dutch in 1667, retaken by the English, ceded to the Dutch in 1669, again

taken by the English in 1796, given to the Dutch in 1802, recaptured by the English in 1804, and given up to Holland in 1814. Meanwhile Cayenne, or French Guiana, had been previously held by the French, the English, the Dutch, the French, the British, and the French. There was plenty of opportunity for confusion in boundaries with all these changes, and that a like difference in claims should exist between British Guiana, or Demerara, and Venezuela is not strange, considering the vicissitudes of possession through which they also passed. That the dispute still exists is partly Venezuela's fault, since she had the opportunity in past years, by making a not wholly unreasonable concession to Great Britain, to settle the affair. Since then, John Bull has gone to the mouth of the Orinoco on the coast, and has had his eyes on the Yuruari gold fields in the interior, and now may be harder to satisfy. But the other Guianas have set this one a good example.

[2 October 1890]

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ENGLAND IN VENEZUELA  
AFRAID TO SUBMIT HER ALLEGED RIGHTS TO ARBITRATION

To the Editor of the New-York Times:

Venezuela has for several years had a frontier dispute with England. The region of Guiana, claimed by Venezuela, as successor of Spain, was undoubtedly discovered by Spaniards. It was only after they had taken possession of it that some English adventurers, among them Sir Walter Raleigh, visited the country, simply to be driven out again. From that day Spain held peaceful possession of Guiana as far as the Essequibo River, though the boundary with the then Dutch colony was never well defined. Until the discovery of gold there, however, that fact remained without practical importance, since the entire region was believed to be valueless and peopled by savages. But the instant it was discovered that Guiana abounded with gold, England awoke and manifested an intention to seize everything. In fact, she has almost done so, Venezuela having neglected to lay a firm hold upon what is undoubtedly her own.

Hence the quarrel. There can be no question as to where the right belongs. There can be no doubt that it does not belong to England, though she claims an abundance of documentary proof of her title to the country as far as the Cuyuni River. But if this be so, why does she so obstinately refuse arbitration? This would be the quickest way of settlement. That England refuses creates the suspicion that she fears to come out second best. The manner in which that vast empire is scattered frequently brings her into boundary collisions, and the policy she adopts is modified according to her antagonist's resources. To rampant Russia, she offers the *suaviter in modo*; to puny Portugal, the *fortiter in re*. And when of "weaker vessels" she demands a prompt acceptance of her ultimatums, the demand is apt to be accompanied by a threat ill disguised beneath diplomatic phraseology.

The United States has taken a certain interest in the Venezuelan question, but should take more. Venezuela is a sister republic. Our Government, instead of remaining neutral, should protest against the plundering of the weak by the strong, and should vigorously urge upon England the justice and propriety of a recourse to arbitration. "Let him take who as the chance, and let him keep who can"

is merely a brutal elaboration of “might makes right.” We live in the bright age, not the dark, and ought to have developed beyond the reach of such selfish sophistry.

FRANK VINCENT

New-York, Tuesday, March 3, 1891

[8 March 1891]

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CRUISERS OFF FOR VENEZUELA  
EX-SECRETARY BAYARD TALKS ON THE OBJECT OF THEIR VISIT

WILMINGTON, Del., Sept 14.—The departure from Brooklyn last Sunday morning of the cruisers Chicago and Philadelphia, under the pennant at Rear Admiral John G. Walker, under sealed orders for La Guayra, Venezuela, has given rise to much speculation concerning the mission for these two vessels of war. One theory is that the object of the movement is an inquiry into the recent encroachment of the British Government upon the territorial possessions of Venezuela. Another is that the war ships are sent out to enforce the rights of American citizens and investigate the seizure by Gen. Urdaneta of ex-refugees found on the Red D steamship Venezuela several weeks ago, while that steamer was in Venezuelan waters.

The Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, who, while Secretary of State under President Cleveland, gave considerable official attention to the subject of British aggressions in Venezuela, in an interview with a reporter this afternoon, said:

“The question of the boundaries of Venezuela, where they approach those of British Guiana, has been for a long time a vexed question between Venezuela and the Government of Great Britain, or, rather, private companies of British subjects engaged in gold mining in what is known as the Orinoco region.

“From time to time maps have been delineated of the supposed boundaries of Venezuelan territory and jurisdiction. Serious complaints were made by the Venezuelan representatives in Washington of the encroachment of British jurisdiction and of claims to navigate the Orinoco River to such an extent as would penetrate the interior of Venezuela and destroy the independent authority of that country over a vast region of valuable commerce which that country claimed as her own exclusively.

“I was never disposed to believe, after pretty full examination of the subject, that there was any design upon the part of Great Britain to expand her jurisdiction as a nation over the territory in dispute; but I believe, and I think a true history of the case will show, that the differences had their origin in large mining concessions obtained by British subjects, as private enterprises, from the Government of Venezuela, and, consequently, the investment of a great deal of British capital in the development of these rich mining regions.

“After these investments were made and property became valuable, these private owners found themselves not only without that protection of established law which alone gives property its security, but that they were subjected from time to time to the exactions and tyrannical demands of the Venezuelan officials.

“Therefore, it was that they claimed British protection against spoliation by Venezuelan officials, and were desirous of seeing British jurisdiction extended over the territory in which their mining operations were conducted.

“It was only another instance of the dependence of the institution of property upon just laws honestly administered. The region in regard to which these boundary differences exist is remote, thinly settled, and unhealthful, with very few incidents of civilized government. The miners prefer British laws to Venezuelan authority, and have encouraged, undoubtedly, the expansion of the British boundaries so as to give them and their property security under British laws.

“The United States continued to proffer their good offices to both Governments—Venezuela and Great Britain—but the conduct of Guzman Blanco in abruptly breaking off diplomatic relations with Great Britain prevented Lord Salisbury from entering into negotiations until diplomatic intercourse had been restored.

“It was expected, and, in fact quite openly charged, that Guzman Blanco, the President of Venezuela, was creating difficulties in order to compel certain English mining companies to sell him or give him their stock; but it is certain that his actions stood in the way of an and amicable adjustment or the boundary question.

“Mr. Blaine’s last note of May 2, 1890, is the final publication on the subject, excepting a note from Mr. Adee of July 2, 1890, to the same general effect. No volume of foreign relations correspondence has been published for 1891, as has been the custom heretofore.

“As the attitude of the United States was to be one of impartial friendship toward both Governments, the present concentration of naval forces is not explained by anything in the published correspondence thus far.

“Whether the more than doubtful claim of jurisdiction by the United States within the territorial waters of another Government, which was apparently implied, rather than asserted in the Barrundia case,\* is now to be repeated remains to be seen.

“Certain it is, the United States would promptly enforce its own jurisdiction over all persons charged with a violation of its laws who were found within its territory, whether of land or water. If we deny this to other nations, or to some and not to others, our own position will be very difficult to maintain when we seek to execute our domestic laws within our own jurisdiction.”

[16 September 1892]

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\*The killing of General Barrundia on board the Pacific mail steamer Acapulco, while anchored in transit in the port of San Jose de Guatemala, demanded careful inquiry. Having failed in a revolutionary attempt to invade Guatemala from Mexican territory, General Barrundia took passage at Acapulco for Panama. The consent of the representatives of the United States was sought to effect his seizure, first at Champerico, where the steamer touched, and afterwards at San Jose. The captain of the steamer refused to give up his passenger without a written order from the United States minister. The latter furnished the desired letter, stipulating as the condition of his action that General Barrundia’s life should be spared and that he should be tried only for offenses growing out of his insurrectionary movements. This letter was produced to the captain of the Acapulco by the military commander at San Jose as his warrant to take the passenger from the steamer. General Barrundia resisted capture and was killed. It being evident that the minister, Mr. Mizner, had exceeded the bounds of his authority in intervening, in compliance with the demands of the Guatemalan authorities, to authorize and effect, in violation of precedent, the seizure on a vessel of the United States of a passenger in transit charged with political offenses, in order that he might be tried for such offenses under what was described as martial law, I was constrained to disavow Mr. Mizner’s act and recall him from his post.

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WELCOME IN VENEZUELA  
CRESPO PLEASED WITH RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES.  
SOUTH PORTLAND'S ARRIVAL FROM TRINIDAD AND THE DISPOSAL  
OF THE SHIP—CAPTURE OF BARCELONA AND THE TROOPS  
UNDER ARMS – NEW TROUBLE AT BOLIVAR

CARACAS, Venezuela, Oct. 28.—Assurances received from the from the United States that Crespo's Government had been recognized by the Washington authorities were warmly welcomed here. "I would rather," says Crespo, "have that satisfaction than the knowledge that all the rest of the foreign powers had acknowledged me."

"The United States has over been ready to lend the Southern republics a helping hand, and with its acquiescence in our plans and measures we can well afford to go ahead and develop our country, so rich in all that is required to make us prosperous," said one of the leading Senators.

It is said that the proposal to give to the United States the property in the eastern section of the country over which England has had a dispute for a number of years has been very favorably considered. Little can, however, be done in this matter until some more definite arrangement is made with British Guiana, or, in other words, with the home Government in England. The section of the country referred to contains the richest mining districts in Venezuela.

The arrival of the steamer South Portland from Trinidad and the capture of Barcelona and the few remaining troops still under arms in that vicinity against Señor Crespo are the chief military topics that have been under discussion here for the past week. The South Portland is no doubt by name familiar in the United States. She was at one time seized for having warlike material aboard to assist a party in rebellion against at Government with which the United States was at peace. She was released and allowed to clear from New-York for the Island of Trinidad. Mr. Gonzalez, a Venezuelan, who negotiated the bargain for the arms and ammunition, came down here by another steamer from the United States, and disembarked at Curaçao with the intention of going over to Trinidad, a distance of almost five hundred miles, in a small schooner. A severe storm arose, and nothing has since been heard from Señor Gonzalez; so it is feared that he and his frail craft are lost.

Capt. Smith or the South Portland, having remained as long as he dared at Trinidad, left for La Guayra, where he arrived about ten days ago. Just what to do with his 4,000 rifles, his Gatlings, and his 1,500,000 cartridges was quite a question, as the bill was a big one, the war was over, and the chief party in the deal was not on hand. In view, however, of the possible trouble in the Spring, when another uprising is probable, it was finally decided to take the arms, store them in the Custom house at La Guayra, and have them handy. It was then proposed to use the vessel as a transport to take troops to the eastward,[sic] where, in the Maracaibo district, there is still more or less opposition to Señor Crespo's rule: but the agent of the American Red Line said: "No one steamer can do all the transporting that is necessary, and the money for such work is ours by right, as we pulled Crespo's party through and established it firmly in its present position." And so ends the matter of the Portland.

In the Barcelona district, which was one of the last of the eastern divisions to hold out against Crespo's authority, an Indian General was in command. His prowess and ability were such that he was greatly respected as an antagonist, and it was not until troops outnumbering his own four to one

*1887 - 1892*

had been sent against him that he was subdued. When he was finally defeated and taken prisoner Crespo sent a dispatch saying that his life was to be spared and that he was to be sent to Caracas, as he, Crespo, was extremely desirous of taking by the hand a man whose valor and wisdom were admitted to be of the highest order.

A new trouble has recently been developed at Bolivar, which is some 250 miles or more up the Orinoco River, right in the heart of Venezuela. It seems that a former United States Consul at that place, a Mr. Underwood, has gotten into such serious trouble with the local authorities that the presence of a United States man-of-war has been deemed necessary, and the corvette Kearsarge will leave almost immediately to investigate the difficulty. This Mr. Underwood became very much interested in the Bolivar water works, so much so than he gave up, or was obliged to give up, his Consular position.

As such matters quite often turn out in foreign countries, Underwood got into serious difficulties with the native authorities, which finally resulted in his being thrown into jail. His wife, fearing that in the chaotic state of the country and the prevailing looseness of law and order her husband would lose his life, communicated as soon as she could with our Consul in Trinidad, and through him with the State Department at Washington. She herself barely escaped being put into jail, and had the utmost difficulty in getting away from Bolivar.

[5 November 1892]

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- Part 2 -

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BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARIES  
Appeal to Lord Kimberley for Arbitration with Venezuela

LONDON, Jan. 2.—The International Arbitration Society has sent to Lord Kimberley, Secretary of the Foreign Office, a resolution of the committee concerning the delay in the settlement of Great Britain's dispute with Venezuela as to the boundaries of British Guiana.

The committee directs attention to President Cleveland's reference to the subject in his last message, and emphasizes the seriousness of Great Britain's responsibility in the matter. After speaking of the society's previous letters on the subject, the committee's communication continues:

"We beg the Government to state what Venezuelan claims are unsuited to arbitration. We learn that Venezuela would willingly enter into explanations likely to lead to a modification of such claims. President Cleveland must have been duly advised when he deliberately suggested that the subject as a whole could be fairly comprised within the terms of amicable arbitration."

The committee expresses approval of Mr. Cleveland's suggestion that the first step toward a settlement should be an effort to restore diplomatic relations between the countries, and prays the Government to make friendly advances to this end.

[3 January 1895]

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THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
Ex-Minister Scruggs Writes About the Dispute

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

The dispute referred to in your editorial of the 5th inst. in relation to the British-Venezuela boundary dates as far back as 1827, and has been a source or constant irritation ever since. The territory in dispute contains an area as large as the States of New-York and New-Jersey, and is one of the most fertile and productive regions on the continent.

Venezuela, as the successor in title of Spain in 1810, has always consistently and persistently claimed the entire territory on the Atlantic coast between the Esequibo and Orinoco Rivers, and southward from the coast to the Brazilian border. She supports this claim by an unbroken chain of title, beginning with the treaty of Munster of 1648 between Spain and the United Netherlands and by subsequent public treaties and ordinances down to 1845, when Spain formally ceded to Venezuela the entire Guiana territory west of the Esequibo and southward to the Brazilian border. England, as the successor in title of the Netherlands in 1814, first extended her claim westward of the Esequibo to the Pumarón River, and she subsequently extended it indefinitely, first to the mouth of the Moroca, and then to the Guiana, then to the Barima, and finally to the Orinoco, including the main channel which connects the Orinoco with the Atlantic Ocean. She has likewise extended her claim indefinitely southward hundreds of leagues into the gold-bearing districts of Yuruari. She

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supports this claim, not by any additional concessions since 1814, nor by any title derived from Holland as evinced by public documents, but by some pretended treaty with Indian tribes, very much as any European power might pretend to sovereignty in Dakota in virtue of pretended treaties with the aborigines in North America. And a remarkable feature of England's present pretensions is that she now claims and occupies and has actually set up de facto Governments within a vast region of country which she herself has more than once acknowledged to be legitimately and indisputably within the domain and jurisdiction of Venezuela.

Unable to repel these bold aggressions in the manner usually adopted by strong Governments in the last resort, Venezuela has appealed to the moral sense of the civilized world in the hope that some just and honorable termination of the dispute by arbitration may be brought about through the mediation of friendly powers. The United States has not been indifferent to these appeals, nor could our Government afford to be in view of its well-known policy and traditions since 1823. Time and again it has tendered its good offices as the impartial friend of both parties; and it has even made formal tender of its services as impartial arbitrator, if acceptable to both parties. It did this with the less hesitancy because the dispute turns upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts. And this, be it remembered, is all that Venezuela asks, or has ever asked since 1841.

And yet, as if conscious of the unjust and flimsy character of her claim, England persists in her refusal to submit the matter to arbitration; but disregarding all remonstrances, including those of the United States and ten Of the Spanish-American republics, to say nothing of those made by Spain as early as 1886, England has gone on absorbing Venezuelan territory, until now the dismemberment of the republic is directly threatened, and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of at least two other South-American republics are indirectly menaced.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1895.

[17 January 1895]

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### BOUNDARY LIMITS IN GUIANA Venezuela and Great Britain Should Refer to Arbitration

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—The House Foreign Affairs Committee to-day ordered a favorable report upon the Livingston resolution that “the President's suggestion in his last annual message to Congress that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundary limits in Guiana to friendly arbitration, be most earnestly commended to the favorable consideration of both the parties in interest.”

The preamble to the resolutions recites that the foregoing boundary dispute naturally comes within the scope and range of matters that can be consistently arbitrated, in that it turns exclusively upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts, and that it would be , moreover, extremely gratifying to impartial friends of both parties to see this matter thus adjusted, in order that international complications be avoided and American public law and traditions maintained.

The adoption of this resolution is a practical response to the argument which Mr. W. H. Cremer, the English member of Parliament, made before the committee recently in favor of the adoption of the principle of arbitration by the United States.

[1 February 1895]

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GOOD ADVICE TO ENGLAND  
Requested to Arbitrate the Guiana Boundary Case  
HOUSE PASSES A JOINT RESOLUTION  
Indorsement of the Suggestion of President Cleveland Contained in  
His Last Annual Message.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—Mr. Livingston (Dem. Ga.) asked in the House to-day unanimous consent for consideration of the following joint resolution relative to the British Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute:

Whereas, In the present enlightened age of the world, when international disputes in general, and more particularly those pertaining to boundary, are in constant process of adjustment by joint commission or by outside arbitration; and

Whereas, Since the existing boundary dispute in Guiana, between Great Britain and Venezuela, ought not to constitute an exception to the general rule, but should more naturally come within the scope and range of modern international precedent and practice, in that it turns exclusively upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts; and

Whereas, Since it would be extremely gratifying to all peace-loving peoples, and particularly to the impartial friends of both parties to see this long-standing and disquieting boundary dispute in Guiana adjusted in a manner just and honorable alike to both, to the end that possible international complications be avoided and American public law and traditions maintained; there fore, be it

Resolved, That the President's suggestion made in his last annual message to this body, namely, that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundary limits in Guiana to friendly arbitration, be most earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of both the parties in interest.

Mr. Sayers (Dem., Texas) asked the reasons for the passage of the resolution, saying he did not see why Congress should be putting its hands into the affairs of other countries.

Mr. Livingston said the necessity lay in the condition of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, which, having continued for a period of nearly seventy years, had reached a culminating point. The substance of the resolution, he said, was in harmony with the Monroe doctrine, and with the policy of the Government. The dispute in question could no longer remain open without very serious consequences to South American republics.

It not only directly threatened the hopeless dismemberment of Venezuela, but indirectly menaced the political autonomy of one or two other trans-Caribbean neighbors of the United States. This Government could not afford to be indifferent to a controversy like this. The possession of the mouth of the Orinoco River and its tributaries in such a power as Great Britain would in a very few years revolutionize the commerce and political institutions of at least three South American republics.

Venezuela had been asking Great Britain for half a century to submit her claim to friendly arbitration, but, steadily declining all overtures, Great Britain has gone on absorbing territory in the valley of the Orinoco and on the Atlantic coast until she now occupied an area west of the Esequibo River twice as large as the State of New-York. It was well known, said Mr. Livingston, that Great

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Britain had no title to territory in Guiana other than that derived from Holland in 1814, and from that date back to 1640 the Esequibo River was universally regarded as the divisional line between Spain and Holland.

The aggressions of Great Britain, he said, could not be justified; to do so would be to unsettle, if not invalidate, the title to more than half the public domain of the United States. There was no more territory on the American continent open to conquest and occupancy by European powers.

Venezuela unable to repel these bold aggressions upon her territory, had appealed to the moral sense of the civilized world, and our Government, said Mr. Livingston, had not been indifferent to those appeals.

The executive department had more than once tendered its good offices, and had even gone so far as to extend its services as arbitrator, if acceptable to both parties. Spain. It is understood, had made similar overtures, and no less than ten South American republics had addressed the British Government in like sense.

But Great Britain, ready and willing enough to submit her boundary disputes, and United States to arbitration, had persistently denied to Venezuela what she had ever been ready to ask of stronger powers. For the honor of the great English-speaking race, and for the credit of Christian civilization, Mr. Livingston said he hoped Great Britain might reconsider her course in this matter, and agree to submit her claim to arbitration.

“Even at this moment,” he said, “there is understood to be a special envoy in this capital bearing a petition signed by a majority of the British House of Commons, praying the President of the United States agree to submit all differences between that country and this to friendly arbitration. That is praiseworthy and commendable. But why not begin the good work by petitioning their own Government at St. James to accede to Venezuela’s standing offer to refer the Guiana boundary dispute to the decision of arbitration?”

“Then the Parliament of Great Britain might, with entire consistency, and with a conscious rectitude of purpose, ask this Government to refer all its differences with England to arbitration.”

Mr. Dingley (Rep., Me.) asked if the matter had not better be left with the Executive. It seemed to him to be establishing a mischievous precedent. He could see no good in it and did not like it, but would make no objection to the passage of the resolution.

Mr. Hitt (Rep., Ill.) said that there were precedents for the proposed action, where Congress, in response to suggestions by Presidents and Secretaries of State, had expressed its sense of approval of the principle of arbitration. He objected to the form of the resolution, saying that it amounted almost to a command.

No objection, however, was made to the consideration of the joint resolution, and it was agreed to.

[7 February 1895]

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VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE  
The President’s Recommendation to Arbitrate Is Approved

WASHINGTON Feb. 21.—The President has approved the joint resolution of Congress relative to the British Guiana and Venezuela boundary dispute, which declares that the President's suggestion made in his last annual message that Great Britain and Venezuela should refer their dispute to friendly arbitration, be earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of both parties in interest.

While the British Government will undoubtedly learn officially of this formal declaration of the United States, it is doubtful if any stronger representation of our attitude in the matter can be made than has already been insistently pressed by Ambassador Bayard under instructions issued by Secretary Gresham.

This territorial dispute, involving the contest of territory in which valuable gold deposits have been discovered and of which Great Britain has taken possession, made the subject of diplomatic correspondence for ten years or more, without the slightest indication of a definite termination.

[22 February 1895]

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#### British Guiana Is Not In Arms

LONDON, March 5.—The Foreign Office has no knowledge of the report published in a New-York newspaper, in an alleged special dispatch, of British troops having been massed on the frontier of British Guiana. If troops have been massed there, which is not believed, the movement was not made in pursuance of orders from the London Government, as the so-called dispatch asserts as no such orders have been given.

[6 March 1895]

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#### VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE Ambassador Bayard's Influence for an Amicable Settlement

WASHINGTON, March 6.—It appears from the annual volume of Foreign Relations, devoted to diplomatic correspondence of the United States for the past year, which will be published shortly, that the great bulk of Ambassador Bayard's work since he went to London has been devoted to the encroachments of Great Britain on Venezuelan territory.

This question has had Mr. Bayard's unceasing attention under instructions from his Government, and to the exclusion of all other vexed matters, except that of Bluefields, he has pressed for an amicable settlement of the British Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute.

Although Great Britain some years ago declined to submit the controversy to friendly arbitration, when suggested by the United States, it is understood that a year ago Mr. Bayard informed the British Government that, upon representations of Venezuela of the injustice of the

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continued encroachments, this country looked upon the matter with deeper concern than heretofore and felt impelled to persist more strenuously in its effort to prevent probable disturbance on this continent, involving a weak and friendly neighbor, who properly looked to the United States for support

This is about as far as Ambassador Bayard could go without declaring that the United States was ready to suspend diplomatic relations. The correspondence will show that Mr. Bayard's persistence has modified Great Britain's attitude considerably, and that the long controversy is in a fair way to reach a termination satisfactory to all concerned.

[7 March 1895]

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GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
Sir Edward Grey's Statement of the Dispute About Boundary

LONDON, March 14.—In the House of Commons to-day Sir Edward Grey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Foreign Office, said, in reply to a question, that Great Britain had no diplomatic representative at Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. British interests there, he said, had been for some time in charge of the German representative.

The British Government was ready to take steps for an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between the two countries, and had communicated that fact to Venezuela in 1890 and again in 1893.

The latter communication had never been answered by Venezuela, and Great Britain must therefore maintain the provisional boundary settled upon, which, however, does not embrace the whole of the British claim.

Venezuela has been informed that Great Britain is willing to submit the question of possession of territory outside of the Schomberg line to arbitration, but that she could not agree to arbitration in regard to territory which had long been settled as part of the British colony.

[15 March 1895]

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DIFFICULTIES OF VENEZUELA  
Great Britain Insisting on Proper Reparation for Arrests

LONDON, March 18.—In the House of Commons to-day Sir George Baden-Powell, Conservative, asked if the Government had fixed a date for the initiation of measures against Venezuela in the event of her failure to give satisfaction for the arrest and detention of a number of British Guiana policemen.

Sir Edward Grey, Parliamentary Secretary for the Foreign Office, replied that it was impossible to make a statement in regard to the question at the present time, but he declared that the matter would not be dropped until proper reparation was made by Venezuela.

Sir Edward Grey further said that no progress had been made toward resuming diplomatic relations with Venezuela.

[19 March 1895]

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VENEZUELA AND GREAT BRITAIN  
Congress Made Difficult Arbitration of the Boundary Dispute

WASHINGTON, March 21.—Gossipy persons determined to promote activity in the State Department, have conveyed the impression that the Administration is to encourage in Venezuela the hope that the boundary dispute with Great Britain will be soon settled by arbitration.

What course the Administration may take for the benefit of Venezuela without embarrassment to the United States it is not easy to see. Congress expressed the opinion, by a joint resolution, that the United States should recommend to Great Britain arbitration of the boundary question. But the same Congress refused to appropriate \$425,000 for an arbitration to which the United States submitted, which was won by Great Britain, and which we have repudiated. Congress not only refused to appropriate a sum which would have settled the dispute before the arbitration, but refused also to appropriate money for the expenses of a commission to agree upon terms of a settlement.

Under such circumstances it is doubtful whether Great Britain will receive cordially any suggestion to have the Venezuela boundary arbitrated. If the United States is to take any part in the matter, Great Britain is in a position to express doubts about good faith, and determination to abide by the findings of an arbitrator.

The Congress that refused to permit a settlement approved by the President and by Secretary Gresham exhibited its stupidity and ignorance in pushing through the resolution urging arbitration. The body was evidently in favor of arbitration if it could be sure that it would go against the other party.

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Col. Angel Polibio Chaves of Ecuador, who recently attended a celebration held by representatives of several Central and South American republics in Venezuela, arrived in this city yesterday on the Philadelphia from La Guayra. In speaking of affairs in Venezuela, he said:

When I left, political affairs in Venezuela were becoming exciting. The trouble rose over the dismissal of the French and Belgian Ministers. Many of the people were opposed to President Crespo, and even the Congress was divided, there being a strong opposition to the Government. The administration was considered to be very poor, and was held accountable for the poor condition of business in the country.

The country is getting poorer and poorer. Then Crespo became friendly with ex-President Guzman Blanco, who is hated and feared by most of the people. The people were on the verge of starting another revolution to turn out Gen. Crespo. He is very strong with the army, and any such revolution would be doubtful of success.

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But the trouble over the disputed boundary with England and the dismissal of the French and Belgian Ministers changed political action. It was felt that the dignity of the country had been outraged by their conduct.

The people became greatly excited, and there was danger that personal violence would be done to the Ministers. The matter was discussed by the people and in the newspapers. The excitement had reached such a high pitch that President Crespo placed a military guard about the residences of the Ministers, and also caused the arrest and imprisonment of a number of people. He thought such a course necessary to prevent an open outbreak. It was thought for a time that the people would kill the Ministers.

They are determined to sustain Crespo in his action in dismissing them, no matter what the consequences may be, even if they are forced to fight.

They feel profoundly grateful to the people and the Congress of this country for the stand they have taken in upholding Venezuela's claim to arbitration. They say that the United States is the only country that can prevent England from swallowing up Venezuela and other South and Central American republics.

They bless the Monroe doctrine, and were stirred profoundly by the speeches in Congress at Washington demanding arbitration. They are now circulating a petition of thanks to be sent to those Congressmen who championed their cause.

[23 March 1895]

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#### VENEZUELA'S MARTIAL SPIRIT

The People Will Fight Rather than Yield Territory to England.

WASHINGTON, April 6.—Notwithstanding the expressed opinion of State Department and British officials that nothing but peace may come from the Venezuelan boundary dispute, those familiar with the temper of the Venezuelan Government and people declare that Venezuela will go to war if Great Britain retains its present attitude and refuses to submit to arbitration the right to the territory which Venezuela claims has been usurped by British Guiana. This, in the face of the overwhelming disparity of force between the two contestants and the apparent hopelessness of Venezuela's entering upon such a struggle unaided.

There is no question that Venezuela, in the event of trouble between herself and Great Britain, would look to the United States for moral, financial and material support, but Venezuela insists that self-respect will not permit her to remain passive one minute after it becomes clearly evident that Great Britain purposes retaining possession of the disputed country.

Venezuela contains a population of two and a half million people. Her army on a peace footing does not exceed 8,000 men, but it is claimed she could in an emergency place 100,000 troops in the field within sixty days.

Many of these troops are veterans who have seen service in the several rebellions in the country during the last few decades, and her military force, therefore, would be one not to be despised. The city of Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, is situated so far inland as to be safe from the attacks of a hostile fleet.

The ports of La Guayra, Maracaibo, and Port Barima would be, however, in the mercy of any strong naval power, and their destruction would be a serious embarrassment to the commercial interests of the republic.

La Guayra is an important port, which is connected with the outside world by lines of steamships to the United States, Spain, England, France, Germany, Italy, and other European

countries. Not infrequently as many as twenty and thirty large merchant vessels swing at one time at their moorings in the harbor while receiving or discharging freight.

[7 April 1895]

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### Venezuela Has Not Replied to Britain

LONDON, April 8.—Replying to a question by Sir George Baden-Powell, Sir Edward Grey said that the Government had not yet received any response from Venezuela in regard to England's demand for an explanation of the recent insult to the British flag in British South American territory.

[9 April 1895]

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### TEMPER OF VENEZUELAN A Church Will Stand in the Way of Britain's Advance THE MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT CRESPO Popular Expression of Gratefulness for the Resolution Adopted by the North American Republic

WASHINGTON, April 9.—Advices received from Venezuela state that the Chief Magistrate of the Amacuro region has been directed by the Caracas Ministry to erect a church on the banks of the Amacura River, which is to form the nucleus of a new settlement.

This settlement will be situated on the river directly opposite to that now occupied by the British, and is intended as an intimation that Venezuela regards that part of the territory as her own, and that the British colonists must not encroach upon it.

The Venezuelan Government and people appear to have accepted the action of the United States Congress in passing a resolution favoring arbitration as indicating a sure and certain issue out of all their boundary troubles.

On Feb. 6 the House of Representatives adopted the resolution offered by Mr. Livingston of Georgia and favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "that the President's suggestion made in his last annual message to this body, namely, that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundary limit in Guiana to friendly arbitration be most earnestly recommended to the favorable considerations at both the parties in interest."

The resolution subsequently passed the Senate and was approved by President Cleveland, Feb. 21. March 29 the Venezuelan Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rejas, sent to the Venezuelan Congress, which is now in session, the following communication, addressed to the President of the Congress:

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I have the honor to present to your high body, through this communication, inasmuch as the state of my health prevents me from doing it personally. a message from the President of the United States of Venezuela in relation to the noble attitude which the First Magistrate and the Congress of the great Republic of the North have just assumed regarding the pending question between Venezuela and England by reason of the boundary with the Demerara colony. I renew to the honorable Congress of the Republic the testimony of my profoundest respect.

The communication to which Secretary Rejas referred was addressed by President Crespo to the Venezuelan Senate and House of Representatives, and was in these words:

MESSAGE BY VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT CRESPO TO THE VENEZUELAN CONGRESS  
[29 March 1895]

The high powers of the United States have just given on the occasion of the pending question between Venezuela and England a proof of the extent to which the principle of human justice prevails in the spirit of the great northern people. The Chief Magistrate of that powerful Republic, being persuaded at the peril which involves the American interests in the prolongation of a conflict of so grievous a nature, expressed in his annual message to Congress a strong wish and the disposition of inducing Great Britain to put an end to the dispute through the arbitration earnestly proposed by Venezuela.

The American Congress in February last, as a consequence of the wise advice contained in President Cleveland's annual message, passed a resolution to this effect which has been inserted in the preliminary edition of the Yellow Book of this year. The terms of this resolution disclose the noblest interest in having this long controversy settled in conformity with the principles of justice and reason. Therein it is earnestly recommended that the two contending parties adopt the course indicated by the President of the United States in order peacefully to settle the dispute, as has been suggested by Venezuela.

The legislative act referred to was approved by both the branches of the American Congress, and his Excellency President Cleveland affixed his seal thereto February 21. Such tokens of the spirit of justice with which the overshadowing question at the Guiana boundary is studied and considered by the Chief Magistrate and legislators of the great Republic of the north requires from Venezuela a significant act of special gratitude which only you can sanction so as to interpret the thought of the whole republic. I am sure that this idea will have the most enthusiastic acceptance in the hearts of the worthy legislators of my country.

Both branches of Venezuelan Congress, when the foregoing communications were read to them, at once adopted a joint resolution expressing their hearty appreciation of the friendly interest manifested in their dispute with Great Britain by the American people, as expressed by President Cleveland and Congress. This resolution will be forwarded to Minister Andrade and by him presented to Secretary Gresham.

The Caracas papers received to-day say that the enthusiasm of the Venezuelans as a result of the friendly attitude of the American people is so great that the citizens of the several States will forward to Mr. Andrade, also to be presented to President Cleveland, testimonials containing the names of hundreds of thousands of Venezuelans.

[10 April 1895]

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GRATITUDE OF VENEZUELAN  
A Testimonial Accompanied by Expressions Against England

ATLANTA, Ga., May 10.—Congressman Livingston has received a handsomely designed testimonial signed by Gen. Medardo Bello, Juan Velasquez, Isodoro Flores, and several other distinguished Venezuelans expressing their gratitude for the stand taken by Mr. Livingston in behalf of Venezuela. The communication reads: “Against England, that eternal usurper of territories belonging to nations less strong than herself.” The testimonial further expresses the hope that the Guayana question may be settled by arbitration, and if not, Venezuela shall show England that her sons are willing to die with honor for the protection of their national dignity.

[11 May 1895]

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GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
Details of the Difficulty . . . of Crespo’s Administration

WASHINGTON, May 21.—The statement made by Sir Edward Grey in the British Parliament, yesterday, that no explanation had been received from Venezuela with reference to the hauling down of the British flag and imprisonment of her Majesty’s police officers, will be better understood when read in the light of the following facts:

In November last several Venezuelans were engaged in cutting wood on the right bank of the Cuwuni River. Inspector Barnes of the British police force ordered them away. They refused to obey, claiming that they were on Venezuelan soil. They were notified that if they remained after a certain date they would be expelled. They continued to remain, and were driven across the river.

Thereupon a body of Venezuelan police went over to Inspector Barnes’s headquarters and arrested him and several of his men. They were taken to Upata, in the State of Bolivar, and there released by order of the Caracas Government. Inspector Barnes claimed that his house was entered by the Venezuelans and some of its contents stolen.

At the request of the Venezuelan authorities, he made an estimate of the damage suffered by him, and was immediately reimbursed. Inspector Barnes reported his attest to his superior officers. The British Government demanded an explanation through the German Minister at Caracas, diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela being suspended. Up to the present time, the Caracas Government has failed to furnish the explanation demanded.

[22 May 1895]

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THE VENEZUELAN CONTEST  
Its Progress As Described in the “Official Yellow Book”  
THE UNITED STATES A TRUE FRIEND  
Great Britain and Venezuela End Their Differences  
Without Appealing to Arms as a Remedy

*January - November 1895*

Important official news regarding the controversy between England and Venezuela has just reached this city, and is made public through the Venezuelan Yellow Book. This volume is the report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the National Government and corresponds with the annual report of our State Department. It contains full details of Venezuela's attitude toward England's aggressions in the Guayanas, and shows that our little neighbor on the shores of the Caribbean is determined to hold her territory at all hazards. The document in question shows firmness, combined with discretion, and reflects great credit upon the statesmanship and patriotism of Dr. P. Ezequiel Rojas, who has been at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs for the past three years, and under whom the Guyana question has assumed its present phase.

Referring to the boundary controversy, the Yellow Book first calls attention to the fact that the Congress of the United States has done its utmost to bring the question to arbitration; in fact, has even gone so far as to request England to settle the dispute in this way. It also states that the press of Venezuela and all English corporations doing business there have also endeavored to bring about the same end. Even the Pope has interested himself in the controversy and offered his friendly services.

Other important steps taken by the Venezuelan Government were its efforts to prevent the circulation of incorrect maps of the country, and a request to the Washington Government that the international office would make such changes in the maps published by England as would do justice to the rights of Venezuela. Full and detailed explanations are given of the Guyana incident, which the Venezuelan press has been discussing so freely. The notes that have passed between England and Venezuela regarding the route from Barima to the Upper Guyana are also given in full.

The report closes with these significant words: "After having explained all the measures taken by the present Government in this important matter from the day of its inauguration, the English have not advanced one step into the territory of the republic, and it is impossible for them to do so without having a collision with the Venezuelan authorities."

[3 June 1895]

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#### VENEZUELA'S BOUNDARY DISPUTE

WASHINGTON, June 8.—The Venezuelan officials regard the dispute with Great Britain over the Guiana boundary question as definitely settled by the American Congress resolution that it be referred to arbitration.

Formal expression was given to this belief by Señor J. Calucano Mathieu, President of the Venezuelan Senate, in his address to that body upon the adjournment of the National Legislature a few days ago.

Señor Mathieu referred to the interest manifested by the American Congress, and expressed the opinion that Great Britain now had no alternative but to be governed by the wishes of the American people.

The efforts which the Cleveland Administration has made through Mr. Bayard for a peaceful settlement of the controversy are also highly appreciated by the Venezuelans.

[9 June 1895]

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VENEZUELA'S HOMAGE TO GRESHAM  
The National Flag at Half Mast on All Public Buildings

WASHINGTON, June 11.—Venezuela's tribute to Secretary Gresham has been received in the following form, addressed to Señor José Andrade, Minister of Venezuela to Washington, and signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Caracas, May 29, 1895.

Sir: Yesterday, at a late hour, I received your telegram, announcing the death of his Excellency, Mr. Gresham. This calamity must sensibly affect all who, in the last two years, have followed with any degree of interest the course of the foreign policy of the United States, in which that distinguished Statesman was displaying the great gifts of his intellect.

Venezuela is necessarily one of the countries of America in which this event has caused the greatest sorrow, inasmuch as that noble gentleman had displayed, on various occasions and in an eloquent manner, the cordial feelings by which he was actuated toward this republic.

Please convey the expression of these sincere sentiments to the Department of State, in order that it may be communicated to his Excellency, President Cleveland.

The national flag has this day been ordered to be kept at half mast for three days on all public buildings. This official demonstration is made in memory of the efforts made by Mr. Gresham to secure a just and amicable settlement of the Venezuelan-British dispute.

[12 June 1895]

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GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
Arbitration Will Be Accepted Only Within Certain Limits

LONDON, June 17.—In the House of Commons to-day Sir Edward Grey, Under Foreign Secretary, said that in January last United States Ambassador Bayard informed Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the United States Government would gladly lend its good offices to arbitrate the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

The position was explained to Mr. Bayard, and the British Government was ready to submit to arbitration within certain limits, but they could not agree in regard to the extensive reference upon which Venezuela insisted.

[18 June 1895]

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AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

WASHINGTON, June 24.—Americans who assume that the change of Ministry in England will remove the danger of complications growing out of British aggressions in Venezuela unquestionably will see their mistake before Lord Salisbury's Government has long been in power. Examination of the facts in connection with the Guiana boundary dispute shows that Salisbury has always favored British encroachments on Venezuelan soil. As far back as 1880, Lord Salisbury, in a note to the Venezuelan Minister at London, claimed not only all the territory within the old "Schomburgk line" but a vast and fertile region far beyond it.

Referring to Venezuela's claim that the Essequibo River was the ancient line between the Dutch and Spanish possessions, and that it could not be considered as a boundary, he said Great Britain already had some 40,000 subject living west of that river, and that it could not be considered as a possible boundary. It was convenient for his Lordship to ignore the fact that every one of these 40,000 British subjects had settled west of the Essequibo, knowing full well that it was Venezuelan territory. These settlers encroached upon Venezuelan soil with the knowledge that such action was in line with the British policy of extending British interests in that region.

Lord Salisbury's past propositions to Venezuela are regarded in that country as much less favorable even than those offered by Lord Rosebery. William L. Scruggs, late Minister of the United States to Venezuela, writing on the subject of British aggressions in Venezuela, has this to say of the proceedings with which Lord Salisbury has been closely connected:

"Previous to the year 1840 Great Britain had not extended her occupancy beyond the Pomaron, nor even intimated a purpose to lay claim to any territory beyond that river. Suddenly, in the latter part of that year, she made an attempt to extend her occupancy westward and southward, as far as the mouth of the Barima River, where she arbitrarily fixed the starting point of a frontier line known as 'the Schomburgk line.'

"In 1844 she disclaimed this line and proposed what afterward became known as 'the Aberdeen line,' beginning near the mouth of the Pomaron River. In 1881 she again removed the starting point of a divisional line to a distance of twenty-nine miles west of the Moroco River, generally referred to as 'Lord Granville's line.'

"In 1886 she again shifted position and proposed what is known as 'the first Rosebery line,' beginning west of the Guaima River. In 1890 she shifted position again and proposed what is known as 'the Salisbury line,' beginning at the mouth of the Amacura River—thus claiming, control of the main outlet of the Orinoco.

"And finally in 1893, still advancing westward and southward into what had never before been disputed as Venezuelan territory, she proposed a boundary line from the southwest of the Amacura River, running so as to include the headwaters of the Cumano and the Sierra of Usupano."

These facts ought to be convincing that the new Salisbury Cabinet will have nothing to offer to Venezuela in the way of an honorable settlement of the boundary dispute. They may also give rise to the apprehension that the value of the Monroe doctrine may be put to the test in the next year. When Lord Salisbury last was at the head of the British Ministry he displayed a willingness to cooperate with this Government in the prevention of illegal sealing in Bering Sea which was directly at variance with Lord Rosebery's subsequent attitude. With Salisbury again at the British helm, there

may be a little more fairness in connection with the attempt to protect the seal herd from extermination. The silver men will look to the new Ministry for signs favorable to an international conference, but Americans, who are guided largely in their views by the teachings of the past, will not expect the new British Government to take any step which shall involve a radical change in British methods.

[25 June 1895]

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#### AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

WASHINGTON, June 29.—There seems to be a curious expectation on the part of South and Central American diplomats that the new British Cabinet will be more favorable to an adjustment of the Venezuelan boundary dispute by arbitration than was its predecessor. This expectation is apparently based upon the supposed friendship toward the United States of the two statesmen into whose hands this question will naturally fall—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. U. N. Curzon, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Each of these gentlemen has an American wife, Mr. Chamberlain having married the daughter of President Cleveland's first Secretary of War, Mr. Endicott of Massachusetts, and Mr. Curzon having recently married the daughter of Mr. L. Zelter of Chicago.

The diplomatic correspondence in regard to the encroachments of British Guiana on Venezuela has reached a point where it is thought the friendly intervention of the United States could be accepted. That intervention has been strongly exerted by Mr. Bayard in favor of arbitration, and it is regarded as quite possible that the incoming Government may not find itself embarrassed by the objections which the outgoing Administration had interposed to the adoption of this course.

Whether or not these anticipations have any solid foundation in fact, they are undoubtedly entertained, and it is further hinted that the Nicaragua-Corinto affair may have, indirectly, some bearing on the settlement of the Venezuelan boundary question. The little republics of South and Central America are not by any means harmonious, and though sentimentally they express regret at lesson given Nicaragua by Great Britain in regard to respecting the flag or a foreign nationality, yet, as a matter of fact, there is said to have been some quiet gratification on the assumption that, as Great Britain had been permitted to assert its national dignity in this matter, it might not find it so difficult to waive points in the Venezuelan controversy. This is undoubtedly a curious intermixing of two apparently entirely dissimilar incidents, but the fact that they are connected together in this manner is indisputable.

[30 June 1895]

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VENEZUELA AND GREAT BRITAIN  
Fears that the New British Cabinet May Make War Inevitable

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.—The accession of Lord Salisbury to the head of the British Cabinet is causing a good deal of anxiety among the friends of Venezuela. They fear that it means a return to the policy of territorial aggression against Venezuela which was pursued by the English under the former Conservative Ministry, with even more insolence than under the Liberal administration.

Lord Salisbury was at the head of the Government when diplomatic relations were broken off between Great Britain and Venezuela, and the policy of arbitration, which had been encouraged by Lord Granville, was repudiated by the new Government.

President Guzman Blanco went to England in 1884, and negotiations for submitting the boundary dispute to arbitration were so far advanced in June, 1885, that the convention was about to be signed.

A memorandum of the Foreign Office of Venezuela, submitted to the United States representative at Caracas on June 15, 1887, declared that, "in fact, Lord Granville had accepted the application of arbitration to all disagreements which should arise between the two countries, including that on boundaries.

In the meantime, Lord Salisbury came into office, and one of his first steps was to withdraw what had been agreed upon with Venezuela, while at the same time he fulfilled the promises made to Russia, condemning as opprobrious, the breaking of them, although they had been made by his predecessors."

The Foreign Office went on to recite that British invasions "became more and more marked from July, 1886, decrees being issued through the Governor of Demerara, by which the latter's jurisdiction was extended from the Pomaron to the Amacuro; the grants of land made by the Venezuelan Government were declared to be void, if they referred to those under controversy, and, finally, all that territory claimed by her Majesty was declared to be British." It was during the Salisbury administration also, and only a few months after the last communication, that the British war steamer Pylades was sent from Trinidad to La Guayra, and ordered to levy \$40,000 upon the Venezuelan Government for subjecting two English schooners to legal process for violating Venezuelan law.

The proceeding was similar to the recent levy upon Nicaragua, and seven days were given to the Venezuelan Government to pay the money before the application of force. The representative of the United States interceded for the withdrawal of the threatening note of the Governor of Trinidad upon the ground that it was an affront to the dignity and independence of Venezuela, and the Governor himself asked permission to withdraw the note and substitute a less forcible one.

The Salisbury Government informed the Governor by telegraph that this arrangement could not be sanctioned, and the Venezuelans, after paying the money, filed a solemn protest with the diplomatic representatives of foreign countries at Caracas against the unfriendly and insulting attitude of the British Government. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed about that time, and have never been resumed.

The Venezuelan people have been growing very restive under British aggressions, even under the Rosebery Government, and the more hot-headed have been advocating war with Great Britain in

the belief that the United States would be forced to interfere. There is grave apprehension that a collision on the boundary, with great resulting embarrassments to this country, can no longer be avoided if Lord Salisbury resumes the offensive policy which he carried out under his former administration.

[6 August 1895]

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BRITISH GUIANA GOLD MINING  
Condition of the Colony as Viewed by Chief Justice Edward O'Malley

WASHINGTON. Sept. 3.—The gold-mining industry of British Guiana, which is so closely involved in the territorial dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, has not yet reached the point of assured success, according to the testimony of Sir Edward O'Malley, Chief Justice of that colony, who is now in Washington. Explaining his visit here as being entirely non-political, Sir Edward said:

“I am simply taking a trip to get a little needed change and rest. It is delightful to get back to civilization once more, after sojourning among the non-progressive people of Demerara. Life in that country is rather tame and monotonous to an Englishman or a citizen of the United States, and those of us who can get away are glad to escape occasionally. I have lived in Guiana only since last January. The country is not in a prosperous condition.

“Its chief industry is sugar planting, and owing to the very low prices of that product the business is in a deplorable state. A good many estates are closed up completely, and few of the planters are able to make more than a bare living. This is in spite of the fact that the Government gives them substantial aid by admitting farming materials free of duty, and also by helping to pay for the transportation of the coolie laborers, who do nearly all the plantation work.

“Thousands of these are brought in every year, mostly from Madras, under a five years' contract. When that term expires most of them remain in the country as free laborers. The natives, Indians and colored creoles, are too lazy for any use in the cane fields, and live in a hand-to-mouth fashion on the least amount of work.

“About the only hope of better times is in the development of our gold mines, which are beginning to attract a great deal of attention. A number of explorers have come in from Australia, and are so well satisfied with the prospects that they have started a number of camps, a few of which have begun to produce very satisfactorily.”

[4 September 1895]

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VENEZUELA AND GREAT BRITAIN  
American Concessions Said to be in Disputed Territory, Never Used

*January - November 1895*

WASHINGTON, Sept 28.—The facts in regard to the Venezuelan dispute, as nearly as they can be ascertained from the best sources of information, are these:

The United States is still awaiting a reply, through Secretary Bayard, to a presentation of the boundary dispute as laid before the United States by Venezuela and as investigated by the United States, which presentation was accompanied by a friendly but earnest suggestion that the matters thus placed in controversy should be referred to arbitration.

The mining concession granted by Venezuela to an American syndicate, which, it has been suggested, may involve the United States in Venezuela's quarrel with Great Britain, is no new thing, and plays no part in the controversy. This concession was originally granted eleven years ago, when Gen. Crespo, the present Chief Executive of the republic, filled that office.

The parties to whom the concession was given for unexplained reasons did not make use of the privilege, and a few years later, during the Presidency of Guzman Blanco, it was given to another American syndicate, which, like its predecessor, allowed it to lapse. It is now understood that the principal members of the present syndicate are among those to whom the concession was originally granted.

The Venezuelan Legation have no information, official or otherwise, regarding the purpose of the syndicate to develop the territory embraced in the concession. It contains 15,000 square miles, and is about half the size of some of the States in this country. It is rich in minerals, hard woods and petroleum. A part of the land lay, at the time the was granted, in the territory in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela and it is now said that since Great Britain has extended her boundary further into Venezuela's domain the entire tract is claimed by the British Government

As far back as 1891, the British Minister at Venezuela, Mr. Mansfield, protested against the granting of the charter by Venezuela for the foregoing reasons. It would be not unlikely, therefore, that Great Britain would protest vigorously against any occupation of the country by the American syndicate. But, inasmuch as neither of the American syndicates has ever attempted to expend a dollar in breaking ground and taking possession, this contingency seems a remote one.

The Venezuelan Minister, Mr. Andrade, was asked by a United Press reporter to-day what protection against British aggressions would be given by his country to the syndicate. He replied that he knew nothing regarding the matter, and that everything would depend upon the character of the concession. If, in this concession, Venezuela had agreed to protect the syndicate in its rights, it would do so beyond question. Should not this protection be stipulated, however, he assumed that the syndicate would occupy the territory at its own risk.

[29 September 1895]

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GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
America Counsels Arbitration and the English Are Excited

LONDON, Oct. 3.—The Westminster Gazette, in an article under the caption "Turn About Is Fair Play," says:

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

“The other day Lord Salisbury sent an ultimatum to China, and now, according to dispatches received from Washington, Ambassador Bayard has been instructed to notify Great Britain that unless the Venezuelan question is submitted to arbitration within ninety days the United States Government will enforce the Monroe doctrine. It is to be hoped that if settlement of the question can be hurried up Lord Salisbury will do it, but surely President Cleveland cannot wish to rush us out of just claims.”

The St. James’s Gazette says:

“Isn’t it awful? But it might be still more awful if we only knew exactly what the blessed Monroe doctrine was or what on earth the United States Government has got to do with a quarrel between Great Britain and another independent State.”

The Post will to-morrow say that inquiries made at the American Embassy elicited the information that nothing was known there of the report that Ambassador Bayard had been instructed by his Government to notify Great Britain that unless the Venezuelan question shall be submitted to arbitration within ninety days the United States Government would enforce the Monroe doctrine.

The Embassy officials added that no such letters of instruction had been received. The Post says that the report could hardly be treated seriously.

[4 October 1895]

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MONROE DOCTRINE AND BRITAIN  
A Powerful Presentation of the Claims of Venezuela Against the  
Aggressions of the Disputant

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—The idea conveyed in recent dispatches sent from Washington that the Secretary of State has sent an ultimatum to Great Britain on the subject of the Venezuela boundary line dispute is entirely misleading. The State Department has not been instructed to go to this extreme.

Congress alone can authorize ultimatums, and it has not yet decided that Great Britain’s aggressions in Venezuela call for an attitude or the part of the United States Government which an ultimatum would accurately represent.

The dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela regarding the boundary line has occasioned much interest in the United States. In his last annual message, the President referred to it in these words:

“The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement on some just basis alike honorable to both parties is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond the sea. I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants, and to induce a reference to arbitration, a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favors in principle and respects in practice, and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary.”

The House, in February last, passed a joint resolution, introduced by Representative Livingston of Georgia, urging that the President's suggestion regarding this dispute be recommended to both Great Britain and Venezuela. The Senate adopted this resolution, after making slight amendments. The State Department lost no time in bringing this recommendation to the notice of the British Government. Great Britain replied that her right to a part of the territory in question could be submitted to arbitration, but that the question of the ownership of the other portion involved in the dispute could not be thus adjudicated. This reply was unsatisfactory, and Secretary Olney has forwarded another dispatch to Ambassador Bayard, in which the desirability of an arbitration covering every point in the long-drawn-out controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela is presented in a forcible manner.

As might have been, the question of the Monroe doctrine figured largely in the Secretary's communication. More than six months ago, Mr. Olney, who was then Attorney General, made an exhaustive investigation of the successive boundary lines dividing British Guiana from Venezuela, claimed by the British Government. Every available paper and bit of diplomatic correspondence between the two countries bearing upon the question was carefully examined by Mr. Olney. It is claimed by those who read Mr. Olney's report that it constituted a very able defense of the Monroe doctrine. Mr. Olney's latest letter to Ambassador Bayard is in line with the determination of the Administration to insist upon the application of the Monroe doctrine to the case in hand. The more the case is studied by the officers of the Government, the more impressed are they with the strength of the Venezuelan position.

For more than fifty years Venezuela has been asking Great Britain to submit her claim to friendly arbitration. Declining all these overtures, England has gone on absorbing territory in the Valley of the Orinoco and on the Atlantic Coast, until she now occupies an area west of the Essequibo River more than twice as large as the State of New York.

Great Britain derived her title to territory in Guiana from Holland in 1814. For a century and three-quarters the Essequibo was recognized as the rightful boundary between the old Spanish and Holland possessions. There have been no concessions since 1814, and in 1810 Venezuela succeeded to the title held by Spain. There is no justification for Great Britain's aggressions west of the Essequibo, and it is not surprising that the British Foreign Office should refuse to arbitrate the entire question.

Secretary Olney's latest communication to Mr. Bayard on the subject embodies all the points developed by him in his recent study of the boundary question. It leaves no room for doubt that this Government regards the attitude of Great Britain as antagonistic to the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and conveys in diplomatic language the intimation that the refusal of Great Britain to accede to the appeal of Venezuela may lead to serious complications. The present position of the Administration regarding the Venezuelan difficulty does not deviate in the least from that assumed by it when the first note was sent to Mr. Bayard on the subject.

It is expected that all of the correspondence will be published in the near future. There is no doubt that if Great Britain shall persist in her refusal, an effort will be made in the next Congress to bring the matter to a final determination of some sort. Representative Livingston said to-day that he would introduce a measure when Congress convenes providing for the appointment of a joint committee of the Senate and House to take up this question and determine upon a policy to be followed by the Government. This policy, he believed, will be thoroughly in harmony with the declarations of the Monroe doctrine.

[5 October 1895]

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MONROE DOCTRINE AND BRITAIN  
Foreign Office Embarrassed by the State Department's  
Protest Against Venezuelan Boundary Coercion

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16.—A cable dispatch from London received to-night, says that the British Foreign Office has been made acquainted with the contents of a dispatch forwarded by Secretary Olney to Ambassador Bayard, bearing on the Venezuelan boundary dispute. The tone of this dispatch, it added, is such that the Ministry will be forced to give much time to its consideration.

The dispatch in question is the one referred to in *The New-York Times* a fortnight ago, and has erroneously been termed an ultimatum of the United States to Great Britain. It was the second one written by Secretary Olney since the adjournment of Congress, and was communicated to Lord Salisbury by Mr. Bayard on the latter's return from Scotland a few days ago.

Last February the House passed a joint resolution, introduced by Representative Livingston of Georgia, urging that the President's suggestion that the Venezuelan boundary difficulty be referred to arbitration, be recommended to both Great Britain and Venezuela. The resolution was adopted by the Senate with slight modifications, and the State Department immediately brought this recommendation to the notice of the British Government. The reply of Great Britain was that her rights to a part of the territory in question could be submitted to arbitration, but that the question of the ownership of the other portion involved in the dispute could not thus be adjudicated.

This reply was in line with previous utterances of Great Britain on this important topic. It was, of course, unsatisfactory to the State Department, and Mr. Olney wrote his second note. As already announced in these dispatches, it embodies all the points developed by him in his recent study of the boundary question.

These, in brief, are that Great Britain received her title to territory in Guiana from Holland in 1814; that for a century and three-quarters the Essequibo was recognized as the rightful boundary between the old Spanish and Holland possessions; that there have been no concessions since 1814; that in 1810 Venezuela succeeded to the title held by Spain.

Mr. Olney, in his last dispatch to Mr. Bayard, made it clear that this Government regards the attitude of Great Britain as antagonistic to the principles at the Monroe doctrine, and that serious complication may follow the refusal of Great Britain to permit the reference of the entire boundary question to a court of arbitration. The Secretary's communication is understood to be so worded that the British Foreign Office will find it difficult to defend persistence in its present course.

The English Government has prided itself upon its willingness to arbitrate matters of grave dispute with other nations. This being the case, refusal now to arbitrate the Venezuelan matter would be conclusive proof that this is not an ordinary boundary question, but one which directly affects the Monroe doctrine.

The President and his Secretary of State are determined to uphold this doctrine against Great Britain or any other nation that may seek to nullify it, and Mr. Olney's dispatch undoubtedly reveals this intention.

It is believed here that the determined stand taken by the United States will result in the abandonment by Great Britain of its high-handed attitude.

Should Lord Salisbury fall to reply to Secretary Olney's dispatch before Congress meets, it is certain that an effort will be made in both houses to bring the matter to a head. Friends of the Administration in Washington are much gratified with its position in the Venezuelan matter, and are confident that it will meet with the approval of the country.

[17 October 1895]

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BRITAIN'S VENEZUELAN CLAIMS  
Schomburgk's Line Was Only Tentative, Aberdeen Said, and  
Salisbury Must Yield to Monroe Doctrine

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17.—Now that the attitude of this country with relation to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela has been made known to the British Foreign Office, popular interest in the outcome of the controversy is increasing. The cable dispatch from London referred to in these dispatches last night bore out the assertion previously made that Secretary Olney's last dispatch on the subject was calculated to develop the British position.

The editorial in *The London Times* which declares that it is begging the question to assume that the British claim is for fresh territory, and that the British claim rests wholly upon the vindication of Great Britain's original right, is regarded in Washington as significant of the reply which Lord Salisbury will make to Secretary Olney's note.

It should be borne in mind that Lord Salisbury has long been opposed to the plans submitted by Venezuela for bringing the boundary dispute to a head. The Schomburgk line, which has frequently been referred to in connection with British aggressions in Venezuela, was run in 1840 by Sir Robert Schomburgk, an English Commissioner, who conducted his work without the knowledge or concurrence of Venezuela. This line allots to Great Britain not only the entire Atlantic coast between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, but also a large section of fertile country in the Interior, of which Holland, from which Great Britain secured title to British Guiana, never laid claim.

Several years after Schomburgk's line had been run the British Government, under the Aberdeen Administration, disclaimed any intention to occupy this territory, or to claim the Schomburgk line as a possible boundary. Lord Aberdeen explained to the Venezuelan Government that "the so-called Schomburgk line" was never designed to be other than "merely tentative," or for convenience in future negotiations.

He then proposed a conventional boundary line, which, though very disadvantageous to Venezuela, in that it would have deprived her of an immense territory which rightfully belongs to her, would probably have been accepted as a compromise but for the conditions imposed. Aberdeen said that his Government was disposed to cede to Venezuela the territory indicated on condition that Venezuela would agree not to alienate any portion of it to a third power.

As this involved an acknowledgment of territorial rights in Guiana, which Great Britain did not possess, it had to be rejected. In 1890 Lord Salisbury, then the English Premier, claimed not only all

the territory within the old Schomburgk line, but a vast region far beyond it. He ignored the proposition once made by Lord Aberdeen, and declared that the Essequibo could not be considered as a possible boundary. Subsequently the British took formal possession of the territory within the Schomburgk line. This led to the severance in 1887 of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Lord Salisbury, it is believed here, has not changed his views concerning the territory in question. If he shall accept the recommendation of Secretary Olney that the entire question be submitted to arbitration, it will be due to his belief that the United States means to thrust the Monroe doctrine into the controversy and stand by it to the bitter end. At the State Department there is little hope that his position will change. The Administration is determined that the British contention as indicated in The London Times's editorial, that the Monroe doctrine is not involved, and therefore will not be discussed, shall not be permitted to stand.

It is probable that some time will elapse before Lord Salisbury's reply to Secretary Olney's note is received. There is much commendation here of the course of the Administration and an absence of suggestion that it is desirous of avoiding the logical consequence of that course. It is certain that if no conclusion is reached before Congress assembles that body will take action designed to strengthen the position of the President.

[18 October 1895]

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BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
Evidence of a Determination to Defend the Schomburgk Line.  
MAXIM GUNS TO BE PLACED AT URUAN  
America's First Diplomatic Definition of the Monroe Doctrine  
and First Assertion of Territorial Guardianship.

LONDON. Oct 18.—It is ascertained on high authority that the memorandum in relation to Venezuelan affairs presented by Ambassador Bayard to the British Foreign Office in August last embodies, for the first time in diplomatic correspondence, a definition of the so-called Monroe doctrine, and an assertion that the United States regarded the acquisition of territory by European powers on the American continent as a menace to republican institutions, which would not be encouraged by the American people.

It is understood that to this communication no reply beyond a formal acknowledgment has yet been given, but that a more detailed reply has been promised at an early date.

The St James' Gazette, referring to the action of the Combined Court in British Guiana in refusing to vote money for the purpose of purchasing Maxim guns, in accordance with the dispatch sent by Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sept. 7, says the dispatch was followed by a cablegram from Mr. Chamberlain to Sir C. Cameron Lees, Governor of British Guiana, directing him to obtain without delay a vote for the purchase of two Maxim guns, one of them to be stationed at Uruan or elsewhere on the frontier where the Venezuelans may attempt to cross. The Gazette adds:

“Mr. Chamberlain has decided that the frontier within the Schomburgk line shall be held by force, if necessary.”

Regarding the attitude of the newspapers in British Guiana in ridiculing Mr. Chamberlain, *The Gazette* says: “Mr. Chamberlain is a better judge of the moral influence of a few Maxim guns than are the attorneys of absentee sugar planters.”

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18.—The aggressive policy of the British Government in Venezuela, as outlined in the dispatches to-day from London, has caused excited comment in diplomatic circles. It is taken as an indication in some quarters that her Majesty's Government will not, under any circumstances, arbitrate a foot of the territory in dispute between England and Venezuela to which the former lays claim.

Whether the fortification of the frontier at Uruan will be followed by hostilities between the British and the Venezuelans cannot at present be foretold. Uruan is a point which is occupied by the forces of both Governments. The British hold the right bank of the river, and the Venezuelans the left. The military posts of the two Governments are situated at the junction of three rivers—the Cuyuni, Uruan, and Yuruari. No overt act, it is said, is likely to follow the planting of one or more Maxim guns on the British side of the Uruan, provided the British soldiery remain on the right bank of the stream, which they regard as the limit of their possessions.

While the Venezuelans will look with strong disfavor upon Great Britain's action, they will not, it is said, cross the river or so conduct themselves as to justify the British in crossing. The Venezuelan Government will, in all probability, send national troops to this point, but this, it is believed, will be a mere precautionary measure, and not with any intention of engaging the British forces.

If the suggestion of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, that a road be cut from Port Barima to the Cuyuni River is adopted, the United States is likely to be drawn into the affair, inasmuch as the proposed road will run through a part of the territory recently granted by the Venezuelan Government to the American syndicate. All this territory is claimed by her Majesty's Government, and this claim the Venezuelan ridicule. The American syndicate is making its arrangements to develop its concessions, and it is evidently constrained to believe that the United States Government will see that it is protected in its rights.

The new developments in Venezuela have had the effect at calling attention anew to the report, telegraphed from Rio Janeiro several days ago, that a body of British troops was marching through Brazilian territory on its way to Venezuela. It is believed, by well-posted diplomats, that this report is well founded; that the force in question consists probably of a limited number of British police in British Guiana; that it has marched in a southerly direction along the line of the Esequibo River, until it reached the neutral territory in dispute between Great Britain and Brazil, and that it is now crossing this with the view of entering a part of Venezuela not occupied by the native troops. If it shall be shown that this is really the case, the purpose of the British Government is sending this force into Venezuela can only be conjectured, but it is not doubted that a definite purpose lies behind it.

It is learned to-day that the proposed road between Port Barima, which lies in the northerly part of the British possessions in Venezuela, near the Orinoco River, to the Cuyuni River, a distance of about 100 miles, was first suggested half a dozen years ago by the Governor of British Guiana. The British Government at that time declined to vote the money to construct the road, and the proposition now to do what was denied years ago is regarded as another indication that the development of the country along the line of the proposed routes is a part of the plan not to surrender it

The reference to the “Uruan incident,” in the dispatches from London to-day, requires some explanation. Several months ago a British Sergeant of Police, named Behrens, and two assistants, crossed the river at Uruan and planted the British flag on the Venezuelan side. The Venezuelan police tore down the flag, drove the intruders across the stream, and subsequently arrested them. While en route with their prisoners to Ciudad Bolivar, in the State of Bolivar, they were instructed from Caracas to proceed no further, but to release the Englishmen, and permit them to return to British Guiana. Subsequently Sergeant Behrens was called to London, where his report of the affair was made in person to the British Foreign Office. It is to prevent, ostensibly, a repetition of this trouble that Joseph Chamberlain has ordered the stationing of at least one Maxim gun at that point.

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PERIL ABOUT VENEZUELA  
Great Britain Has Sent An Ultimatum to President Crespo  
A DECISION TAKEN A MONTH AGO

LONDON, Oct. 19.—The St. James’s Gazette says it is in a position to say that Lord Salisbury has sent to President Crespo of Venezuela an ultimatum demanding reparation for the arrest of policemen at Uruan and stating the terms upon which Great Britain will definitely determine the boundary dispute with Venezuela. The ultimatum is either on the way to Venezuela, or, possibly, by this time has been actually delivered.

Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, The Gazette says, decided upon a final course in the matter before Mr. Chamberlain started on his vacation, a month ago, and both agreed that it was necessary to end the frontier dispute at once, even if it had to be accomplished by force.

The officials of the Foreign Office practically confirm the statement made by The St. James’s Gazette that Lord Salisbury has forwarded an ultimatum to the President of the Venezuelan Republic.

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Great Britain and Venezuela

LONDON, Oct. 20.—The Daily Graphic, in an article to-morrow on the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute will say: “President Cespo will not fail to understand that British patience in this ancient quarrel has become exhausted. The Venezuelans have lately adopted a perfectly intolerable attitude.”

[21 October 1895]

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## THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND IN THE VENEZUELAN CONTROVERSY

There has been much interesting speculation during the last month, both in the American and the English press, about the tenor of the diplomatic communications from our Government to the Court of St. James in the present revival of the great and very grave questions of territorial rights at issue between Venezuela and Great Britain. While no confirmation has been afforded of the positive announcement made by several Washington correspondents that President Cleveland had either dispatched or determined on a practical ultimatum to England, menacing an enforcement of the Monroe doctrine if she should persevere in her extreme attitude, there are good grounds for believing that this correspondence has been conducted by the Administration with marked firmness.

It is perfectly well known that Mr. Cleveland has strong convictions on the Venezuelan question, and his decided resistance to the pretensions of Great Britain in the territory in controversy is one of the prominent features of his policy.

During his first administration, in February, 1888, Secretary of State Bayard, in a note to Mr. Phelps, our Ambassador in London, said, in substance, that it would be a matter for grave consideration if it should appear that no bounds were to be placed upon the British territorial claims.

Secretary Gresham, in a dispatch to Minister Bayard July 13, 1894, wrote that he could see only two possible ways in which to reach an appropriate solution of the controversy: First, by determining through arbitration the rights of the contending parties as historical successors respectively to the sovereign rights of Holland and Spain; second, by the establishment of a new boundary line in agreement with the requirements of practical deliberations on both sides.

As an instance of the President's earnest and recognized sentiments in the Venezuelan matter, it is known by some of his friends that there is in the possession of a gentleman in this city a letter of great significance, written by the Chargé d'Affaires of Venezuela in the United States in 1888, highly lauding him as the powerful and never-yielding friend of Venezuela in her difficulty with Great Britain.

At the time of the "Sackville-West incident" of the Presidential campaign of 1888 this letter was placed at the disposal of the Democratic National Committee, and Mr. Brice anxiously desired to publish it as a counteractive of the ferocious Anglophobist accusations against the tariff-reform hero. But Mr. Cleveland, when his consent was sought, took a lofty and conscientious attitude, and refused to be a party to such electioneering claptrap, even if his success at the polls depended on it. The publication of the letter, with the connecting circumstances, would present one of the most characteristic chapters in Mr. Cleveland's personal and political history.

### Seriousness of the Dispute

In view of the President's record on this important issue, it seems, therefore, fairly certain that when the latest correspondence is laid before Congress, it will be found to emphasize the strong disapproval hitherto expressed by the United States Government of England's constant westward extension of her Guiana frontiers and stubborn refusal to submit her case with Venezuela to arbitration. Whatever the terms employed in renewing this disapproval—whether practically aggressive or discreetly guarded—their large moral significance for the future is unquestionable. The

mere fact of the persistence of the United States as an interested and alert party to the Venezuelan controversy must give that controversy weighty aspects until it is settled.

The United States has deliberately thrown herself in the way of England's arbitrary enlargement of her dominions in South America; and when it is considered that this is a substantial interference with one of the most cherished and craftiest schemes of British diplomacy, it is manifest that an issue of much delicacy is shaping.

Moreover, study of the conditions makes it easily conceivable that our issue with England respecting Venezuela may far transcend in seriousness and exceed in unpleasantness the Alabama and seals disputes. Those disputes, the most embarrassing that the State Department has had to deal with since the war, concerned exclusively the direct and immediate National rights of the United States.

On the other hand, we own no territory at or near the seat of this quarrel, or, for tint matter, anywhere on the South American Continent; we have no immediate National rights of any description to safeguard in that quarter; and it is even doubtful whether American citizens have any vested interests there to demand our attention, for, as will be shown in this article, the so-called "Manoa Concession" of which so much has been said by writers who barely understand the elements of the situation, rests at best on an exceedingly uncertain footing, and, considering the peculiar history and status of the Manoa Company, certainly cannot afford the slightest incidental basis for a serious policy of State.

Consequently, the position of the United States is essentially that of gratuitous and sharp intervention between two remote powers that are at odds. She declares, in purport, that she cannot admit the right of the stronger of these powers to determine the matter by arbitrary assumptions. England has never been accustomed to complacently receive such pointed suggestions from a nation which, without having sovereign claims at stake, steps forward to formally thwart her territorial designs.

### The Joint Resolution of Congress

It is not alone the executive department of our Government that is committed to antagonism of Great Britain's uncompromising attitude toward Venezuela. Congress has several times given special consideration to the Venezuelan question, which indeed, is becoming one of the standing themes for set speeches and significant action in that body. At the last session the following joint resolution was passed unanimously:

Whereas, In the present enlightened age of the world, when international disputes in general, and more particularly those pertaining to boundary, are in constant process of adjustment by joint commission or by outside arbitration; and

Whereas, Since the existing boundary dispute in Guiana between Great Britain and Venezuela ought not to constitute an exception to the general rule, but should more naturally come within the scope and range of modern international precedent and practice, in that it turns exclusively upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts; and

Whereas, Since it would be extremely gratifying to all peace-loving peoples, and particularly to the impartial friends of both parties, to see this long-standing and disquieting boundary dispute in Guiana adjusted in a manner just and honorable alike to both, to the end that possible international complications be avoided and American public law and traditions maintained; therefore,

Be It resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, &c., that the President's suggestion, made in his last annual message to this body—namely, that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundary limits in

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Guiana to friendly arbitration—be most earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration at both parties in interest.

While this, on its face, is a strictly courteous expression of mere sentiment, it goes to the foundations of the practical issue, and in terms, perhaps, as distasteful to England as if it were an *ex parte* statement of the case. Arbitration is what England refuses most obstinately as the one expedient inconsistent with her established policy in this matter; and, on the contrary, it is what Venezuela puts to the front as her sole programme. England has again and again repeated her determination to settle the dispute by exclusive dealings with Venezuela, and Venezuela, deliberately pronouncing England a “usurper” in the whole domain in question, has as steadfastly declined to treat with her on every successive basis of compromise proposed by the British Cabinet,

Extremely weighty considerations of empire and trade are wrapped up in England’s resolve not to hazard by the chance of arbitration the valuable territory which she can, of course, hold indefinitely against a feeble State like Venezuela. While neither claiming nor admitting any rigid boundary line between Venezuela and her colony of British Guiana, there is one fixed point at which she purposes to originate such a line, and from which she will not deviate. This point is on the coast, right at the centre of the littoral of the Boca Grande, or grand mouth of the Orinoco River, where the small river Amacuro flows into the sea. Any boundary line projected southward from that point would include within British possessions the Barima arm (Brazo Barima) of the Orinoco, and the whole island of Barima. Thus, the essential feature of England’s territorial contention is her claim to full equality with Venezuela in ownership and authority at the main mouth of the Orinoco.

### Importance of England’s Claim

The importance of this position for England is enormous, and even incalculable. It would give her the finest strategic situation on the continent of South America, with absolute control of the Orinoco and its numerous branches, connecting with the Amazon through the navigable stream of Cassiquari—a network of rivers draining about half the continent.

The centre of the Boca Grande coast line as the starting point of England’s boundary is identical with the terminating point of the famous “Linea Caprichosa” of Sir Robert Schomburgk. In 1841 Schomburgk, an engineer in the British service, entered the disputed territory entirely without the concurrence of the Venezuelan Government, and proceeded to run a line from the Brazilian frontier to the Boca Grande, which was intended to establish a definite boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. The Schomburgk line, arbitrarily traced as it was, without any warrant of mutual consent, was not at first claimed by the British Foreign Office as official, and, indeed, has not until very recently been designated in British diplomatic correspondence as England’s primary base. But in 1890, Mr. Lincoln, the United States Minister in London, obtained from Lord Salisbury a formal declaration describing all the country to the east of the Schomburgk line as unequivocally British. Mr. Lincoln had proposed a conference of representatives of England, Venezuela, and the United States to settle the question, and Lord Salisbury replied that, while he was ready to agree to an arbitration commission, he must insist that the only subject to be decided by such a commission should be the ownership of the territory west of the Schomburgk line. This was a practical suggestion that England regarded herself as entitled to portions of the country not allotted to her by Schomburgk, and, in fact, her acts in the last few years have been quite in keeping with her new dictum, for it is well known that she has steadily advanced westward, occupying the country and

establishing posts, until to-day there exists a British police station at Cuyuni Mine, at the confluence of the Yuruari and Cuyuni Rivers, not far from the gold mines of El Callao, the new El Dorado.

The scale on which her continued encroachments are prosecuted is impressively shown by a glance at the map. Cuyuni Mine, for instance, is quite as far to the westward from the Schomburgk line as the Schomburgk line is from the Esequibo River—the original and only legitimate boundary (according to Venezuela) of British Guiana.

In bringing her pretensions to their existing complexion England has, however, involved herself in numerous inconsistencies, some of which are startling in their contrasts.

### Origin of British Title

She acquired her title to the colony of British Guiana by treaty from Holland in 1814, the provinces transferred being those of Esequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Venezuela, as the successor to Spain, has always insisted, without the slightest wavering, that the extreme western limit of the territory thus ceded by Holland was the Esequibo River; and, notwithstanding her willingness at all times to arbitrate, she has never recognized that England enjoys legal right to a single foot of ground west of the Esequibo.

The earliest assertions of Great Britain to dominion beyond the Esequibo were vague and hesitating. They were based on representations that the Dutch settlements had spread into that region, and that treaties had been executed with the Indians entitling the English to lands of comprehensive extent. To these arguments it was replied that the original title was vested in Spain by virtue of discovery and sovereignty; that it had never been alienated or relinquished in any manner, and that it passed directly to Venezuela.

Thus the case stood until Sir Robert Schomburgk drew his “arbitrary line” of demarkation in 1841. He set up posts to indicate British dominion at Point Barima, Amacuro, and other localities. Thereupon the Venezuelan Government made a vigorous protest, and Lord Aberdeen promptly ordered the posts removed. Aberdeen was so far from urging extraordinary claims that in 1844 he spontaneously proposed to Dr. Fortique, Venezuelan Plenipotentiary in London, a boundary line as follows:

Beginning on the coast at the mouth of the River Moroco, it runs straight to the point where the River Barima joins the Guaima; from there up the Barima as far as the Aunama, which it follows upward to the place where this creek reaches its shortest distance from the Acarabisi; then it descends the said Acarabisi as far as its confluence with the Cuyuni, following afterward the last river up stream until it reaches the high lands in the immediate neighborhood of Mount Roraima, which divides the waters flowing to the Esequibo from those running into the Rio Branco.

This Aberdeen proposition of 1844 was the first specific definition of England’s pretended rights, and the sole foundation for it in international law was the shadowy allegation that Dutch settlements and Indian treaties justified Great Britain in instituting authority over a portion of the trans-Esequibo regions, the exact geographical limits of which had never been adjusted. Lord Aberdeen, as soon as his attention was called to the daring usurpations contemplated by the Schomburgk line, shrank from accepting responsibility for them, and, instead of presuming to dominion on the coast of the grand mouth of the Orinoco, he was content to start his line from the mouth of the Moroco, which is very far removed even from the Barima approach to the Orinoco. It is true he sought some recompense for this forbearance by a sweeping projection of the boundary

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beyond the Schomburgk line in the interior, but this sinks into insignificance when his absolute resignation to Venezuela of the entire Orinoco coast country is considered. And let it be especially observed, in this connection, that whatever territory west of the Esequibo England may conceivably have fallen heir to in consequence of Dutch settlement must have had its widest extension along the coast, since no occupation of the interior was attempted in those early times, and, for that matter, the interior in the parts in question still remains almost unexplored.

### England's shifting policy

In brief, it appears that Lord Aberdeen, in undertaking to trace British Guiana's extreme rightful bounds—thereby fixing a precedent for future British Foreign Secretaries—could find no excuse on the score of Dutch settlement for carrying them further than the mouth of the Moroco. Yet to-day England not only claims the coast up to the terminus of the Schomburgk line at the mouth of the Amacuro, but has encroached in the interior considerably beyond the furthest westward bend of the Aberdeen line.

While the Aberdeen boundary project was under advisement Dr. Fortique, the Venezuelan Plenipotentiary, died. Nothing further was done until the celebrated status quo of 1850 was established, whereby Great Britain agreed not to occupy or encroach upon the territory in dispute or to sanction such occupation or encroachment by her authorities, in consideration of a similar agreement on the part of Venezuela. What was implied by the term "territory in dispute" was not stated in the agreement. The status quo of 1850 has never been abrogated. Whatever interpretation may be made of its wording, there cannot be the least doubt that England has repeatedly violated it by overt acts, including the invasion of the country far beyond both the Schomburgk and Aberdeen lines.

The British maintain that violations have likewise been perpetrated by Venezuela, notably in the case of the Manoa Concession, embracing a part of the territory east of the Schomburgk line; but Venezuela insists that the particular territory was never properly in dispute. She avers that it has always been her understanding that the status quo of 1850, far from applying to the vitally important territory between the Moroco and the Amacuro, concerned only the insignificant strip between the Pumeron (lying to the east of the Moroco) and the Esequibo.

From 1850 to 1886 England's diplomatic course was very shiftily.

In 1881 Lord Granville, after rejecting proposals for compromise from Señor Roias, Venezuela's agent in England, presented an altogether new boundary scheme, as follows:

"The starting point shall be fixed in a place on the seacoast, distant nine miles due east from the right bank of the River Barima, and the line shall run toward the south, passing over the mountain or hill called Tarabita, on the original map of Schomburgk, situated in 8 degrees north latitude; thence to the west on the same parallel of latitude till it intersects the boundary line proposed by Schomburgk, laid down on the said map; further on it shall follow the course of the Acarabisi to its confluence with the Cuyuni, and then the left bank of the River Cuyuni up to its headwaters, whence it shall turn to the south-east, to meet the line proposed by Schomburgk to the Esequibo and Corantin."

The line here suggested by Lord Granville, while varying but slightly from the Aberdeen line in its interior prolongation, departed radically from it on the seacoast. This second official pronouncement on behalf of the British Government carried the frontier limits on the Atlantic from the mouth of the Moroco River almost to the mouth of the Barima arm or the Orinoco. But

conciliatory explanations accompanied Lord Granville's correspondence on this point which cannot readily be reconciled with present claims. Lord Granville urged that the new boundary would satisfy the reasonable pretensions and exigencies of Venezuela, and prevent all occasion for further dispute, since it left to the republic what might be styled the Dardanelles of the Orinoco—the complete dominion over its mouth—while it insured to British Guiana a natural frontier well defined in almost its whole length, with the exception of the first fifty miles from the sea into the interior, where it would be necessary to trace an arbitrary line in order to give Venezuela the undisturbed possession of the mouth of the Orinoco.

This was equivalent to a formal disavowal by England of any design upon the Boca Grande of the Orinoco—in the most positive style the exclusive control at the great river was assigned to Venezuela.

### Failure to Arbitrate

In 1883 (Lord Granville being still at the head of the Foreign Office) her Britannic Majesty made overtures to the Government of Venezuela in behalf of simultaneous and amicable arrangement of these three questions—territorial limits, differential duties or treaty of commerce, and pecuniary reclamations. Gem Guzman Blanco was thereupon dispatched to London by the republic as Envoy Extraordinary, with full powers to deal definitively with all these issues. For the first time Venezuela was now represented at the Court of St. James by a diplomat of the highest order of ability. Guzman Blanco, instead of dallying with vexing and impracticable plans of boundary compromise, concentrated all his efforts to give the controversy a new direction—in favor of arbitration. In this endeavor he arrived at the very verge of brilliant success. June 18, 1885, Earl Granville assented to the draft of a treaty between England and Venezuela which embraced an article providing that any difference not adjustable by the usual means of friendly negotiation should be submitted “to the arbitration of a third power, or of several powers, in amity with both countries, without resorting to war,” and that the result of such arbitration should be binding upon both Governments.

This great diplomatic stroke of Guzman Blanco, absolutely bringing England to bay on the boundary question, was, however, immediately made of no avail by the overturn of the Gladstone Ministry. Lord Salisbury, who took office a few days later, promptly rescinded the arbitration clause of the purposed treaty. Since that time England has persistently declined every proposal to arbitrate the matter, and, not satisfied with repudiating the comparatively moderate boundary designations originated by Aberdeen and Granville, has enlarged her territorial claims with the utmost recklessness and has systematically prosecuted forcible aggrandizements.

In April, 1885, not long before Lord Granville's agreement to the principle of arbitration, the authorities of British Guiana had flagrantly violated the pacific understanding of 1850. Michael McTurk, a Magistrate from that colony, “by order of his Excellency the Governor of British Guiana” proceeded to the Amacuro River, the extreme coast limit of the Schomburgk line, and posted notices declaring that any person infringing the right of her Majesty or acting in contravention of the laws of British Guiana would be prosecuted according to law. It is much to the point to bear in mind that the Amacuro region, where this transpired, had never been, even suggestively claimed as British territory in diplomatic correspondence, and that the most recent correspondence concerning the limits of England's possessions on the coast (Earl Granville's, in 1881) had explicitly proposed that all the littoral bordering on the mouth of the Orinoco should belong to Venezuela alone.

Moreover, even after the expunging of the arbitration clause of the treaty negotiated by Guzman Blanco, the English Foreign Secretary hesitated to assert jurisdiction so far as the coast limit of the Schomburgk line. July 30. 1886, Lord Rosebery, as Foreign Secretary of the Gladstone Cabinet, which followed the short-lived Tory Government, recommended that the boundary should be fixed somewhere between the lines designated, respectively, by Señor Rojas and Lord Granville in 1881, merely specifying that her Majesty attached "especial importance to the possession of the River Guaima by British Guiana." In other words, as late as 1886 the British were content to let the line exclude completely from their territory every part of the Orinoco mouth.

After 1886 England cast aside all pretense of recognition of Venezuela's sovereignty over the Boca Grande. Lord Salisbury, replying in 1890 to United States Minister Lincoln, indicated by implication that his Government was unalterably resolved to share equally with Venezuela the control of that important region. Meantime the absorption of the interior has progressed without restraint, the manifest aim being to assert undisputed mastery over the extraordinarily rich gold districts of Yuruari.

These districts lie very far away from the Schomburgk line, and considerably outside the Aberdeen line; wherefore England broadens out her claims to neutralize such inconvenient circumstances.

#### Instances of English Assurance

Two amazing instances of England's assurance will illustrate her uniform course in the interior:

1. Ciudad Bolivar is a Venezuelan town on the main Orinoco, some 200 miles inward from the Boca Grande. It is the principal port for that entire region, including the Yuruari gold mines. Recently a company was organized to build a railroad from Bolivar to Guacipati, in order to facilitate the transportation of the product of the mines. The Governor of British Guiana, learning of this, put forth an intimation that the projected railway would penetrate to British territory, and that those interested should take notice accordingly.

2. The latest Venezuelan Yellow Book contains some remarkably pithy correspondence between Mr. Bodman, German Minister at Caracas, and Acting Charge d'Affaires for Great Britain, and P. Ezequiel Rojas, Venezuelan Secretary of State. Mr. Bodman, in behalf of the British Government, July 12, 1894, addressed a note marked "urgent" to Señor Rojas protesting against Venezuelan intrusion on the right bank of the Cuyuni River. To this the Secretary replied that the complaint could not be entertained since any recognition of its validity would imply tacit acknowledgment of British right to Venezuelan territory and overthrow the status quo of 1850.

While Venezuela has abandoned, since 1886, regular diplomatic relations with England, she has made repeated attempts again to persuade the British Government to arbitration. In these later endeavors it cannot be doubted that she has sorely missed the powerful influence, distinguished ability, and sagacious judgment which Gen. Guzman Blanco brought to the discharge of his mission ten years ago.

Estimated by their results, Gen. Blanco's services were of transcendent value to his country, for England, having once been induced to concede the admissibility of arbitrating this question, will necessarily stand at a disadvantage in the sight of an impartial world until she returns to that voluntary, amicable disposition. Regarded quite apart from its practical achievement, the Blanco correspondence deserves an eminent place in diplomatic literature, both for its solid and its brilliant merits.

Considering the increasing gravity of the situation, it is not strange that rumors are frequently heard of a movement for Gen. Blanco's return to Venezuela. During the last several years he has been living in retirement in Paris. His energies, however, have not been in any wise impaired, which is amply demonstrated by the great increase of his wealth through bold financial enterprises.

### The Situation Summed Up

In summing up the whole territorial controversy, the present exact claims of each party as to the extreme limits of possible British ownership west of the Esequibo will be clearly and carefully set forth:

1. Venezuela, while insisting that England's inheritance from Holland embraced no country whatever west of the Esequibo, is willing to admit a possible British title as far as the River Pumeron, but no further. (The Pumeron is the first stream emptying into the Atlantic to the west of the Esequibo.) Absolutely the only territory which Venezuela regards as in dispute is that bounded on the east by the Esequibo, on the north by the ocean, on the west by the Pumeron, and on the south by the Cuyuni River. In recognizing that the ownership of this small strip may be in doubt, she considers that she goes to the utmost extreme of courteous concession to England on the ground of alleged Dutch settlement beyond the Esequibo antedating 1810. As to the declaration of the British that treaties with Indian tribes give them dominion far westward in the interior, Venezuela utterly denies that such treaties could by any construction of law or precedent have rightfully alienated ownership from her as the immediate successor to the dominion of Spain over the entire country. Venezuela naturally does not attach the least weight to the circumstance that the English have long enjoyed de facto possession of the interior by actual occupation; she holds that this occupation is mere invasion and usurpation, as transparently and unquestionably so as forcible occupation by the United States of any of the unsettled portions of British Columbia would be. An interesting point made concerning this issue of de facto sovereignty is that notwithstanding British occupation, the inhabitants view Venezuela as their ruler, because the priests and missionaries who visit the villages periodically to perform marriage ceremonies and other clerical functions in all cases belong to the Venezuelan diocese.

The various propositions of Venezuela to the British Crown for settling the question have been in the interest of conciliation. Their distinguishing feature has been the urging of arbitration, instead of summary boundary-line compromises. It is true that in 1881 Señor Rojas, Venezuela's diplomatic representative in London, suggested a compromise line, which would have given England a far larger territory than the Esequibo-Pumeron-Cuyuni strip, which Venezuela contends is the only tract fairly in dispute. But the Rojas offer was occasioned by emergent conditions or long standing. Venezuela was sick of British encroachments upon her vital possessions, and in order to check them was glad to yield something. All Venezuelan official maps indicate the Esequibo as the boundary line, and Venezuelan diplomatic maps uniformly place the limit of disputed territory at the Pumeron. As an illustration of Venezuela's continued insistence that the territory indisputably belonging to her extends at least as far as Pumeron, the latest map of the Manoa Company's concession, based on alleged reaffirmation of the Venezuelan grant, June 18, 1895, shows the Pomeron to be the eastern confine of the grant. The Manoa Company, whose concessions of rights still require the indorsement of the Venezuelan Congress to give them substantial effect, would certainly not compromise the disposition of Venezuela in the international boundary question by issuing an exaggerated map of the grant. Another illustrative case in point is the fact that in May, 1894, the

Government of Venezuela made an energetic protest concerning the inaccuracies of certain Venezuelan maps printed by United States publishers—embraced in Rand, McNally & Co.'s "Enlarged Business Atlas and Shippers' Guide for 1894," and Appleton & Co.'s "Library Atlas of Modern Geography for 1894." These maps were compiled from British sources, and were based essentially on the Schomburgk line as the western boundary of British Guiana. The Venezuelan Government did not confine its action to a protest, but excluded them from the country.

### Dividing Lines Are Conjectured

2. Any line pretending to define British territorial claims as they are to-day must be somewhat conjectural. The starting point is fixed at the mouth of the Amacuro River, where the Schomburgk line reaches the grand mouth of the Orinoco. But there are no data from which to determine absolutely the course of the proposed British boundary through the interior. Taking, however, what is known of British occupation and pretension in the gold regions—including the existence of a police station at Cuyuni Mine, the protest of the Governor of British Guiana against a railroad from Ciudad Bolivar to Guicipati, and the recent assertion of dominion as far as the source of the Usapamo Rivet—it is easy to draw an approximately correct line. All the points named lie in the high country limited on the north by the Imataca Mountain range, which originates not far from the Caroni River and runs almost due east, just below the eighth degree of north latitude. Hence the present British line, beginning at the end of the Schomburgk line, bears south-west until it strikes the mountains, proceeds along their base throughout their westward extent, and then, describing an arc, proceeds to reunite with the Schomburgk line at the southern boundary of Venezuela. It is probably no exaggeration to say that this cuts off from Venezuela about one-sixth of the territory which she regards as indefeasibly her own.

Although Venezuela, like South American countries in general, has been at not infrequent intervals disturbed by revolutions and other violent dissensions, she presents, on the whole, a favorable and pleasing aspect as a nation. Her finances, as the result of policies instituted by Guzman Blanco when President, are on a basis of conservatism and security. Her debt is but \$22,000,000, and 10 percent annually of the revenues would provide for its amortization. She takes an extreme position in her monetary system, having no paper currency of any kind in circulation. A Venezuelan one-hundred-bolivar gold piece will bring as much as 100f. of France at any money changer's, and the Venezuelan silver dollar ranks with the best silver of the world.

Aside from political reasons for regarding the British aggressions with disfavor, the United States has exceptional occasions for friendship toward Venezuela. It was that country which gave to the world the Washington of South America—Simon Bolivar—and in Caracas the movement for South American freedom originated. Our shipping trade with Venezuela has exceedingly satisfactory conditions, superior, so far as the Atlantic seaboard is concerned, to those existing with any other of our sister republics.

The most important American line of steamers plying from New-York to South American ports is the Venezuelan, or Red D Line. Venezuela is singular among South American countries, in that she buys more merchandise from the United States than from England. In 1888-9 her imports from New-York aggregated 19,861,432 bolivars, against 16,230,840 from Liverpool. The value of exports from New-York to Venezuela during the year ended June 30, 1895, was \$4,897,084. The Red D Line brings annually to New-York about \$10,000,000 worth of Venezuelan coffee. This is a conservative estimate.

## American Interests

Capt. E. H. Plumacher, our veteran Consul at Maracaibo, who has served there continuously for seventeen years, returned last week to his post of duty after a vacation of several months in the United States. There is probably no more trustworthy authority on Venezuelan concerns than Capt. Plumacher. To the writer of this article he spoke with enthusiasm about the spirit and prospects of the country, and particularly the disposition of Venezuelans to expand their commerce with us in all its branches. American machinery and American goods of every description, he said, are constantly growing in favor there, and American capitalists are largely and increasingly interested in Venezuelan railway construction, mining and other enterprises, which they find to be safe and fruitful investments. Hitherto Germany and England have had this field to themselves.

The decided practical interest which some of our wide-awake countrymen display in the generous inclinations of Venezuela for the United States has been conspicuously illustrated by the obtainment from her Congress of grants to enormous tracts of territory. It is not the interest of this article to enter in detail into the bewildering history of the “Manoa Company Limited”—the original concession, deed of transfer, revocation, and subsequent alleged renewal of charter, capitalization, financiering, law suits, judgments, proposed restructuring into the “Orinoco Company,” &c. A brief explanation of the bearing (or rather non-bearing) of the Manoa and all like grants upon the international Venezuelan question is all that is required here.

An impression prevails that the Manoa Company (or Orinoco Company, as it has been rechristened) is a time-honored corporation of American citizens, actively developing certain resources in the Orinoco Delta country, under a perfectly substantial Venezuelan grant, which grant includes a part of the domain claimed by England; and that the company, because of the American citizenship or the persons comprising it, is entitled to the formal protection of our Government against British interference with its property rights.

This impression is all wrong in its main features. The old Manoa Company, a Brooklyn corporation, acquiring its title by deed of transfer June 14, 1884, from Cyrenius C. Fitzgerald, the original grantee, (whose concession was dated at Caracas Sept. 22, 1883.) enjoyed but a brief career of recognized standing. Though capitalized on paper at \$5,000,000, it failed to fulfill the conditions of the grant, which called for active industrial operations, colonization, and the like within a specified time. Notwithstanding the pretensions to \$5,000,000 of capital, it has been stated to the writer, on the authority of an officer of the company, that not more than \$25,000 was laid out altogether for the purposes prescribed in the grant. The company did, however, make some showing of expenditure in these directions, building a sawmill near Morajuana, and there its representatives were found by McTurk, the British Guiana magistrate when he made his progress through the country in April, 1885, to warn intruders off. But the Venezuelan Government was not satisfied with the Manoa Company's performance of its contract, and, accordingly, Sept. 3, 1886, the whole grant was voided.

After that the Manoa Company had no status whatever until June 18, 1895, when the Federal Council of Venezuela gave its consent to a renewal of the concession. But this does not restore the territory to the company, for, while the Federal Council may revoke a grant, it cannot revive one without the approval of Congress. Congress, at latest reports, had not acted on the question of revival, and therefore, while the Manoa Company is reconstructing itself under the laws of the State of Washington, and attempting to recapitalize itself, it still remains uncertain whether the partially resuscitated grant will ever amount to anything tangible.

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### The Turnbull Investments

The Manoa Company, moreover, has a competitor in George Turnbull, an American citizen residing in Boston, who, after the revocation of the original Manoa concession, obtained from the Congress of Venezuela (April 28, 1887) a grant to a large part of the same territory. Mr. Turnbull's representatives in this city maintain that he kept in good faith, his contract with the Government, except when prevented from doing so by revolution, and that he spent some \$165,000 developing his interests. But on June 18, 1895, (the same day when the Manoa Company received its seeming new lease of life,) the Federal Council rescinded Turnbull's whole concession, including the specular hematite iron mines of Imataca Island. These mines and the regions immediately adjacent, Mr. Turnbull's representatives say, belong to him by actual purchase and by a deed separate and apart from any concessionary rights, and cannot legally be thus taken away from him and regranted. On the other hand, it is expressly provided, in the new "Mining Code of Venezuela," (adopted April 18, 1893,) that "mines may not be worked, even by the owners of land, without a concession from the Federal Government."

The whole subject of concessions to American citizens within the limits of the territory in dispute between Venezuela and England is thus involved in controversy. Whatever the merits of the discussion may prove to be ultimately, there is at present no established condition of American ownership of grants made by Venezuela to lands claimed by England, and even if there shall in future come to pass an unquestionable revival of either of the two old grants in that region, the United States Government would certainly have no disposition to seek a quarrel with England on the score or the latter's failure to admit Venezuela's exclusive territorial jurisdiction. The question of the Manoa and Turnbull concessions has never come up as a feature of our Government's correspondence with England on the Venezuelan topic. The United States, in a dignified way, insists on arbitration as the only decent and suitable course. This is her sole and simple issue with England, and she will not foolishly let it be complicated.

W. W. SPOONER



### BAYARD ON THE SITUATION

#### He Has Heard Nothing of Britain's Project from Salisbury

LONDON, Oct. 21.—The Chronicle will to-morrow publish an interview with Ambassador Bayard, in which the American representative says that he knows nothing of Great Britain's action in the Venezuelan matter beyond what he has read in the newspapers.

His latest mission was to effect, if possible, in a friendly spirit and with all good intention on the part of the United States, the resumption of those negotiations on the frontier questions that were so abruptly stayed last year. He had brought this matter before Lord Salisbury, who listened to his arguments with the best spirit.

The United States, Mr. Bayard declares, is only desirous of bringing about a peaceful reopening of the boundary question between Venezuela and Guiana. With regard to the delay of Lord Salisbury in answering his last attempt at reconciliation, Mr. Bayard says that the Prime Minister had been abroad spending a holiday. Since his return, he has doubtless been very busy at the Foreign Office.

Mr. Bayard is, however, momentarily expecting an answer. The many disputes that had arisen between the United States and Venezuela, Mr. Bayard says, have always been amicably arranged by boards of conciliation, and he does not see why the same plan should not be adopted by Great Britain and Venezuela.

[22 October 1895]

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### GREAT BRITAIN STUBBORN

#### Venezuela Must Yield Boundaries of Cuyuni and Auracura

#### OPINIONS OF VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS

#### Sensational Rumors of Preparation at the Washington Navy Yard Gunshops Are Disproved by the Facts

LONDON, Oct. 21.—The Globe publishes a note saying that, as the British ultimatum to Venezuela has not yet reached its destination, it is not considered desirable to publish any of its details. It is proper to state, however, that the document is worded in terms of firmness and force.

The communication, The Globe also says, was not transmitted through any representative of Venezuela in England, diplomatic relations between the two countries having been broken off some years ago and no longer existing. The note further says that the ultimatum informs the Government of Venezuela that the Government of Great Britain will not permit any overstepping by Venezuela of the boundaries marked by the course of the Cuyuni and Auracura Rivers.

Great Britain, however, expresses willingness to submit to arbitration the question of other territories in dispute beyond that limit. The announcement of the ultimatum contained in the note published in The Globe is officially authorized.

The Pall Mall Gazette asserts that the ultimatum will be presented through Señor Rodriguez, Venezuelan Consul in London.

The Pall Mall Gazette says that, should it be decided by the Government to take naval action against Venezuela, the movement would be confided to Vice Admiral James Elphinstone Erskine, in command of the North American and West Indian squadron. The disposition of his fleet at the time of his last communication with the Admiralty, Navy Department, in Whitehall, was as follows:

Crescent at Halifax, Canada at Barbadoes, Magicienne, Tartar, and Rambler at the Bermudas; Mohawk and Tourmaline at Jamaica; Partridge at the Bahamas, and Cleopatra, Pelican, and Buzzard in Newfoundland waters.

The St. James's Gazette, in an article on the situation of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela says:

"The United States Government has serious grievances of its own against Venezuela, and it would best become its position as a great civilized power to join in bringing these Spanish-Indian barbarians to order. A good lesson given to Venezuela would be equally profitable to both the United States and England. The co-operation of the United States would also be humane, since it would have a tendency to make the lesson bloodless, convincing the Venezuelans of the folly of resistance."

The Westminster Gazette says: "Venezuela, like Nicaragua, after much fuss, will probably prove to be small beer. No doubt the less scrupulous of the New-York papers will talk big about what they are going to do with the lion's tail, but Great Britain and the United States are not going to be set by the ears by a pack of Venezuelans."

The Globe says: "Even if the Monroe doctrine was an axiom of international law, it could have no bearing upon our dispute with Venezuela. Its widest application can only be held to insist that no European power shall effect a fresh lodgment in America, so it does not affect the decision of England not to allow Venezuela to occupy part of the colony of British Guiana."

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BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA  
Dispatch to Crespo Transmitted by Berlin Foreign Office  
IT DOES NOT MENTION BOUNDARIES  
Diplomats in Washington Are Skeptical About London's Information—  
The Dispatch Not an Ultimatum

LONDON, Oct. 22.—The St. James's Gazette says the statement is absolutely untrue that the peremptory dispatch or ultimatum to Venezuela was delivered to Señor Rodriguez, Venezuelan Consul here. As the German Government has consented to temporarily take charge of the interests of British subjects in Venezuela. The Gazette says the dispatch to President Crespo will naturally be dispatched through the Foreign Office in Berlin.

The ultimatum, it is asserted, makes no reference to the boundary question, which England declines to regard as unsettled, but simply deals with the matter of the arrest of the British Inspectors, Barnes and Baker, in regard to which Lord Salisbury informed the Venezuelan Government that if proper reparation should not be given within a specified time, Great Britain would hold herself at liberty to seek it by other means.

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The measures taken will probably resemble those pursued in the Nicaraguan affair, and the British Admiral in those Waters will doubtless receive instructions to seize the Venezuelan ports and collect the customs duties,

The St. James's Gazette, in a leading editorial on the Venezuelan situation, says that the case is not one for arbitration, and adds: The good offices of the United States would be tendered with greater authority and better grace if that Government paid the indemnity it is required to pay by the Bering Sea award. We were absurdly overtaxed by the Alabama decision."

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VENEZUELA AGAINST INVASION  
If United States Is Inactive, Great Britain Will Not Retain More Land in Guiana than Ships'  
Guns Cover

Special Cable Dispatch to The New-York Times

LIMA, Peru, via Galveston, Oct. 23.—A leading article in the Comercio says that if the United States is to retain its prestige it must make its influence impressive in the question at issue between Great Britain and Venezuela.

If the United States remains inactive and suffers a blockade of Venezuela, England may not yet be triumphant. The result would possibly be nothing more than that England would retain of the Guiana coast only so much as the guns of her ships could cover.

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VENEZUELA AND THE NEWSPAPERS  
Criticism of *The Evening Post's* Discussions

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

I was disgusted in taking up The Evening Post of to-day and reading its telegraph dispatches from inconsequential journals (all British) praising its un-American and superficial course—superficial, for The Post's discussion of the Venezuelan question has never touched the merits of the subject.

It has been purely technical, political, and along English diplomatic lines. If The Post would treat the subject on its merits, if it would answer the elaborate articles in Harper's Weekly and The New-York Times, and if it would devote some attention to the all but exhaustive pamphlet of ex-Minister W. L. Scruggs, (published in Philadelphia, where it can be had for 25 cents,) it could claim some hearing

for its advocacy of the position of the Marquis of Salisbury, for whom The Post's editor seems to hold a brief.

I imagine I am not alone among those knowing of The Post's course as to Venezuela, who decidedly object to its daily offering of vacant chaff for grain.

In conclusion, let me thank The Times for the solid information and able treatment which to-day's Times supplies. I am constrained to ask you to publish this, my indignant protest against The Post's superficial and unfair treatment of the Venezuelan question. It is the only remedy at the command of a READER.

New-York, Oct. 21, 1895.

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BRITISH GUIANA LIMITS  
Stead's Opinion of the American Expression of Sentiment—  
An American Vice Consul's View

LONDON, Oct. 24.—William T. Stead, former editor of The Pall Mall Gazette, publishes an article in The Westminster Gazette, in which he says that England ought not to belittle the significance of the outburst of American sentiment over the Venezuelan question. The Americans, he says, have built up a navy which they have reason to be proud of, and the Monroe doctrine is now one of national faith.

When the twentieth century dawns upon us," he continues, "we will have to recognize the United States as a naval power of the first class. Nevertheless," he concludes, "our case is so strong that we need not fear to refer the question to any honest arbitrator, but first reparation must be made for violation of our territory."

WASHINGTON. Oct 24.—Dr. Spaight, Vice Consul of the United States at Georgetown, British Guiana, now in the city, to a United Press reporter to-night, made an emphatic denial of the newspaper reports that he was summoned here for a conference with State Department officials in Venezuelan affairs. Dr. Spaight characterized the report as an "entire fabrication without a shadow of foundation."

"I am here," said he, "simply because it was my pleasure to come. I have lived in British Guiana for twenty-seven years, and am off now on one of my periodical vacations. I did not intend, when I left home, to come to America and only came here because my people live in the vicinity of Springfield, Mass. I was here last in 1891.

"Neither Secretary Olney nor any other official sent for me, and I leave town to-morrow morning. I would not know Mr. Olney if I saw him. I called upon Mr. Uhl for a moment only, and left my card. That is the extent at my visit to the department."

Mr. Spaight has at home one of the maps showing the boundary between Guiana and Venezuela proposed before the year 1800. This map is rare, only a few copies being in existence. Dr. Spaight is quoted as saying that this map proves the territory where gold has been found to be English soil, and he is further quoted as saying that Venezuela never claimed it until gold was discovered, and

that the United States will make a mistake if she endeavors to assert the Monroe doctrine in connection therewith.

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CHAMBERLAIN IS RIDICULED  
If a Maxim Gun Were Stationed on the Uruan  
It Would Be Taken

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—The Daily Chronicle of Sept 27, a newspaper published at Georgetown, Demerara, containing the full text of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain's letter to the Governor of British Guiana, was received here to-day. The salient points of the letter appeared in the London dispatches of The United Press a week ago.

These were, briefly, that Mr. Chamberlain recommended the placing of a Maxim gun at the point on the Uruan River where the Colonial Inspector and his assistants were arrested by the Venezuelan forces, and the establishment of a similar gun at another point along the frontier.

Mr. Chamberlain's letter also suggested the advisability of cutting a wagon road from Port Berema, a distance of 150 miles southeast through the rich gold fields in the disputed territory, and coupled with this was a request that the merchants of Georgetown should furnish the money to build it. Appreciating the scarcity of the police force at Georgetown, Mr. Chamberlain recommended that the corps of firemen in the city be abolished and their membership added to that of the local police in order to augment the latter's ranks.

Mr. Chamberlain's recommendations, if The Daily Chronicle fairly reflects public opinion in Demerara, do not meet the wishes of the colonists. The Chronicle editorially ridicules the British Secretary for the Colonies. It says that the only effect of the planting of a Maxim gun on the Uruan would be its capture by the infuriated Venezuelans, thus affording an instructive object lesson of British incapacity to protect her own interests, inasmuch as the British constabulary at that place are so few in numbers that they could be easily overcome by the Venezuelans on the opposite bank of the river.

The Chronicle shows that it would take seven weeks at least to transport the gun from Georgetown, and that the citizens of that place are too poor to consider seriously the proposition to build the road to the gold fields at their own expense. So far as abolishing the corps of firemen is concerned, that suggestion, the paper said, should not be tolerated for a moment.

Mr. Chamberlain's letter to the Governor of British Guiana was written about the 1st of September, a fortnight or so after the receipt of Secretary Olney's memorandum to Lord Salisbury, in which he elaborated the interpretation put by this Government upon the Monroe doctrine. The shortness of time which elapsed between the issuance of Mr. Olney's note and the forwarding of Mr. Chamberlain's letter to the Governor of British Guiana is regarded by diplomats as an odd coincidence, if it be not full of significance.

Although the arrest of the colonial police occurred a year ago, no notice was taken of the matter by the British authorities except a sharp note demanding an explanation, and requesting from Venezuela a promise that her soldiers should not cross to the right bank of the Uruan.

To these requests the Venezuelan Government, it is said, replied with an emphatic negative, since a promise to remain on one side of the stream would be a tacit admission that the remainder of the territory was a British possession, an admission that Venezuela cannot, it is claimed, be persuaded to make.

The revival of the incident at this late day is construed by diplomats to mean that the boundary dispute is the inspiration of England's so-called ultimatum, and that for this reason her request for an apology and a possible indemnity will meet with an emphatic refusal.

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VENEZUELA YELLOW BOOK  
A Summary in Two Letters of the Quarrel with Great Britain  
BARON DE BODMAN'S OBSERVATIONS  
Reply of Minister Rojas, Saying that a Peaceful Settlement  
of the Boundary Lines Is Desired

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—The Venezuelan yellow book for 1894, which has been received here, contains two letters of special interest at the present time, in view of the situation between Great Britain and Venezuela. Both of these concern the Uruan incident, which in the yellow book is called the "incident on the right hank of the Cuyuni." The first is from Baron de Bodman, Chargé d'Affaires of Germany and of the protection of British interests in Venezuela, and the other is the answer of the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom Baron de Bodman's note was addressed. The text of Baron de Bodman's note follows:

Last Thursday, in consequence of a telegraphic communication from my Government, I had the honor, in my capacity as Chargé of the protection of British interests in Venezuela, to protest, in the name of the Royal Cabinet of Great Britain, against a violation of the frontier of British Guiana committed by Venezuelan soldiers on the Cuyuni River. At the same time I expressed the wish of the English Government that the officer commanding the Venezuelan troops on the Cuyuni River should receive orders to prohibit his soldiers from crossing the river, as well as from cutting down trees on its right bank.

Your Excellency had the goodness to promise me a reply, after consulting the Council of Ministers. As I am desirous of settling the matter in a satisfactory manner to the parties interested, I would be very much obliged to your Excellency if you would give me an answer as soon as possible.

The following is Minister Rojas' answer:

The Government of the republic has taken into consideration your Excellency's communication, which reached this department day before yesterday, when I was absent from Caracas, in which your Excellency referring to the telegram of which you had been informed in our conference of last Thursday, and in your capacity of Chargé of the protection of British interests in Venezuela, urgently requests a reply as to the supposed violation of the frontier of British Guiana on the Cuyuni River, which reply, as is inferred from your Excellency's language,

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is expected to give assurances that the Venezuelan soldiers shall not cross that river, nor cut trees on its right bank.

Your Excellency has doubtless already seen that this matter relates to the well-known question of the boundary between the Republic of Venezuela and the English colony of Demerara. As soon as England decided not long ago upon an occupation of the portion of territory in dispute, which did not originally include the Cuyuni region to which the telegram refers, and which is well known to be Venezuelan territory, the republic made a solemn protest, and reserved to itself the right to prove its title by very fair means, which, induced by a spirit of conciliation, it has ever since earnestly urged upon her Majesty's Government. Successive advances of the line of British occupation gave rise to new protests, which finally became the repeated appeal to the rights which the republic evidently possesses in this dispute.

Thus, on the 20th February, 1887, the 15th June, and 29th October, 1888, the 16th December, 1889, the 1st September, 1890, the 30th December, 1891, and lastly on the 26th August and 6th October, 1893, that is to say, every time that any measure of the colonial authorities appeared to be extending the space of the occupation to the open violation of the status quo agreed upon in~ 1850, Venezuela opposed the voice of right and justice to the acts exercised by Great Britain within a territory which the republic regards as belonging to itself, as shown by geographical historical documents of high reputation, many of them English, by local traditions deserving of respect, and by acts of jurisdiction on the part of the commissioners or agents of his Catholic Majesty, extant in public treaties, prior to that of Aug. 13, 1814 by which Holland ceded to Great Britain her colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice.

According to the reports, of which the Venezuelan Government is already in possession, the incident on the right bank of the Cuyuni was occasioned by a threat addressed by an agent of the Government of Demerara, calling himself inspector of that district, to a Venezuelan named Loreto Lira, a farmer, who has been settled there for many years, and by the clearing of some land by some of Lira's countrymen, who arrived some days after the celebration on that bank of the river, of the festival in commemoration of the independence of Venezuela (July 5) at Lira's house, and at the house of a woman named Manuela Casanas.

It is known that this same colonial agent who had addressed the threat to Lira told him subsequently that he might continue his work without the slightest uneasiness; and it is also shown that after the patriotic demonstrations indulged in on the 5th of July at the houses of Lira and Señora Casanas, by a Captain and eight soldiers coming from the general commissariat of the Upper Cuyuni, Inspector Gallagher's successor, named Douglas Barnes, asked permission to cross the river and present his friendly respects to the Venezuelan authorities.

In spite of the manner in which the colonial agents have been acting in the occupation of territory which Venezuela regards as included within her boundaries, the authorities established by the republic within that district have always been instructed in the most earnest manner to avoid, so far as consistent with the National honor, all cause of collision with the Demerara agents, as the Government is desirous of settling the boundary question by peaceful means, without embittering this old dispute.

The assurances which are now requested would be equivalent, in view of the aspect which the question now presents, and as your Excellency will easily perceive, to a tacit declaration in favor of England's designs, and would be in actual opposition to the protests previously made by the republic, which she maintains in all their force, and which I have just enumerated for the sake of greater clearness, and in making this communication to your Excellency I fulfill my

instructions to renew to the British Government, through your kind intervention, the expression of Venezuela's earnest desire to put an end to this vexatious dispute by the peaceful measures recommended by modern law, to which England herself frequently appeals, like the enlightened nation that she is, which has co-operated so greatly in the work of modern civilization.

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ENGLAND'S TROUBLE IN VENEZUELA  
A New View of the Monroe Doctrine Advanced by Sir George Baden-Powell  
and Advocated by the Press

By The United Press

LONDON, Oct. 26.—. . . [T]he [English] papers are almost unanimous in their expressions with regard to the dispute with Venezuela, not only as regards reparation for the arrest of British officers, but also as regards the rejection of the suggestion that the difficulty regarding the boundary be arbitrated. The papers declare that the different frontiers are due to Venezuelan aggression, and that the Schomburgk line is now the minimum frontier.

So far as the Monroe doctrine is concerned, Sir George Baden-Powell and other Conservative members of the House of Commons have taught the press of their party an ingenious argument. The papers on Wednesday last published a letter from Sir George Baden-Powell, in which he said that Great Britain was an established American power in the West Indies and all the great Canadian dominions long before the United States came into existence, and in British Honduras and British Guiana since early in this century. British interests were domiciled in America before the United States were ever dreamed of. It is as an American power that Great Britain has the duty and privilege of working with the other American powers to enforce respect for international obligations and to promote the prosperity of those portions of the American continent for which she is responsible.

The greater portion of the press, both Conservative and Liberal, is beginning to develop this idea with parrotlike complacency. The only notable hostile voice is that of *The Tablet*, the recognized and influential organ of the Catholics. After asking why Great Britain persists in her refusal to arbitrate the questions in dispute, *The Tablet* to-day proceeds to say that, as there cannot be an independent future for a British settlement in South America, there could be no objection to allowing Venezuela to purchase the British rights. This suggestion will fall heedless on British ears, for, as *The Speaker* to-day says, the British are destined to witness a revival of Jingoism, and, for the moment, the anti-Jingo party is virtually defunct.

[27 October 1895]

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NO DESIRE FOR TROUBLE  
England Not Anxious to Quarrel with the United States  
THE VENEZUELAN MEMORANDUM

LONDON, Nov. 2.—Prime Minister Salisbury has handed over to the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the memorandum transmitted to him by the United States Government, through Ambassador Bayard, relative to the Venezuelan question. Mr. Chamberlain still holds the opinion that the United States has no right to interfere in Great Britain's dispute with Venezuela, but he will draft a detailed reply to the memorandum, which Lord Salisbury will shortly send to Mr. Bayard. The tone of the reply will probably be moderate and amicable as the Government has no desire to become involved in a dispute with the United States, its attention now being fully devoted to matters that are more important than the Guiana boundary question.

Mr. Chamberlain will begin immediately a consideration of the details of his great plan to develop the Crown colonies. This subject will occupy most of his time until the reassembling of Parliament, on Nov. 15. The plan largely concerns Africa, but it will also aim to encourage the commercial interests of British Guiana, and to assist Dominica. . .

[3 November 1895]

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BRITISH ULTIMATUM ASTRAY  
Caracas Has No News of Even a Note of Inquiry to Venezuela

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 8.—Mail advices from Caracas received to-day, bearing date of Nov. 1, say that no ultimatum from Great Britain with reference to the Uruan incident had yet reached the Venezuelan capital.

The belief which has long been entertained at Washington that the so-called ultimatum is only a short note of inquiry is shared by official circles in Venezuela, who claim that it does not appear that even this admonition has yet been delivered by the German Chargé d'Affaires, to whom, in the absence or a British representative at Caracas, it is supposed is to have been intrusted.

The Caracas newspapers have no information with respect to the matter except The United Press dispatches which were cabled to them from New York.

[9 November 1895]

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BRITISH GUIANA WARLIKE  
Crisis in Dispute with Venezuela on Boundaries Approaching

ENTHUSIASM OF THE COLONISTS  
Forces Drilled, Police at Rifle Practice, Inspectors at Uruan,  
and Appropriation for Expense Voted

GEORGETOWN, Demerara, B. G., Nov. 8.—That the crisis in the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela as to the boundaries of the republic is approaching cannot longer be doubted.

The Administrator of British Guiana, acting upon Instructions from the imperial Government, has made a declaration to the British Guiana Legislature which clearly indicates that unless Venezuela withdraws her claims to the greater part of the territory in dispute the imperial Government is prepared to assert the rights of British Guiana by force of arms, and the colonial Legislature has voted to the Governor in executive council an open check for war expenses for colonial and imperial forces.

The situation now generally accepted here is that this long-standing dispute will only be settled by force of arms, and that it is only a question of weeks before the roar of cannon and clash of arms are heard again in the South American Republic, and the British Guianaans openly boast that they have the men and the money for the assertion of their territorial rights. Within the last few days there has been a wonderful change effected in the talk and temperament of the people.

Instead of the frequent expressions of disgust and dissatisfaction with the masterly inactivity of the imperial authorities, the people speak hopefully of a speedy settlement of a dispute which has seriously retarded the development of the mineral resources of the colony. They point to the fact that, while there are vast stretches of territory with gold deposits to be developed the unsettled question as to boundaries and the probable recurrence of such incidents as that which took place at Uruan, the necessary capital for the developing of the gold industry has been withheld, and that for no other reason than the lack of security on the frontier. But now, by a sharp and decisive blow at what they term "Venezuelan arrogance," they hope to change all this very shortly, and so hail the prospect of a speedy return of prosperity to the British colony.

There can be no doubt that the openly avowed dissatisfaction of the people, the freely expressed opposition by their representatives in the colonial Legislature to the dictates of the Colonial Office, and the positive refusal to sanction the expenditures of any moneys for Governmental schemes until the colony was assured whether the imperial Government was prepared to support them in asserting their rights on the frontier, and to obtain redress for the Uruan incident, has necessitated, if not forced, a public declaration from the imperial Government, through its local representative.

Of course, international courtesies require that his Excellency, the administrator, in making the declaration, should only do so in the most guarded terms; but on the other hand, a dissatisfied people had to be appeased, and the readiness with which an open check was voted to the Government is sufficient proof of how admirably the administrator succeeded in satisfying the representative members of the Legislature.

It may be confidently assumed and believed, said his Excellency, in the course of his speech, that steps are being taken to bring the long standing question as to the boundaries of the land to a satisfactory point. With that question settled, he need not say how much brighter would be the outlook, how much more solid would be the foundations on which schemes will be put forward for the development of the interior and the opening up of the riches which exist there: The steps to which he had referred are being advanced in no half-hearted way. There may be temporary delays, as there always must be in matters of such a nature and in international questions, but the subject will not be allowed to drag or be put aside until it is finally settled.

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The mother country means that the rights and privileges and possessions of this one of her children—and by no means one of the least or least important of them—should be upheld and secured, and it would be but poor policy on the part of the colony if they did not show to those who advise her Majesty that they (the colonists) do not mean to be lagging behind in assisting the attainment of this most desirable end. The proposal that would be put before them that day was simply this—that in case of necessity, they should empower the Government to add its quota toward the security of their great province, the upholding of its dignity, and the assertion of its territorial rights. That was all that would be asked from them that day.

The Government Secretary then submitted the following resolution:

“Whereas, It may become necessary for the better security of the colony, in case of emergency, that increased expenditure should be incurred under defensive heads; be it

“Resolved, That this court undertakes to provide such expenditure as may be necessary, to be appropriated as the Governor in council may determine.”

The vote was passed unanimously, and the Attorney General, on behalf of the Government, said that the vote would be most gratifying to her Majesty’s Government, as it would show that, while they were prepared to act resolutely in this matter, the colony was also prepared to be equally resolute, and that they were prepared to stand by her Majesty’s Government to the fullest extent of their means. They all joined in deprecating hostilities, but in the event of such a contingency expenditures would arise which would naturally fall upon the colony, such as the making of the preparations for the arrival of the troops, while her Majesty’s Government might, of course, wish the local forces to be employed, either alone or in conjunction with the imperial troops, in the settlement of this question.

Within the past few days there has been a marked increased activity in the local official circles; the colonial forces are being regularly drilled, and the military police corps are at frequent rifle practice.

His Excellency the acting Governor and other officials have made a visit to the Northwest district (the disputed territory,) and inspectors have been dispatched to Uruan on a visit of inspection.

On every hand the indications are that, should force be resorted to, neither the Government nor the people will be unprepared for taking active military steps, and the general opinion entertained here is that the solution of the Venezuelan boundary problem will be speedy and effective.

[24 November 1895]

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#### COLONIAL OFFICE AND GUIANA ARDOR

LONDON, Nov. 25.—The Post will to-morrow say that nothing is known at the Colonial Office regarding the statements reported to have been made by the officer administering the Government of British Guiana to the effect that unless Venezuela withdraws her claims to the

greater part of territory in dispute the imperial Government was prepared to assert the rights of the colony by force of arms.

[26 November 1895]

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#### Venezuela Affair Still Undecided

LONDON, Nov. 26.—Prime Minister Salisbury has not yet replied to the memorandum of Mr. Olney, the American Secretary of State, on the Venezuelan affair. The Foreign Office declines to state whether the reply will be transmitted through Ambassador Bayard or Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador in Washington.

[27 November 1895]

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#### CRESPO PREPARING FOR BATTLE He and the Governors Count Forces Available to Expel Settlers from British Guiana on Venezuelan Land

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27.—President Crespo has been cautiously sounding the Governors of the different provinces of the republic as to the forces which they can put into the field in case of war.

Assurances, it is said, were given to him that a well-equipped army of 100,000 men could be mobilized, in case the President determined upon a movement against the British Guianan settlers on what is claimed to be Venezuelan territory.

[28 November 1895]

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Britain's Reply Sent to Pauncefote

LONDON, Nov. 30.—It was learned from the Foreign Office to-day that Lord Salisbury's answer to the American note outlining the Monroe doctrine in connection with the Venezuelan dispute, has just been mailed to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington.

[1 December 1895]

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COMMENT ACROSS THE WATER  
Views of English Newspapers on the President's Message

LONDON, Dec. 3.—The Daily News, commenting on President Cleveland's message to Congress, will say to-morrow:

A worse financial muddle than Mr. Cleveland stated it would be difficult to conceive. Such is the result of tampering with the currency for the supposed relief of powerful interests. It is worth the attention of our own currency doctors.

The News will refer to the Venezuela dispute as a matter in which the United States is not concerned directly. On this point it says:

The principle of arbitration is invaluable, but its friends should beware of straining it unduly. The comparative weakness of Venezuela does not give that country exceptional rights. Arbitration has nothing to do with the relative strength of the parties. The President's message is silent regarding the outrage on the British Guiana police. It is neither dignified nor politic for Washington to take up the quarrels of South American communities which do not observe the usages of civilized nations. The United States will find out some day that this sort of patronage involves corresponding responsibility and will not like it at all. . .

The Standard will say:

The maintenance of friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States is of such supreme importance that we cannot but regret the tone in which President Cleveland alluded to the dispute with Venezuela. If we may judge the tone and substance of the dispatch addressed to Ambassador Bayard in July from the paraphrase communicated to Congress we are not in the least surprised that no answer has yet been received. We undertake to predict that when the answer reached the White House it will furnish the President with much matter for serious reflection. We have far too much confidence in the strength and generosity of American character to believe for a moment that the President will be sustained in his position by the better order of transatlantic sentiment.

The Standard disavows any wish to treat the message with disrespect, but says that the whole passage relative to Venezuela is a tissue of unreal assumptions and unsupported deductions. It adds that it is obviously for the people of the United States to decide whether at any time they will

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forcibly prevent a European power from forcibly increasing its possessions on the American continent. If they wish to carry out this view they will do so after due calculation of the cost, but this has nothing to do with Great Britain's right to vindicate her title to territory which she holds to be her own without interference from the outside.

Regarding the mode of enforcing the British claim, the paper asks:

Does Mr. Cleveland seriously suggest that because a State is insignificant it is to be exempt from the ordinary consequences of aggression on a powerful neighbor? Has he ever adopted this singular principle where wrong has been done to the United States? Of course not, and he must not teach a virtue that he declines to practice. He insists that there must be arbitration; that Venezuela is to define the issues, and that Great Britain is to submit meekly to the award.

The Morning Post will say:

. . . The President appears to assume that England must be wrong because she is stronger than Venezuela.

The Chronicle will say:

. . . Few honest critics can say anything against the references to Venezuela. We agree that the matter is eminently suited for impartial arbitration. No doubt the British Government will take the same view when reparation for injuries due to us from Venezuela is made.

Every Liberal will acquiesce in the doctrine enunciated by Mr. Cleveland that our hands are full enough without increasing our burdens in America, especially at the risk of creating a serious strain with a great power, whose friendship is more valuable to us than of all others together, but if the United States assumes extra territorial authority, they render themselves answerable in some degree for the faithful discharge of obligations by the Central and South American republics. Apparently it is their intention to undertake this serious task. . .

All the London papers will publish extensive abstracts of the message.

[4 December 1895]

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## THE CLEVELAND DOCTRINE IN VENEZUELA

In his statement of our relations to the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain President Cleveland has enunciated a doctrine that would become as famous in history as Mr. Monroe's great declaration were it not for the fact that the interests and the designs of the European powers are diminishing factors in New World affairs. It is not the Monroe doctrine that Mr. Cleveland affirms. The hasty commentators on his message who assume that it is that doctrine miss the point entirely. The positions taken by President Monroe were quite outside the domain of possible arbitration. But Mr. Cleveland declares that Great Britain's boundary dispute with Venezuela "can be reasonably settled only by friendly and impartial arbitration." The distinction is fundamental and as wide as the seas that separate these disputants.

No part of the message will be more attentively scrutinized than the passage in which the President treats of this subject, nor will any other be more fruitful of discussion. It contains the

substance of the July dispatch to Ambassador Bayard and will awaken the liveliest public desire for the perusal of that document in its entirety. Our attitude was “fully and distinctly set forth,” says the President, being, in substance “that the traditional and established policy of this Government is firmly opposed to a forcible increase by any European power of its territorial possessions on this continent; that this policy is as well founded in principle as it is strongly supported by numerous precedents; that, as a consequence, the United States is bound to protest against the enlargement of the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela,” and that in the impartial arbitration which opens the only avenue to a reasonable settlement the “whole controversy” should be included, as it would not be satisfactory “if one of the powers concerned is permitted to draw an imaginary line through the territory in debate and to declare that it will submit to arbitration only the part lying on one side of it.” The dispatch, therefore, calls upon the British Government to give a “definite answer to the question whether it would or would not submit the territorial controversy in its entirety to impartial arbitration.”

Now, Mr. Monroe’s celebrated doctrine consisted of three leading affirmations:

(1) That “the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” (2) That as we have on just principles announced the independence of the various American Republics, “we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.” (3) “It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness,” or “that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.”

None of these positions furnishes matter for arbitration. The Monroe doctrine is nowhere conditionally permissive. It prohibits on pain of our displeasure—that is, of giving us probable cause for war. Mr. Cleveland’s proposition is that Great Britain may have the disputed territory, and be welcome to it, if she can establish her title before an honest arbitrator. But she must not attempt “a forcible increase” of her possessions as against Venezuela, and she must let the whole belt go to arbitration, not merely that part west of the Schomburgk line.

This is not the Monroe doctrine, it is the Cleveland doctrine; and it is a mighty stiff and firm utterance. Translated into action it means that Great Britain must not attempt to seize territory of which Venezuela contests the possession, and that she must abandon the Schomburgk line and all other “lines”—Aberdeen, Granville, Rosebery, and what not—and retiring behind the Esequibo River, the original boundary of British Guiana under her rights of succession, must let the arbitrator judge between her and Venezuela as to all territory west of that stream. This is a serious abatement of her pretensions. If she accepts this proposition, she and Venezuela will enter the court of arbitration on even terms. Otherwise she will enjoy the advantages which, according to her notorious custom, she has from time to time obtained by encroachment perpetrated against Venezuela’s protests.

Unlike Mr. Monroe’s doctrine, which, in some of its applications, would lead to war, Mr. Cleveland’s doctrine unmistakably tends to peace. He proposes to “have peace if he has to fight for it” by enforcing arbitration.

This reaffirmation or American belief in the adequacy of arbitration for the adjustment of international differences is important to a degree not easily overestimated. It foreshadows the broadening of the principle, to which the message several times refers, and is a better guarantee of peace than are battleships and bayonets.

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The counsel he gives in such firm tones is so plainly disinterested that no reasonable power, no nation not possessed of the instincts of a bully, would venture to disregard it.

[4 December 1895]

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#### What the President Said About Venezuela Last Year

From President Cleveland's Message, Dec. 3, 1894:

The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement on some just basis, alike honorable to both parties, is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of differences with powers beyond the sea, I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants and to induce a reference to arbitration, a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favors in principle and respects in practice, and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary.

[4 December 1895]

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#### Salisbury's Reply About Venezuela

LONDON, Dec. 4.—The Pall Mall Gazette says that Lord Salisbury's reply to the note of Secretary of State Olney in regard to the British-Venezuelan dispute, which has been forwarded to Washington by mail, should be in the hands of Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador to the United States, to-day or to-morrow.

[5 December 1895]

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#### SALISBURY'S NOTE ON VENEZUELA Great Britain Insists that the Schomburgk Boundary Line Should Mark the Minimum of Her Territory

LONDON, Dec. 5.—The papers here will to-morrow say that it has been learned that the reply of Lord Salisbury to the recent note of Secretary of State Olney relative to the Venezuelan question, which reply is now en route to Washington, discusses at length the history of the question for forty

years, and intimates that Great Britain does not depart from the view that the Schomburgk boundary marks the minimum of the territory she possesses in that region.

[6 December 1895]

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LORD SALISBURY'S REPLY  
His Statement as to the Venezuela Matter Is in Washington  
SAID TO AVOID THE REAL QUESTION  
British Foreign Office Desirous of Gaining Time—The Matter Likely to Come  
Before Congress at an Early Day

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6.—Now that the text of Lord Salisbury's reply to the Secretary of State's note on the Venezuela dispute is in the hands of Sir Julian Pauncefote, having arrived to-day, it is probable that the British Ambassador and the Secretary of State will have some personal consultations over its contents. They will meet on even terms, so far as mere acquaintance with the text goes, for as Ambassador Bayard received a copy at it prior to its transmission and undoubtedly telegraphed a syllabus of it to Secretary Olney, it is assumed he lost no time in forwarding a copy of it to the State Department. The facts as reported to-day make it plain that the writers who represented Ambassador Bayard as having been overstepped or ignored were more anxious to give the impression that he was ill treated than they were to suppose that Great Britain was unfamiliar with diplomatic usage.

President Cleveland's message acquires additional significance in the light of the undoubted fact that he knew the British position as indicated in Lord Salisbury's answer to Secretary Olney before he wrote his lines declaring that it would be unsatisfactory to this country to have a line drawn, upon one side of which the territory should be declared not subject to arbitration.

It already estimated that Lord Salisbury's letter is one that is artfully designed to protract negotiations, as it calls upon the United States for the first time to consider the boundary question on its merits. The idea of the British Foreign Office is understood to be to engage the United States in a time-consuming examination of claims, proofs, arguments, etc., which must consume months or years, and meanwhile afford Great Britain an opportunity to escape from other controversies and be able to devote much attention to Venezuela.

There is no doubt that soon after the holidays, probably not before, the President will send to Congress the message on Venezuela which he has promised, and with it the correspondence, including Lord Salisbury's answer to Secretary Olney, and that the matter will be the cause of a great flood of oratory in the House and the Senate. There are few members so hot and foolish as Representative Livingston of Georgia, who says that we want a war, were never in better fettle for it, and that we can whip Great Britain hands down. Still, Mr. Livingston does not believe that Great Britain would fight us, for commercial reasons, and he therefore is bolder, perhaps, in his defiance of the British Empire.

Representative Hitt, who it to be at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, was a warm partisan and a watchful and habitual opponent of the Administration when he was one of the minority, but he is not likely to sacrifice his reputation by permitting anything to be done in the

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House that would put the United States in the position exaggerating the wrong side of the controversy.

He will be quite sure, before agreeing to an extreme resolution, that the United States will be justified in stopping Great Britain wholly from urging demands upon Venezuela, and he will see to it that the violation of the territory is the real object before advising action based upon that assumption. The applicability of the Monroe doctrine as it is understood by Congress is the first thing to be ascertained. If that is made clear, there can be no doubt what the course of the House and the Senate will be.

[7 December 1895]

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SALISBURY MAKES REPLY  
Pauncefote and Olney Discuss the Venezuelan Question  
NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT MADE PUBLIC  
Two Reports as to the Position Taken by the Government of Great Britain—  
The Attitude of the United States in the Matter

WASHINGTON, Dec.7.—While there appears to be no doubt that the answer of Lord Salisbury to Secretary Olney in the Venezuela matter has been received here, and that it has been communicated by her Majesty's Ambassador to the Secretary of State, the public learns those facts rather by conjecture than by any communication of the State Department for the general public.

Intent watchfulness on the part of the person charged with the business was rewarded by the sight of Donelson, the messenger at the British Embassy, making a discreet and early call upon the Secretary of State, followed by a call of the Ambassador upon Mr. Olney. That was all that could be really seen.

It was only the length of the Ambassador's visit and the news sent fully from England as to the nature of the British reply that gave color to the report that Sir Julia Pauncefote spent the time reading to Mr. Olney the language of the declination of Great Britain to submit to arbitration a dispute which she feels strong enough to settle in her own way by force.

Sir Julian Pauncefote ought to be prepared to inform the Government that that the United States takes care of diplomatic secrets more religiously than does Great Britain. For while the Salisbury reply was outlined from London by telegraph before it arrived here, the State Department remained silent, refusing to-day to affirm the London reports. Until the President has returned from the Southern trip he began a few days ago and has prepared the message in which he promised the Congress to give it latest information about Venezuela, conjecture will continue to be indulged in as to the character of the British response to our request that England should submit its Venezuela claims to arbitration.

Two reports have gone out concerning the form of Lord Salisbury's reply. Very much will depend on which one is true. One says that Great Britain refuses to submit to arbitration any of the claims made to territory within the Schomburgk line. Another report is that it will not assent to have its right discussed to hold any territory now in its possession. A willingness to permit the whole

question to go to arbitration would have contributed to the increase of confidence in the British argument.

The conditions imposed for admitting the territory outside the Schomburgk line are not yet suggested, but it is surmised by persons who have studied this question to be of such a character as to involve an expenditure of time and an exhaustion of patience that are bound to wear upon the Venezuelans and not convince Americans.

Warlike utterances on this subject are apt to be expressed by persons whose declarations of war are not likely to control the Congress. The Administration does not talk arbitration for fear of war, but because it is believed that the best interests of the United States may be better served by a policy of peace by honorable arbitration than by war and the sacrifice of life and business to maintain an imperfectly understood controversy.

Our interest in Venezuela is not so deep and binding as to oblige the United States to insist that the Venezuelans shall not get along as far as possible without cultivating war with European nations, nor is our fear of Great Britain so abject as to cause us to fear the consequences of our assertion of a policy that may be beneficial to Venezuela under the trying circumstances in which that republic finds itself.

[8 December 1895]

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BRITONS AGAINST ARBITRATION  
Opinion of the English Public on the Venezuelan Case

LONDON. Dec. 7.—In accordance with unvarying precedent, the reply of Prime Minister Salisbury to the note of Richard Olney, the American Secretary of State, on the Venezuelan dispute, will not be issued by the Foreign Office until it is presented to Parliament. It will be a surprise to every one if Lord Salisbury, in his reply, has not firmly declined to admit the right of the United States to interfere in the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, especially to insist that the whole case shall be submitted to arbitration.

The English public takes small interest in the dispute or the attitude of the United States on the matter. Not the remotest reference to the subject has been made on the political platform during the period that the Prime Minister has been wrestling with Mr. Olney's note and the reply thereto. The comments in the press alone indicate the line of British opinion, which, according to the newspapers, is unanimously against any arbitration concerning the territory within the Schomburgk line.

The Statist says:

Neither for its own sake nor ours is it expedient for the United States Government to put forward a claim as of right to dictate how we shall conduct a dispute with another country relative to territory that has long been held by the British.

The United States Government is entitled to offer its good offices, but there is a wide distinction between these and intervention, based on the ground that the United States have the right to forbid any Government in the world to enlarge the area under its jurisdiction in any part of the American continent. Still, there is no occasion for heroics.

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The bit of territory in dispute is of small value, while good relations with the United States are of the highest value to us and civilization.

The Spectator says:

President Cleveland addresses Great Britain in the tone of a master in laying down principles so absolutely. His sentences read as if Great Britain had been ordered to choose arbitration or war. Negotiations will not be carried on in that tone unless the President and the American people are seeking war, a crime or which we would not even mentally accuse them.

The *Economist*, treating of the same subject, declares that Mr. Cleveland's words mean that Great Britain must not defend what she considers her own soil against any Spanish-American State, under the penalty of the United States declaring war. It is impossible for Lord Salisbury to yield to such pretensions, yet it is more difficult for him to deal with them so as to avoid exasperating American feelings. His only sensible course is to repudiate seeking for any extension of territory and do nothing, leaving on Venezuela or the United States the responsibility for aggression.

All of these supposed leaders of high-class opinion in England make the usual commonplace references to the American vote influencing the utterances of those in political life.

[8 December 1895]

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SURPRISED AT ENGLAND'S CLAIM  
The Venezuelan Minister's Views on the Demand for \$60,000—  
Says It Is Not an Ultimatum

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8.—Dr. Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister at Washington, has not been informed that the reported demand by Great Britain on his Government for \$60,000 as indemnity for the arrest of British subjects within the disputed boundary has been received at Caracas. Minister Andrade, however, says he will undoubtedly be notified after the matter is placed in President Crespo's hands. He expressed surprise to-night at the report that England should present such a claim, and stated that it could not be called an ultimatum, as it was an original demand and there would be much correspondence and investigation before it could reach that status.

Diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela, he stated, have been suspended for some time, and for that reason the German Minister acts as representative of the British Government at Caracas. He added that the President of Venezuela was against yielding to the British in the present dispute, and would be very likely to object to paying an indemnity.

The legation here has not been in receipt of news in regard to the revolution in the republic since the 1st inst., but the Minister says he does not attach much importance to it as the present dispatches state the fighting is entirely confined to the frontier. A mail is expected at the legation tomorrow, giving the latest developments in Venezuelan affairs.

[9 December 1895]

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THE JINGOES ARE PUZZLED  
Unable to Find Out What Salisbury Said About Venezuela.  
NOT TALKING MUCH OF WAR NOW  
Possibly They Surmise that England Has Not Assumed a Defiant  
Position After All—No News of the Ultimatum.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—It is not to be supposed that the jingoes of the Senate and the House have received inside information concerning the purport of the response of Lord Salisbury to the note of Secretary Olney in the Venezuelan-Guiana boundary question, but for some reason they are disposed to pause before letting loose their eloquence upon the assumption that its character is such as to demand an instant resort to hostilities between the United States and Great Britain to settle the dispute.

By intuition, perhaps, the idea has taken a lodgment that the answer is anything but defiant. That may account, in a measure, for the relaxation of impatience shown by some of his political opponents to the departure of the President for North Carolina, and to an abatement of their criticism of him for presuming at this time to go off on a duck-hunting trip.

The Republicans are by no means agreed as to what they shall do if the Salisbury answer shall turn out to be couched in language tending to delay in making a definite answer to our renewed request for arbitration. The President would have had no power to do less than he did in calling for an answer to that question, instructed as he was by Congress. He plainly has no power to act in such a way as to provoke a collision, as Congress alone possesses that right. While it might be considered a good political stroke to bring on a war, a war with Great Britain would disturb business seriously, and business men are not likely to be more anxious for war as a disturber of business with our best foreign customer than they are to have domestic and foreign business deranged by a new tariff measure.

There may be calls upon the President for the Venezuelan correspondence, which he told Congress he expected to communicate to that body, but the resolutions have first to go through the two houses, and alter that the President is bound to pay regard to the consideration whether it is compatible with the public interest to communicate correspondence upon a question still under advisement.

There is no longer any doubt that the Administration knew, before the arrival of the Salisbury letter in the hands of Ambassador Pauncefote, the nature of its contents, and was prepared to respond to it. The going away of the President would not necessarily make any difference in the disposition of the matter. Secretary Olney understands the President's position thoroughly, and doubtless will have prepared for him precisely the language of rejoinder to Lord Salisbury that the Government of the United States shall feel constrained to make to the last British communication.

The Venezuelan Minister this evening received from the Director of Foreign Relations, a cablegram announcing that the country was perfectly peaceful. Minister Andrade says this is evidently an answer to a letter he sent to his Government ten days ago which probably has just reached Caracas.

In that letter he called attention to the frequent reports published in this country of the unsettled state of affairs in Venezuela, and recounting details of a widespread revolution against Gen. Crespo.

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Minister Andrade considers to-day's dispatch conclusive, and is confident that no revolutionary movement exists. The cablegram mentions no other matters, and the Minister is still unable to say whether any ultimatum from Great Britain has been presented or not.

State Department officials are confident that some mistake has been made in the assertion that Great Britain has presented a peremptory demand on Venezuela for £12,000 as 'smart' money an account of the Yuruan incident. They are disposed to doubt altogether that any so-called ultimatum such as that presented to Nicaragua has been sent to Venezuela at all, but they say if a note demanding redress for a supposed indignity has been addressed to President Crespo, it is incredible that it should ask for such an exorbitant amount as \$60,000. The highest figure given at the time of the drafting of the so-called ultimatum last October was £1,000, and considering the nature of the incident, this was considered rather a fancy valuation for the character of the alleged insult to a colonial policeman.

Police Inspector Barnes of the British Guiana Colonial Police, was in charge at the station on the Yuruan River, a considerable distance to the west of the Schomburgk line, which, according to Lord Salisbury's retort to Secretary Olney, is claimed as the British western boundary. Some Venezuelan soldiers in November, a year ago, crossed the river and arrested Barnes and two of his men as squatters and took them off toward Guacipati for trial. On the way they were met by Venezuelan officials who promptly released the Englishmen with profuse apologies and took the soldiers into custody.

The Venezuelan Government immediately made a formal disavowal of the arrest and instituted military proceedings against all the Venezuelan soldiers directly or indirectly responsible for the affair, including the Captain of the company in that district, Dominguez, who was degraded, but escaped from the country before trial.

Barnes alleged that articles had been stole from his station at the time of his arrest worth about 300 bolivars, equal to about \$60, and this amount was promptly paid him, for which he gave a receipt as full compensation and expressed complete satisfaction.

No more was thought of the matter until the announcement in October that Great Britain had determined to regard it as an international affront, requiring \$5,000 smart money as an emollient for her injury. As it was alleged that the so-called ultimatum was sent to Berlin for transmission through German channels in October, officials in Washington are at a loss to account for the delay of two months in its arrival at Caracas.

[10 December 1895]

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CRESPO ON SALISBURY'S NOTE  
A Distinct Demand for the Attack upon the British Police  
for Which Compensation Would Be Made

LONDON, Dec. 10.—The Times will to-morrow publish a dispatch from Caracas saying that in an interview President Crespo declined to discuss the note sent to the Venezuelan Government by Lord Salisbury.

The President did say, however, that he understood that the demand made by Great Britain in connection with the attack made upon the British police was distinct from the boundary question. The Venezuelan officer who was responsible for the attack would be punished for exceeding his duty and the Englishmen would be compensated. He could see no reason why Great Britain should intervene in a matter that concerned Venezuela and British Guiana alone.

[11 December 1895]

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A VENEZUELAN REPORT DENIED  
President Crespo Repudiates Statements Published in London

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12.—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, to-night received a cable dispatch from his Government authorizing him to deny published statements to the effect that an interviewer for a London paper had obtained from President Crespo statements concerning the disposition of his Government on the subject of the British “smart money claim,” and, particularly, that part of the report indicating that the boundary question would be treated distinctly between Great Britain and Venezuela; that the Venezuelan officer who arrested the British officers would be punished for exceeding his instructions, and that the Englishmen would be compensated.

The cable message received by Mr. Andrade to-night quotes the substance of the foregoing, and, while denying it toto, particular stress is laid upon the fact that President Crespo is not to be quoted as making any statement regarding the intervention of this country in Venezuelan affairs.

[13 December 1895]

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VENEZUELAN MISSION DENIED  
Martinez Has No Official Connection With Crespo's Government

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13.—Minister Andrade discredits the cabled report from London that Señor F. E. Martinez of Caracas is in England on a secret mission from President Crespo to the British Government.

The Minister says that no such person has any authority whatever from the Venezuelan President, and has no official connection with the Government. It is quite possible that a Venezuelan named Martinez is in London, but that name is a very common one in South America.

The legation here is fully informed of all Venezuelan affairs, and has authority to deny that any secret missions to London or elsewhere exist in fact or are remotely contemplated.

[14 December 1895]

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### CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17. – President Cleveland to-day sent the following message to Congress, relative to the Venezuela boundary dispute:

To the Congress:

In my annual message addressed to the Congress on the 3rd instant I called attention to the pending boundary controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela and recited the substance of a representation made by the Government to Her Britannic Majesty's Government suggesting reasons why such dispute should be submitted to arbitration for settlement and inquiring whether it would be so submitted.

The answer of the British Government, which was then awaited, has since been received, and, together with the despatch to which it is a reply, is hereto appended.

Such reply is embodied in two communications addressed by the British Prime Minister to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador at this capital. It will be seen that one of these communications is devoted exclusively to observations upon the Monroe doctrine, and claims that in the present instance a new and strange extension and development of this doctrine is insisted on by the United States; that the reasons justifying an appeal to the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe are generally inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live at the present day," and especially inapplicable to the controversy involving the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Without attempting extended argument in reply to these positions, it may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and can not become obsolete while our republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the Governments of the Old World, and a subject for our absolute noninterference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and their Government.

Assuming, therefore, that we may properly insist upon this doctrine without regard to "the state of things in which we live" or any changed conditions here or elsewhere, it is not apparent why its application may not be invoked in the present controversy.

If a European power by an extension of its boundaries takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring Republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be "dangerous to our peace and safety," and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.

It also suggested in the British reply that we should not seek to apply the Monroe doctrine to the pending dispute because it does not embody any principle of international law which "is founded on the general consent of nations," and that "no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was

never recognized before and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country.”

Practically the principle for which we contend has peculiar, if not exclusive, relation to the United States. It may not have been admitted in so many words to the code of international law, but since in international councils every nation is entitled to the rights belonging to it, if the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine is something we may justly claim, it has its place in the code of international law as certainly and as securely as if it were specifically mentioned; and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law the question to be determined is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid.

The Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced.

Of course this Government is entirely confident that under the section of this doctrine we have clear rights and undoubted claims. Nor is this ignored in the British reply. The Prime Minister, while not admitting that the Monroe doctrine is applicable to present conditions, states:

In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English Government at that date.

He further declares:

Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law.

Again he says:

They (Her Majesty's Government) fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change.

In the belief that the doctrine for which we contend was clear and definite, that it was founded upon substantial considerations and involved our safety and welfare, that it was fully applicable to our present conditions and to the state of the world's progress, and that it was directly related to the pending controversy, and without any conviction as to the final merits of the dispute, but anxious to learn in a satisfactory and conclusive manner whether Great Britain sought under a claim of boundary to extend her possessions on this continent without right, or whether she merely sought possession of territory fairly included within her lines of ownership, this Government proposed to the Government of Great Britain a resort to arbitration as a proper means of settling the question, to the end that a vexatious boundary dispute between the two contestants might be determined and our exact standing and relation in respect to the controversy might be made clear.

It will be seen from the correspondence herewith submitted that this proposition has been declined by the British Government upon grounds which in the circumstances seem to me to be far from satisfactory. It is deeply disappointing that such an appeal, actuated by the most friendly feelings toward both nations directly concerned, addressed to the sense of justice and to the magnanimity of one of the great powers of the world, and touching its relations to one comparatively weak and small, should have produced no better results.

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The course to be pursued by this Government in view of the present condition does not appear to admit of serious doubt. Having labored faithfully for many years to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal to do so, nothing remains but to accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements, and deal with it accordingly. Great Britain's present proposition has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, though any adjustment to the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will can not of course be objected to by the United States.

Assuming, however, that the attitude of Venezuela will remain unchanged, the dispute has reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty for its justification what is the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The inquiry to that end should of course be conducted carefully and judicially, and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties.

In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner, I suggest that the Congress make an adequate appropriation for the expense of a commission, to be appointed by the Executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report on the matter with the least possible delay. When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela.

In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow.

I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness.

GROVER CLEVELAND

Executive Mansion, December 17, 1895

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#### EXCITING SCENES IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—A degree of excitement that has not been equaled in this city for many years was created by the appearance at noon to-day of the special message of the President to Congress on the Venezuelan question. Although the message was expected, it was not looked for at

once, and its early appearance, together with its ringing reassertion of the position taken by the Administration that England must not be allowed to occupy land in this hemisphere that does not belong to her, were at once a surprise and a gratification.

### Prompt and Cordial Approval

Never before, following a public utterance by President Cleveland or any other recent President, have the words of a message been received with such prompt and cordial approval. Men who have been seeking little occasions as a ground for criticism of the Administration forgot their dissatisfaction in commendation of the resolute opinions expressed by the President, and unhesitatingly declare that every American citizen would stand to the last extremity in support of a policy so manfully and righteously asserted for the American people.

### Conclusions Carefully Matured

The President and his Cabinet had kept the President's intentions a profound secret. It must have been known to them that the message of to-day was contemplated, and there is reason to believe that it might have been sent in when the annual message was submitted. While the President was away, presumably enjoying a hunting trip, he was turning the matter over in his mind, and while he was not accompanied by any one with whom he could or would be likely to discuss it, there is no doubt that it was the chief topic of reflection, and that the conclusions he reached were those that had been matured carefully after the whole matter had been studied out thoroughly and full weight had been given in his mind to the consequences that would flow from a resolute challenge of Great Britain in the event that the British Empire should refuse to abide by our reiterated demand that the boundary question must be submitted to arbitration.

### Its Tenor Known in Advance

Long before the message was read in the Senate and hours before it became officially known to the House of Representatives its contents were familiar to the Senators and the members of the House, and by the time the Clerk of the Senate was ready to read it the Capitol was ringing with praises of the stirring last paragraph, and everybody who was worth quoting was giving his opinion of the document as a whole. The feeling was about the same on both sides of the Senate and the House.

The suggestion for a commission to enable the Congress to learn the merits of the controversy was regarded as sure to cause a postponement of serious difficulty with Great Britain in case the British authorities should persist in pursuing a policy directly in opposition to what the President has declared will be our interest and adherence to our traditional policy, but nowhere was there the slightest reservation of approval of the President or of the possibility that support of him would lead to an immediate rupture of agreeable relations.

### No Serious Expectation of War

It cannot be said that there was any strong belief that England would force hostility as a result of this controversy. While it is known that there is a British desire to gain valuable gold fields in the

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territory of Venezuela to which she has made claim, the value of these lands, it gained, would be small compared with the direct and indirect loss that might be suffered by precipitating a conflict that might bring on an invasion of Canada and the loss of those colonies to the British Empire.

### May Lead to Salisbury's Overthrow

The persistence of the Salisbury Ministry in making the Guiana boundary dispute a cause for war, and possibly the loss to England for a protracted period of one of her best customers, it is believed will prove extremely unpopular with the British people, and possibly lead to the sudden and complete overthrow of the Tory Party on an appeal to the people.

The trade with Venezuela is of comparative inconsequence; that with the United States is constant and immense. If the British regard for commercial activity and business prosperity is not as influential as it has been in the past, and there is not full sympathy with Chamberlain in his ambition to carry out an aggressive colonial policy at whatever cost, British opinion will not, it is believed, support the position of Salisbury in this case.

### Waiting for the British Response

Upon this British public response, and that at once, as it will be learned tomorrow, will the course of the United States Government be shaped in precautionary measures until the report is obtained from the commission asked for by the President and which will be at once prove an provided for.

As the Venezuelan side is the one on which the United States authorities have been obliged to depend, it is admitted that there may be information to be derived from Great Britain or from British sources that may put a somewhat different aspect on some features of the controversy, without, however, removing our concern about the recognition of a doctrine that must come to be respected by European nations with possible designs of expansion on this continent.

### Venezuela Must Be Treated Decently

But if the tone and temper of the British people is evil, and the effort to secure Information through a commission is not facilitated by the British in Guiana, there is no doubt that our Government will push to the utmost the preparations for supporting its demand that Venezuela be treated with the decency that that weak and disorganized nation is entitled to receive, and dealt with in the same spirit of justice that would be exacted by a nation more capable of supporting emphatic demands.

### England's Commerce at Stake

While the United States lack readiness for war and is not strong in naval equipment, we have some good warships and a few merchant ships that would be able, if armed, seriously to embarrass and injure the great commercial marine of England, and the direct loss that would follow the loss of ships would be insignificant as compared with the indirect loss suffered by her citizens in the interruption of a vast commerce, the loss of buyers of British goods, the advance of prices of food in England incidental to an interrupted supply of American breadstuffs and provisions, and the

increased cost to the people of England of maintaining in a distant sea the fleets that might be sent to attack American ports.

To conduct an effective attack upon any one port of the United States would require much preparation by the British, and when all was ready there would be exposed to the danger of our flying cruisers the coal ships necessary to supply a fighting fleet, the troop ships under convoys with small coaling capacity and narrow steaming radius, while the vessels of the United States always would be able to keep near ports in which coal supplies could be had after short runs from seaward.

### People Will Support the President

The cost of war will not now deter the American people from supporting the President, and if war shall result from the message of to-day, it is believed here that the country will contribute generously, if not cheerfully, its share of the cost of providing the men and arms necessary to make good all the pretensions that we shall decide to make.

To declare that we are for right and justice and against wrong and injustice is not an unworthy declaration, and the American people will stand by the President in making good the assertion that their cause only can be upheld with honor and self-respect by a strict enforcement of the position the President has taken.

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ENGLAND MUCH SURPRISED  
The Press of London Tries to Belittle the Message  
WAR CONSIDERED WHOLLY IMPROBABLE  
The Monroe Doctrine Not Regarded as Applicable to Present Conditions—  
Salisbury's Stand Generally Approved

LONDON, Dec. 17.—All the newspapers of this city will comment upon President Cleveland's message in the morning.

The Times will say:

It is impossible to disguise the gravities of the difficulties that have arisen between this country and the United States. The message that President Cleveland transmitted to Congress and the reception it met from both sides in the Senate give additional importance to the dispatches that have passed between the State Department at Washington and the Foreign Office. The details of the boundary dispute with Venezuela are insignificant in comparison with the far-reaching claim put forward in Mr. Olney's dispatch and emphasized in Mr. Cleveland's message.

Convinced as we are that a rupture between the two great English-speaking communities would be a calamity, not only to themselves, but to the civilized world, we are, nevertheless, driven to the conclusion that the concessions that this country is imperiously summoned to make are such as no self-respecting nation, and, least of all, one ruling an empire that has roots in every quarter of the globe, could possibly submit to. The United States themselves would never for a moment dream of yielding to this kind of dictation. We are of the same blood, and shall not be less careful of our national honor. We can hardly believe that the course threatened by Mr. Cleveland will be

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seriously adopted by the American Government, but, if so, it will be incumbent upon us, without entering upon any aggressive measures, to protect our imperial interests and stand up for our rights under international law.

The Daily News will say:

The President's communication is a remarkable document, though its consequences are not likely to be serious. Neither Mr. Olney nor the President seems to realize that the Monroe doctrine cannot be quoted as authoritative in negotiations with a foreign power. Both of them are certainly as far as possible from suspecting that the real author of the doctrine was Canning, not Monroe.

The definition of the doctrine, however, is a matter for the Americans themselves. It binds nobody else. The Venezuelan difficulty must be considered on its own merits. This is what Lord Salisbury has done in a masterly dispatch. As he has refused general unrestricted arbitration, upon which, by the way, the Monroe doctrine is silent, it must be assumed that he would not assent to the mode of ascertaining the rights or the parties that Mr. Cleveland suggests. The President, in his account of the doctrine, surrenders the whole case. What Monroe meant was that the United States would resent any European attempt to establish monarchical systems in hostile communities on the American Continent.

The concluding portions of Mr. Cleveland's message are not expressed in the language usually employed by one friendly power to another. They are aggressive, even menacing. England is threatened with war unless she permits Mr. Cleveland to adjust the boundaries of Venezuela. Happily, there is some sense of humor in the American people. Regarded as a party move the message is not unskillful. It puts the Republicans in a hole. If they agree to the appointment of a commission they will give Mr. Cleveland such credit as belongs to it, and will enable him, or the Democratic candidate, to pose as an accomplished twister or the lion's tail. If, on the other hand, they refuse to agree to the commission, they will give the Democrats a chance of denouncing them as being servile friends of the British.

But the great body of the American people will not be led by any such motives or considerations. The ordinary American citizen cares nothing for Venezuela, and has no feeling against this country. He might be very jealous for the Monroe doctrine when it really defended American interests, but the idea of making himself responsible for the concerns of every South American republic is too absurd for him to regard it seriously.

It is not correct to say that Lord Salisbury has altogether rejected the idea of arbitration. On the contrary, he has partially accepted it.

The Chronicle will say to-morrow:

The message will be read in this country with blank astonishment. An American commission to determine what territory a British colony can call its own, and, failing our compliance with its finding, war by land and sea with Great Britain! Can these be serious words addressed to us by the descendants of the little shipload of English folks who sailed in the Mayflower? We will not take things too seriously. We will suppose that the President is engaged in the familiar work of twisting the lion's tail.

There is one answer to President Cleveland and America. If an enlarged application of a neglected doctrine is to be enforced with all the might of the United States, at least let us be assured of the correlative that the United States will make itself responsible for the foreign policy of all the petty, impetuous little States on the two continents of America. There is no international right without corresponding duty.

The paper concludes thus:

We can only express genuine regret at the tone of the document, which meets no argument made by Lord Salisbury, and which applies a threat of force from a daughter State of the motherland over an obscure, trumpety dispute in which the United States has no real interest. But the message cannot obscure or defeat the affection which subsists between the two countries, or break the ties of blood that must needs bind them in indissoluble union.

The Morning Post will say:

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

President Cleveland has outdone the Republican Party in his efforts to show dislike for this country, yet he has not committed himself to anything. The message does not make the slightest attempt to grapple with Lord Salisbury's arguments that the United States cannot find any excuse in the language of the Monroe doctrine for their appearance on the scene, or that, if they could give the old President's words any such extension, his declaration has any authority. The international law tribunal that President Cleveland asks Congress to set up can have no more binding effect in this country than would a decision by the Supreme Court at Washington.

The Standard will say:

Most Englishmen will read the message with unfeigned astonishment. The position taken by Mr. Cleveland is preposterous. No citizen of the United States would for a moment dream of admitting its soundness in any analogous case in which the interest or honor of his own country was concerned. The most appropriate comment on the situation that would arise from a recognition of the Cleveland dogma is presented by the concluding words of the message [which the paper quotes, adding]:

The message may be a trifle turgid, but the sentiment is wholesome. Yet it is to this act of self-abasement that the President imagines he is entitled to bring Great Britain. There can be only one answer to such a demand. We decline to humiliate ourselves, and refuse to accept the decision of the United States's Executive in matters altogether outside of its jurisdiction.

If it could reasonably be made out that the pretensions of the State Department to enforce arbitration throughout the American continent had any color in the Monroe doctrine, such an application of the principle would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of a cherished maxim. Happily, however, for the sobriety and endurance of the traditions at American diplomacy, Lord Salisbury has effectively disposed of the delusion that the Monroe doctrine is in any way pertinent to the question of the Guiana-Venezuela frontier.

As regards the precise cause of the difference with Venezuela, we believe we have a perfectly stainless record. Mr. Olney, to do him justice, refuses to take it for granted that Venezuela has substantiated her case against us, though Mr. Cleveland, with a loss at perception, chooses to assume that our action is in derogation of the rights of the little republic. As British subjects have settled up to the Schomburgk line, we cannot possibly withdraw our protection and leave them to the risks of the revolutions and misrule of the republic, but, beyond the pale of settlement we are quite willing to accept arbitration. This however, would be of no avail. Venezuela sets up pretensions which, if found valid, would involve the absorption of half of our colony, if not the territory of our Dutch and French neighbors. By the same rule the United States might be asked to submit their title to Alaska to the judgment of impartial umpires. Congress would immediately reject such a demand. So will the British Government reject the present demand.

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GREAT BRITAIN MUST HALT  
Further Aggressions Cannot Be Tolerated,  
SECRETARY OLNEY'S VIGOROUS WORDS  
The Contentions of Lord Salisbury Answered—Quibbles of Diplomacy Set Aside  
MONROE DOCTRINE HELD INAPPLICABLE  
The Proposition for Arbitration Contemptuously Ignored by the English Ministry

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The correspondence between the State Department and the British Foreign Office touching the Venezuelan boundary dispute was sent to Congress to-day, along with the President's message. The correspondence is voluminous. It is opened by a letter from Secretary

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Olney to Ambassador Bayard, to which Salisbury replies in two notes addressed to Minister Pauncefote.

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GOVERNMENT POLICY OUTLINED  
Secretary Olney Tells Ambassador Bayard What Course to Pursue

WASHINGTON. Dec. 17.—The first letter in relation to the Venezuelan question was dated July 20 last, when Secretary Olney wrote to Ambassador Bayard as follows:

I am directed by the President to communicate to you his views upon a subject to which he has given much anxious thought and respecting which he has not reached a conclusion without a lively sense of its great importance as well as of the serious responsibility involved in any action now to be taken.

It is not proposed, and for present purposes is not necessary, to enter into a detailed account of the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela respecting the western frontier of the colony of British Guiana. The dispute is of ancient date and began at least as early as the time when Great Britain acquired by the treaty with the Netherlands of 1814 “the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice.” From that time to the present the dividing line between these “establishments” (now called British Guiana) and Venezuela has never ceased to be a subject of contention. The claims of both parties, it must be conceded, are of a somewhat indefinite nature. On the one hand Venezuela, in every constitution of government since she became an independent State, has declared her territorial limits to be those of the Captaincy General of Venezuela in 1810. Yet out of “moderation and prudence,” it is said, she has contented herself with claiming the Essequibo line—the line of the Essequibo River, that is—to be the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. On the other hand, at least an equal degree of indefiniteness distinguishes the claim of Great Britain. It does not seem to be asserted, for instance, that in 1814 the “establishments” then acquired by Great Britain had any clearly defined western limits which can now be identified and which are either the limits insisted upon today, or, being the original limits, have been the basis of legitimate territorial extensions. On the contrary, having the actual possession of a district called the Pomaron district, she apparently remained indifferent as to the exact area of the colony until 1840, when she commissioned an engineer, Sir Robert Schomburgk, to examine and lay down its boundaries. The result was the “Schomburgk line” which was fixed by metes and bounds, was delineated on maps, and was at first indicated on the face of the country itself by posts, monograms, and other like symbols.

Venezuela’s Complaint

If it was expected that Venezuela would acquiesce in this line, the expectation was doomed to speedy disappointment. Venezuela at once protested and with such vigor and to such purpose that

the line was explained to be only tentative—part of a general boundary scheme concerning Brazil and the Netherlands as well as Venezuela—and the monuments of the line set up by Schomburgk were removed by the express order of Lord Aberdeen. Under these circumstances, it seems impossible to treat the Schomburgk line as being the boundary claimed by Great Britain as matter of right, or as anything but a line originating in considerations of convenience and expediency. Since 1840 various other boundary lines have from time to time been indicated by Great Britain, but all as conventional lines—lines to which Venezuela's assent has been desired but which in no instance, it is believed, have been demanded as matter of right. Thus neither of the parties is today standing for the boundary line predicated upon strict legal right—Great Britain having formulated no such claim at all, while Venezuela insists upon the Essequibo line only as a liberal concession to her antagonist.

### Venezuela Early Protested

Several other features of the situation remain to be briefly noticed—the continuous growth of the undefined British claim, the fate of various attempts at arbitration of the controversy, and the part in the matter heretofore taken by the United States. As already seen, the exploitation of the Schomburgk line in 1840 was at once followed by protest of Venezuela and by proceedings on the part of Great Britain which could fairly be interpreted only as a disavowal of that line. Indeed—in addition to the facts already noticed—Lord Aberdeen himself in 1844 proposed a line beginning at the River Moroco, a distinct abandonment of the Schomburgk line. Notwithstanding this, however, every change in the British claim since that time has moved the frontier of British Guiana farther and farther to the westward of the line thus proposed. The Granville line of 1881 placed the starting point at a distance of twenty-nine miles from the Moroco in the direction of Punta Barima. The Rosebery line of 1886 placed it west of the Guaima River, and about that time, if the British authority known as the “Statesman's Year Book” is to be relied upon, the area of British Guiana was suddenly enlarged by some 33,000 square miles—being stated as 76,000 square miles in 1885 and 109,000 square miles in 1887. The Salisbury line of 1890 fixed the starting point of the line in the mouth of the Amacuro west of the Punta Barima on the Orinoco. And finally, in 1893, a second Rosebery line carried the boundary from a point to the west of the Amacuro as far as the source of the Cumano River and the Sierra of Usupamo. Nor have the various claims thus enumerated been claims on paper merely.

An exercise of jurisdiction corresponding more or less to such claims has accompanied or followed closely upon each and has been the more irritating and unjustifiable if, as is alleged, an agreement made in the year 1850 bound both parties to refrain from such occupation pending the settlement of the dispute.

### Development of British Guiana

While the British claim has been developing in the manner above described, Venezuela has made earnest and repeated efforts to have the question of boundary settled. Indeed, allowance being made for the distractions of a war of independence and for frequent internal revolutions, it may be fairly said that Venezuela has never ceased to strive for its adjustment. It could, of course, do so only through peaceful methods, any resort to force as against its powerful adversary being out of the question. Accordingly, shortly after the drawing of the Schomburgk line, an effort was made to settle the boundary by treaty, and was apparently progressing towards a successful issue when negotiations

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were brought to an end in 1844 by the death of the Venezuelan Plenipotentiary. Venezuela in 1848 entered upon a period of civil commotions which lasted for more than a quarter of a century, and the negotiations thus interrupted in 1844 were not resumed until 1876. In that year Venezuela offered to close the dispute by accepting the Moroco line proposed by Aberdeen. But, without giving reasons for his refusal, Lord Granville rejected the proposal and suggested a new line comprehending a large tract of territory all pretension to which seemed to have been abandoned by the previous action of Lord Aberdeen. Venezuela refused to assent to it, and negotiations dragged along without result until 1882, when Venezuela concluded that the only course open to her was arbitration of the controversy. Before she had made any definite proposition, however, Great Britain took the initiative by suggesting the making of a treaty which should determine various other questions as well as that of the disputed boundary.

### Arbitration Was Accepted

The result was that a treaty was practically agreed upon with the Gladstone government in 1886 containing a general arbitration clause under which the parties might have submitted the boundary dispute to the decision of a third power or of several powers in amity with both. Before the actual signing of the treaty, however, the administration of Mr. Gladstone was superseded by that of Lord Salisbury, which declined to accede to the arbitration clause of the treaty notwithstanding the reasonable expectations of Venezuela to the contrary based upon the Premier's emphatic declaration in the House of Lords that no serious government would think of not respecting the engagements of its predecessor.

Since then Venezuela on the one side has been offering and calling for arbitration, while Great Britain on the other has responded by insisting upon the condition that any arbitration should relate only to such of the disputed territory as lies west of a line designated by herself. As this condition seemed inadmissible to Venezuela and as, while the negotiations were pending, new appropriations of what is claimed to be Venezuelan territory continued to be made, Venezuela in 1887 suspended diplomatic relations with Great Britain, protesting "before Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and to all civilized nations and before the world in general, against the acts of spoliation committed to her detriment by the Government of Great Britain, which she at no time and on no account will recognize as capable of altering in the least the rights which she has inherited from Spain and respecting which she will ever be willing to submit to the decision of a third power."

### Why Venezuela Quit

Diplomatic relations have not since been restored, though what is claimed to be new and flagrant British aggressions forced Venezuela to resume negotiations on the boundary question in 1890, through its Minister in Paris and a special envoy on that subject, and in 1893, through a confidential agent, Señor Michelena. These negotiations, however, met with the fate of other like previous negotiations—Great Britain refusing to arbitrate except as to territory west of an arbitrary line drawn by herself. All attempts in that direction definitely terminated in October, 1893, when Señor Michelena filed with the Foreign Office the following declaration: "I perform a most strict duty in raising again in the name of the Government of Venezuela a most solemn protest against the proceedings of the Colony of British Guiana, constituting encroachments upon the territory of the Republic, and against the declaration contained in Your Excellency's communication that Her

Britannic Majesty's Government considers that part of the territory as pertaining to British Guiana and admits no claim to it on the part of Venezuela. In support of this protest I reproduce all the arguments presented to Your Excellency in my note of 29 of last September and those which have been exhibited by the Government of Venezuela on the various occasions they have raised the same protest.

### Britain Held Responsible

I lay on Her Britannic Majesty's Government the entire responsibility of the incidents that may arise in the future from the necessity to which Venezuela has been driven to oppose by all possible means the dispossession of a part of her territory, for by disregarding her just representation to put an end to this violent state of affairs through the decision of arbiters, Her Majesty's Government ignores her rights, and imposes upon her the painful though peremptory duty of providing for her own legitimate defense."

To the territorial controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela, thus briefly outlined, the United States has not been and, indeed, in view of its traditional policy, could not be indifferent. The note to the British Foreign Office by which Venezuela opened negotiations in 1876 was at once communicated to this Government. In January, 1881, a letter of the Venezuelan Minister at Washington respecting certain alleged demonstrations at the mouth of the Orinoco was thus answered by Mr. Evarts, then Secretary of State:

"In reply I have to inform you that in view of the deep interest which the Government of the United States takes in all transactions tending to attempted encroachments of foreign powers upon the territory of any of the Republics of this continent, this Government could not look with indifference to the forcible acquisition of territory by England if the mission of the vessels now at the mouth of the Orinoco should be found to be for that end. This Government awaits, therefore, with natural concern the more particular statements promised by the Government of Venezuela, which it hopes will not be long delayed."

In the February following, Mr. Evarts wrote again on the same subject as follows:

"Referring to your note of the 21st of December last, touching the operations of certain British war vessels in and near the mouth of the Orinoco River and to my reply thereto of the 31st ultimo as well as to the recent occasions in which the subject has been mentioned in our conferences concerning the business of your mission, I take it to be fitting now at the close of my incumbency of the office I hold to advert to the interest with which the Government of the United States cannot fail to regard any such purpose with respect to the control of American territory as is stated to be contemplated by the Government of Great Britain and to express my regret that the further information promised in your note with regard to such designs had not reached me in season to receive the attention which, notwithstanding the severe pressure of public business at the end of an administrative term, I should have taken pleasure in bestowing upon it. I doubt not, however, that your representations in fulfillment of the awaited additional orders of your Government will have like earnest and solicitous consideration at the hands of my successor."

### Arbitration Suggested

In November, 1882, the then state of negotiations with Great Britain together with a copy of an intended note suggesting recourse to arbitration was communicated to the Secretary of State by the President of Venezuela with the expression of the hope that the United States would give him its opinion and advice and such support as it deemed possible to offer Venezuela in order that justice

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should be done her. Mr. Frelinghuysen replied in a dispatch to the United States Minister at Caracas as follows:

This Government has already expressed its view that arbitration of such disputes is a convenient resort in the case of failure to come to a mutual understanding, and intimated its willingness, if Venezuela should so desire, to propose to Great Britain such a mode of settlement. It is felt that the tender of good offices would not be so profitable if the United States were to approach Great Britain as the advocate of prejudged solution in favor of Venezuela. So far as the United States can counsel and assist Venezuela it believes it best to confine its reply to the renewal of the suggestion of arbitration and the offer of all its good offices in that direction. This suggestion is the more easily made, since it appears, from the instruction sent by Señor Seijas to the Venezuelan Minister in London on the same 15th of July, 1882, that the President of Venezuela proposed to the British Government the submission of the dispute to arbitration by a third Power.

You will take an early occasion to present the foregoing considerations to Señor Seijas, saying to him that, while trusting that the direct proposal for arbitration already made to Great Britain may bear good fruit (if, indeed, it has not already done so by its acceptance in principle), the Government of the United States will cheerfully lend any needful aid to press upon Great Britain in a friendly way the proposition so made, and at the same time you will say to Señor Seijas (in personal conference, and not with the formality of a written communication) that the United States, while advocating strongly the recourse of arbitration for the adjustment of international disputes affecting the states of America, does not seek to put itself forward as their arbiter; that, viewing all such questions impartially and with no intent or desire to prejudge their merits, the United States will not refuse its arbitration if asked by both parties, and that, regarding all such questions as essentially and distinctively American, the United States would always prefer to see such contentions adjusted through the arbitrament of an American rather than an European Power.

### Minister Guzman's Plan

General Guzman Blanco, the Venezuelan Minister to England in 1884, appointed with special reference to pending negotiations for a general treaty with Great Britain, visited Washington on his way to London and, after several conferences with the Secretary of State respecting the objects of his mission, was thus commended to the good offices of Mr. Lowell, our Minister at St. James's:

"It will be necessarily be somewhat within your discretion how far your good offices may be profitably employed with Her Majesty's Government to these ends, and at any rate you may take proper occasion to let Lord Granville know that we are not without concern as to whatever may affect the interests of a sister Republic of the American continent and its position in the family of nations.

"If General Guzman should apply to you for advice or assistance in realizing the purposes of his mission you will show him proper consideration, and without committing the United States to any determinate political solution you will endeavor to carry out the views of this instruction."

### Arbitration Offered

The progress of Gen. Guzman's negotiations did not fail to be observed by this Government and in December, 1886, with a view to preventing the rupture of diplomatic relations—which actually took place in February following—the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, instructed our Minister to Great Britain to tender the arbitration of the United States, in the following terms:

"It does not appear that at any time heretofore the good offices of this Government have been actually tendered to avert a rupture between Great Britain and Venezuela. As intimated in my No. 58, our inaction in this regard would seem to be due to the reluctance of Venezuela to have the Government of the United States take any steps having relation to the action of the British Government which might, in appearance even, prejudice the resort

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to further arbitration or mediation which Venezuela desired. Nevertheless, the records abundantly testify our friendly concern in the adjustment of the dispute; and the intelligence now received warrants me in tendering through you to Her Majesty's Government the good offices of the United States to promote an amicable settlement of the respective claims of Great Britain and Venezuela in the premises.

"As proof of the impartiality with which we view the question, we offer our arbitration, if acceptable to both countries. We do this with the less hesitancy as the dispute turns upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts.

"Her Majesty's Government will readily understand that this attitude of friendly neutrality and entire impartiality touching the merits of the controversy, consisting wholly in a difference of facts between our friends and neighbors, is entirely consistent and compatible with the sense of responsibility that rests upon the United States in relation to the South American republics.

"The doctrines we announced two generations ago, at the instance and with the moral support and approval of the British Government, have lost none of their force or importance in the progress of time and the Governments of Great Britain and the United States are equally in conserving a status, the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of more than half a century.

"It is proper, therefore, that you should convey to Lord Iddesleigh, in such sufficiently guarded terms as your discretion may dictate, the satisfaction that would be felt by the Government of the United States in perceiving that its wishes in this regard were permitted to have influence with Her Majesty's Government."

### Great Britain Declined

This offer of mediation was declined by Great Britain, with the statement that a similar offer had already been received from another quarter, and that the Queen's Government were still not without hope of a settlement by direct diplomatic negotiations.

In February, 1888, having been informed that the Governor of British Guiana had by formal decree laid claim to the territory traversed by the route of a proposed railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati, Mr. Bayard addressed a note to our Minister to England, from which the following extracts are taken:

The claim now stated to have been put forth by the authorities of British Guiana necessarily gives rise to grave disquietude, and creates an apprehension that the territorial claim does not follow historical traditions or evidence, but is apparently indefinite. At no time hitherto does it appear that the district, of which Guacipati is the center, has been claimed as British territory or that such jurisdiction has ever been asserted over its inhabitants, and if the reported decree of the Governor of British Guiana be indeed genuine it is not apparent how any line of railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati could enter or traverse territory within the control of Great Britain.

It is true that the line claimed by Great Britain as the western boundary of British Guiana is uncertain and vague. It is only necessary to examine the British Colonial Office List for a few years back to perceive this. In the issue for 1877, for instance, the line runs nearly southwardly from the mouth of the Amacuro to the junction of the Cotinga and Takutu rivers. In the issue of 1887, ten years later, it makes a wide detour to the westward, following the Yuruari. Guacipati lies considerably westward of the line officially claimed in 1887, and it may perhaps be instructive to compare with it the map which doubtless will be found in the Colonial Office List for the present year.

It may be well for you to express anew to Lord Salisbury the great gratification it would afford this Government to see the Venezuelan dispute amicably and honorably settled by arbitration or otherwise and our readiness to do anything we properly can to assist to that end.

In the course of your conversation you may refer to the publication in *The London Financier* of Jan. 24 (a copy of which you can procure and exhibit to Lord Salisbury) and express apprehension lest the widening pretensions of British Guiana to possess territory over which Venezuela's jurisdiction has never heretofore been disputed may not diminish the chances for a practical settlement.

If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern.

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### Blaine's Stand Reviewed

Information having been received in 1889 that Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, had been declared a British port, Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, authorized Mr. White to confer with Lord Salisbury for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela on the basis of a temporary restoration of the status quo, and May 1 and May 6, 1890, sent the following telegrams to our Minister to England, Mr. Lincoln:

Mr. Lincoln is instructed to use his good offices with Lord Salisbury to bring about the resumption of diplomatic intercourse between Great Britain and Venezuela as a preliminary step towards the settlement of the boundary dispute by arbitration. The joint proposals of Great Britain and the United States towards Portugal which have just been brought about would seem to make the present time propitious for submitting this question to an international arbitration. He is requested to propose to Lord Salisbury, with a view to an accommodation, that an informal conference be had in Washington or in London of representatives of the three powers. In such conference the position of the United States is one solely of impartial toward both litigants. It is, nevertheless, desired that you shall do all you can consistently with our attitude of impartial friendship to induce some accord between the contestants by which the merits of the controversy may be fairly ascertained and the rights of each party justly confirmed. The neutral position of this Government does not comport with any expression of opinion on the part of this Department as to what these rights are, but it is confident that the shifting footing on which the British boundary question has rested for several years past is an obstacle to such a correct appreciation of the nature and grounds of her claim as would alone warrant the formation of any opinion.

In the course of the same year, 1890, Venezuela sent to London a special envoy to bring about the resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain through the good offices of the United States Minister. But the mission failed because a condition of such resumption, steadily adhered to by Venezuela, was the reference of the boundary dispute to arbitration. Since the close of the negotiations initiated by Señor Michelena in 1893, Venezuela has repeatedly brought the controversy to the notice of the United States, has insisted upon its importance to the United States as well as to Venezuela, has represented it to have reached an acute stage—making definite action by the United States imperative—and has not ceased to solicit the services and support of the United States in aid of its final adjustment. These appeals have not been received with indifference and our Ambassador to Great Britain has been uniformly instructed to exert all his influence in the direction of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela and in favor of arbitration of the boundary controversy. The Secretary of State in a communication to Mr. Bayard, bearing the date July 13, 1894, used the following language:

### A Peaceful Settlement Desired

“The President is inspired by a desire for a peaceable and honorable settlement of existing difficulties between an American state and a powerful transatlantic nation, and would be glad to see the re-establishment of such diplomatic relations between them as would promote that end.

“I can discern but two equitable solutions of the present controversy. One is the determination of the rights of the disputants as the respective successors to the historical rights of Holland and Spain over the region in question. The other is to create a new boundary line in accordance with the dictates of mutual expediency and consideration. The two Governments having so far been unable to agree on a conventional line, the consistent and conspicuous advocacy by the United States and England of the principle of arbitration and their recourse thereto in settlement important questions arising between them, makes such a mode of adjustment equally appropriate in the present instance, and this Government will gladly do what it can to further a determination in that sense.”

### The President's Views

Subsequent communications to Mr. Bayard direct him to ascertain whether a Minister from Venezuela would be received by Great Britain. In the annual Message to Congress of December 3rd last, the President used the following language:

“The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement on some just basis alike honorable to both parties is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond the sea, I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants and to induce a reference to arbitration—a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favors in principle and respects in practice and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary.”

And February 22, 1895, a joint resolution of Congress declared: “that the President's suggestion . . . that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundaries to friendly arbitration be earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of both parties in interest.”

The important features of the existing situation, as shown by the foregoing recital, may be briefly stated.

1. The title to territory of indefinite but confessedly very large extent is in dispute between Great Britain on the one hand and the South American Republic of Venezuela on the other.

2. The disparity in the strength of the claimants is such that Venezuela can hope to establish her claim only through peaceful methods—through an agreement with her adversary either upon the subject itself or upon an arbitration.

3. The controversy, with varying claims on the part of Great Britain has existed for more than half a century, during which period many earnest and persistent efforts of Venezuela to establish a boundary by agreement have proved unsuccessful.

4. The futility of the endeavor to obtain a conventional line being recognized, Venezuela for a quarter of a century has asked and striven for arbitration.

5. Great Britain, however, has always and continuously refused to arbitrate, except upon the condition of a renunciation of a large part of the Venezuelan claim and of a concession to herself of a large share of the territory in controversy.

6. By the frequent interposition of its good offices at the instance of Venezuela, by constantly urging and promoting the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries, by pressing for arbitration of the disputed boundary, by offering to act as arbitrator, by expressing its grave concern whenever new alleged instances of British aggression upon Venezuelan territory have been brought to its notice, the Government of the United States has made it clear to Great Britain and to the world that the controversy is one in which both its honor and its interests are involved and the continuance of which it can not regard with indifference.

### This Country's Position

The accuracy of the foregoing analysis of the existing status cannot, it is believed, be challenged. It shows that status to be such that those charged with the interests of the United States are now forced to determine exactly what those interests are and what course of action they require. It compels them to decide to what extent, if any, the United States may and should intervene in a controversy between and primarily concerning only Great Britain and Venezuela and to decide how

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far it is bound to see that the integrity of Venezuelan territory is not impaired by the pretensions of its powerful antagonist. Are any such right and duty devolved upon the United States? If not, the United States has already done all, if not more than all, that a purely sentimental interest in the affairs of the two countries justifies, and to push its interposition further would be unbecoming and undignified and might well subject it to the charge of impertinent intermeddling with affairs with which it has no rightful concern.

On the other hand, if any such right and duty exist, their due exercise and discharge will not permit of any action that shall not be efficient and that, if the power of the United States is adequate, shall not result in the accomplishment of the end in view. The question thus presented, as matter of principle and regard being had to the settled national policy, does not seem difficult of solution. Yet the momentous practical consequences dependent upon its determination require that it should be carefully considered and that the grounds of the conclusion arrived at should be fully and frankly stated.

That there are circumstances under which a nation may justly interpose in a controversy to which two or more other nations are the direct parties and immediate parties is an admitted canon of international law. The doctrine is ordinarily expressed in terms of the most general character and is perhaps incapable of more specific statement. It is declared in substance that a nation may avail itself of this right whenever what is done or proposed by any of the parties primarily concerned is a serious and direct menace to its own integrity, tranquillity, or welfare. The propriety of the rule when applied in good faith will not be questioned in any quarter. On the other hand, it is an inevitable though unfortunate consequence of the wide scope of the rule that it has only too often been made a cloak for schemes of wanton spoliation and aggrandizement. We are concerned at this time, however, not so much with the general rule as with a form of it which is peculiarly and distinctively America. Washington, in the solemn admonition of the Farewell Address, explicitly warned his countrymen against entanglements with the politics or the controversies of European powers. "Europe," he said, "has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course."

### The Monroe Doctrine

During the administration of President Monroe this doctrine of the farewell address was first considered in all its aspects and with a view to all its practical consequences. The farewell address, while it took America out of the field of European politics, was silent as to the part Europe might be permitted to play in America. Doubtless it was thought the latest addition to the family of nations should not make haste to prescribe rules for the guidance of its older members, and the expediency and propriety of serving the powers of Europe with notice of a complete and distinctive American policy excluding them from interference with American political affairs might well seem dubious to a generation to whom the French alliance, with its manifold advantages to the cause of American independence, was fresh in mind. Twenty years later, however, the situation had changed. The lately born nation had greatly increased in power and resources, had demonstrated its strength on land and sea and as well in the conflicts of arms as in the pursuits of peace, and had begun to realize the commanding position on this continent which the character of its people, their free institutions, and

their remoteness from the chief scene of European contentions combined to give to it. The Monroe administration therefore did not hesitate to accept and apply the logic of the Farewell Address by declaring in effect that American non-intervention in European affairs necessarily implied and meant European non-intervention in American affairs.

### What Monroe Believed

Conceiving unquestionably that complete European non-interference in American concerns would be cheaply purchased by complete American non-interference in European concerns, President Monroe, in the celebrated Message of December 2, 1823, used the following language:

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defense of our own which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . .

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference.

The Monroe administration, however, did not content itself with formulating a correct rule for the regulation of the relations between Europe and America. It aimed at also securing the practical benefits to result from the application of the rule. Hence the message just quoted declared that the American continents were fully occupied and were not the subjects for future colonization by European powers.

To this spirit and this purpose, also, are to be attributed the passages of the same message which treat any infringement of the rule against interference in American affairs on the part of the powers of Europe as an act of unfriendliness to the United States. It was realized that it was futile to lay down such a rule unless its observance could be enforced. It was manifest that the United States was the only power in this hemisphere capable of enforcing it. It was therefore courageously declared not merely that Europe ought not to interfere in American affairs, but that any European power doing so would be regarded as antagonizing the interests and inviting the opposition of the United

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States.

### America Not Open to Colonization

That America is in no part open to colonization, though the proposition was not universally admitted at the time of its first enunciation has long been universally conceded. We are now concerned, therefore, only with that other practical application of the Monroe doctrine, the disregard of which by an European power is to be deemed an act of unfriendliness towards the United States.

### What the United States Demands

The precise scope and limitations of this rule cannot be too clearly apprehended. It does not establish any general protectorate by the United American states over other American states. It does not relieve any American state from its obligations as fixed by international law nor prevent any European Power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them. It does not contemplate any interference in the internal affairs of any American state or in the relations between it and other American states. It does not justify any attempt on our part to change the established form of government of any American state or to prevent the people of such state from altering that form according to their own will and pleasure.

The rule in question has but a single purpose and object. It is that no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies.

That the rule thus defined has been the accepted public law of this country ever since its promulgation cannot fairly be denied. Its pronouncement by the Monroe administration at that particular time was unquestionably due to the inspiration of Great Britain, who at once gave to it an open and unqualified adhesion which has never been withdrawn. But the rule was decided upon and formulated by the administration as a distinctively American doctrine of great import to the safety and welfare of the United States after the most careful consideration by a Cabinet which numbered among its members John Quincy Adams, Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt, and which before acting took both Jefferson and Madison into its counsels. Its promulgation was received with acclaim by the entire people of the country irrespective of party. Three years after, Webster declared that the doctrine involved the honor of the country. "I look upon it," he said, "as part of its treasures of reputation, and for one I intend to guard it," and he added, "I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will help neither to erase it nor to tear it out; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the Government, and I will not diminish that honor."

### The Action on Congress

Though the rule thus highly eulogized by Webster has never been formally affirmed by Congress, the House in 1864 declared against the Mexican monarchy sought to be set up by the French as not in accord with the policy of the United States, and in 1889 the Senate expressed its disapproval of the connection of any European power with a canal across the Isthmus of Darien or Central America. It is manifest that, if a rule has been openly and uniformly declared and acted upon

by the executive branch of the Government for more than seventy years without express repudiation by Congress, it must be conclusively presumed to have its sanction. Yet it is certainly no more than the exact truth to say that every administration since President Monroe's has had occasion, and sometimes more occasions than one, to examine and consider the Monroe doctrine and has in each instance given it emphatic endorsement. Presidents have dwelt upon it in messages to Congress and Secretaries of State have time after time made it the theme of diplomatic representation.

Nor, if the practical results of the rule be sought for, is the record either meager or obscure. Its first and immediate effect was indeed most momentous and far reaching. It was the controlling factor in the emancipation of South America and to it the independent states which now divide that region between them are largely indebted for their very existence. Since then the most striking single achievement to be credited to the rule is the evacuation of Mexico by the French upon the termination of the civil war. But we are also indebted to it for the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which both neutralized any interoceanic canal across Central America and expressly excluded Great Britain from occupying or exercising any dominion over any part of Central America. It has been used in the case of Cuba as if justifying the position that, while the sovereignty of Spain will be respected, the island will not be permitted to become the possession of any other European power. It has been influential in bringing about the definite relinquishment of any supposed protectorate by Great Britain over the Mosquito Coast. President Polk, in the case of Yucatan and the proposed voluntary transfer of that country to Great Britain or Spain, relied upon the Monroe doctrine, though perhaps erroneously, when he declared in a special message to Congress on the subject that the United States could not consent to any such transfer. Yet, in somewhat the same spirit, Secretary Fish affirmed in 1870 that President Grant had but followed "the teachings of all our history" in declaring in his annual message of that year that existing dependencies were no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European power to another, and that when the present relation of colonies ceases they are to become independent powers. Another development of the rule, though apparently not required by either its letter or its spirit, is found in the objection to arbitration of South American controversies by an European Power. American questions, it is said, are for American decision, and on that ground the United States went so far as to refuse to mediate in the war between Chile and Peru jointly with Great Britain and France. Finally, on the ground, among others, that the authority of the Monroe doctrine and the prestige of the United States as its exponent and sponsor would be seriously impaired, Secretary Bayard strenuously resisted the enforcement of the Pelletier claim against Haiti.

### The Haitian Case

"The United States," [he said,] "has proclaimed herself the protector of this western world, in which she is by far the stronger power, and from the intrusion of European sovereignties. She can point with proud satisfaction to the fact that over and over again has she declared effectively, that serious indeed would be the consequences if European hostile foot should, without just cause, tread those states in the New World which have emancipated themselves from European control. She has announced that she would cherish, as it becomes her, the territorial rights of the feeblest of those states; regarding them not merely as the eye of the law equal to even the greatest of nationalities, but in view of her distinctive policy as entitled to be regarded by her as the objects of a peculiarly gracious care. I feel bound to say that if we should sanction by reprisals in Haiti the ruthless invasion of her territory and insult to her sovereignty which the facts now before us disclose, if we approve by solemn Executive action and Congressional assent that invasion, it will be difficult for us hereafter to assert that in the New World, of whose rights we are the peculiar guardians, these rights have never been invaded by ourselves."

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The foregoing enumeration not only shows the main instances wherein the rule in question has been affirmed and applied, but also demonstrates that the Venezuelan boundary controversy is in any view far within the scope and spirit of the rule as uniformly accepted and acted upon. A doctrine of American public law thus long and firmly established and supported could not easily be ignored in a proper case for its application, even were the considerations upon which it is founded obscure or questionable. No such objection can be made, however, to the Monroe doctrine understood and defined in the manner already stated. It rests, on the contrary, upon facts and principles that are both intelligible and incontrovertible.

That distance and three thousand miles of intervening ocean make any permanent political union between an European and an American state unnatural an inexpedient will hardly be denied. But physical and geographical considerations are the least of the objections to such a union. Europe, as Washington observed, has a set of primary interests which are peculiar to herself. America is not interested in them and ought not to be vexed or complicated with them. Each great European power, for instance, today maintains enormous armies and fleets in self-defense and for protection against any other European power or powers. What have the states of America to do with that condition of things, or why should they be impoverished by wars or preparations for wars with whose causes or results they can have no direct concern?

If all Europe were to suddenly fly to arms over the fate of Turkey, would it not be preposterous that any American state should find itself inextricably involved in the miseries and burdens of the contest? If it were, it would prove to be a partnership in the cost and losses of the struggle but not in any ensuing benefits. What is true of the material is no less true of what may be termed the moral interests involved. Those pertaining to Europe are peculiar to her and are entirely diverse from those pertaining and peculiar to America.

### Nothing in Harmony

Europe as a whole is monarchical, and, with the single exception of the Republic of France, is committed to the monarchical principle. America, on the other hand, is devoted to the exactly opposite principle—to the idea that every people has an inalienable right to self-government—and, in the United States of America, has furnished to the world the most conspicuous and conclusive example of proof of the excellence of free institutions, whether from the standpoint of national greatness or of individual happiness. It can not be necessary, however, to enlarge upon this phase of the subject whether moral or material interests be considered, it can not but be universally conceded that those of Europe are irreconcilably diverse from those of America, and that any European control of the latter is necessarily both incongruous and injurious.

If, however, for the reasons stated the forcible intrusion of European Powers into American politics is to be deprecated—if, as it is to be deprecated, it should be resisted and prevented—such resistance and prevention must come from the United States. They would come from it, of course, were it made the point of attack. But, if they come at all, they must also come from it when any other American state is attacked, since only the United States has the strength adequate to the exigency.

Is it true, then, that the safety and welfare of the United States are so concerned with the maintenance of the independence of every American state as against any European power as to justify and require the interposition of the United States whenever that independence is endangered? The question can be candidly answered in but one way. The states of America, South as well as

North, by geographical proximity, by natural sympathy, by similarity of governmental constitutions, are friends and allies, commercially and politically, of the United States. To allow the subjugation of any of them by an European Power is, of course, to completely reverse that situation and signifies the loss of all the advantages incident to their natural relations to us. But that is not all. The people of the United States have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government. They have secured the right for themselves and their posterity at the cost of infinite blood and treasure. They have realized and exemplified its beneficent operation by a career unexampled in point of national greatness or individual felicity. They believe it to be for the healing of all nations, and that civilization must either advance or retrograde accordingly as its supremacy is extended or curtailed.

### The Position of Americans

Imbued with these sentiments, the people of the United States might not impossibly be wrought up to an active propaganda in favor of a cause so highly valued both for themselves and for mankind. But the age of the Crusades has passed, and they are content with such assertion and defense of the right of popular self-government as their own security and welfare demand. It is in that view more than any other that they believe it not to be tolerated that the political control of an American state shall be forcibly assumed by an European power. The mischiefs apprehended from such a source are none the less real because not immediately imminent in any specific case, and are none the less to be guarded against because the combination of circumstances that will bring them upon us cannot be predicted. The civilized states of Christendom deal with each other on substantially the same principles that regulate the conduct of individuals. The greater its enlightenment, the more surely every state perceives that its permanent interests require it to be governed by the immutable principles of right and justice. Each, nevertheless, is only too liable to succumb to the temptations offered by seeming special opportunities for its own aggrandizement, and each would rashly imperil its own safety were it not to remember that for the regard and respect of other states it must be largely dependent upon its own strength and power.

Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States.

It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers. All the advantages of this superiority are at once imperiled if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own. The principle would be eagerly availed of, and every power doing so would immediately acquire a base of military operations against us. What one power was permitted to do could not be denied to another, and it is not inconceivable that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America. If it were, the weaker countries would unquestionably be soon absorbed, while the ultimate result might be the partition of all South America between the various European powers.

The disastrous consequences to the United States of such a condition of things are obvious. The loss of prestige, of authority and of weight in the councils of the family of nations, would be among the least of them. Our only real rivals in peace as well as enemies in war would be found located at our very doors. Thus far in our history, we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense

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standing armies and all the other accessories of huge warlike establishments, and the exemption has largely contributed to our national greatness and wealth as well as to the happiness of every citizen.

### What Would Be Meant

But, with the Powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed can not be expected to continue. We too must be armed to the teeth, we too must convert the flower of our male population into soldiers and sailors, and by withdrawing them from the various pursuits of peaceful industry we too must practically annihilate a large share of the productive energy of the nation. How a greater calamity than this could overtake us it is difficult to see. Nor are our just apprehensions to be allayed by suggestions of the friendliness of European powers—of their good will towards us—of their disposition, should they be our neighbors, to dwell with us in peace and harmony. The people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states to each other depend not upon sentiment nor principle, but upon selfish interest. They will not soon forget that, in their hour of distress, all their anxieties and burdens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their natural life on the part of powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in the adjoining state of Mexico. They realize that had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and to benefit, the temptation to destroy the predominance of the Great Republic in this hemisphere by furthering its dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril they have been saved in the past and may be saved again in the future through the operation of the sure but silent force of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe. To abandon it, on the other hand, disregarding both the logic of the situation and the facts of our past experience, would be to renounce a policy which has proved, both an easy defense against foreign aggression and a prolific source of internal progress and prosperity.

There is, then, a doctrine of American public law, well founded in principle and abundantly sanctioned by precedent, which entitles and requires the United States to treat as an injury to itself the forcible assumption of an European power of political control over an American state. The application of the doctrine to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela remains to be made and presents no real difficulty. Though the dispute relates to a boundary line, yet, as it is between states, it necessarily imports political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other. The political control at stake, too, is of no mean importance, but concerns a domain of great extent—the British claim, it will be remembered, apparently expanded in two years some 33,000 square miles—and, if it also directly involves the command of the mouth of the Orinoco, is of immense consequence in connection with the whole river navigation of the interior of South America.

### Great Britain False Claim

It has been intimated, indeed, that in respect of these South American possessions Great Britain is herself an American state like any other, so that a controversy between her and Venezuela is to be settled between themselves as if it were between Venezuela and Brazil or between Venezuela and Colombia, and does not call for or justify United States intervention. If this view be tenable at all,

the logical sequence is plain. Great Britain as a South American state is to be entirely differentiated from Great Britain generally, and if the boundary question cannot be settled otherwise than by force, British Guiana, with her own independent resources and not those of the British Empire, should be left to settle the matter with Venezuela—an arrangement which very possibly Venezuela might not object to. But the proposition that an European power with an American dependency is for the purposes of the Monroe doctrine to be classed not as an European but as an American state will not admit of serious discussion. If it were to be adopted, the Monroe doctrine would be too valueless to be worth asserting. Not only would every European Power now having a South American colony be enabled to extend its possessions on this continent indefinitely, but any other European power might also do the same by first taking pains to procure a fraction of South American soil by voluntary cession.

The declaration of the Monroe message, that existing colonies or dependencies of an European power would not be interfered with by the United States, means colonies or dependencies then existing, with their limits as then existing. So it has been invariably construed, and so it must continue to be construed unless it is to be deprived of all vital force. Great Britain cannot be deemed a South American state within the purview of the Monroe doctrine, nor, if she is appropriating Venezuelan territory, is it material that she does so by advancing the frontier of an old colony instead of by the planting of a new colony. The difference is matter of form and not of substance and the doctrine if pertinent in the one case must be in the other also. It is not admitted, however, and therefore cannot be assumed, that Great Britain is in fact usurping dominion over Venezuelan territory. While Venezuela charges such usurpation, Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither. But while this is so—while the United States may not, under existing circumstances at least, take upon itself to say which of the two parties is right and which wrong—it is certainly within its right to demand that the truth shall be ascertained. Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on. Otherwise, if the United States is without the right to know and have it determined whether there is or is not British aggression upon Venezuelan territory, its right to protest and repel such aggression may be dismissed from consideration.

### The United States and the Boundary

The right to act upon a fact the existence of which there is no right to have ascertained is simply illusory. It being clear, therefore, that the United States may legitimately insist upon the merits of the boundary question being determined, it is equally clear that there is but one feasible mode of determining them, viz., peaceful arbitration. The impracticability of any conventional adjustment has been often and thoroughly demonstrated. Even more impossible of consideration is an appeal to arms—a mode of settling national pretensions unhappily not yet wholly obsolete.

If, however, it were not condemnable as a relic barbarism and a crime in itself, so one-sided a contest could not be invited nor even accepted by Great Britain without distinct disparagement to her character as a civilized state. Great Britain, however, assumes no such attitude. On the contrary, she both admits there is a controversy and that arbitration should be resorted to for its adjustment. But, while up to that point her attitude leaves nothing to be desired, its practical effect is completely nullified by her insistence that the submission shall cover but a part of the controversy—that as a condition of arbitrating her right to a part of the disputed territory, the remainder shall be turned

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over to her. If it were possible to point to a boundary which both parties had ever agreed or assumed to be such either expressly or tacitly, the demand that territory conceded by such line to British Guiana should be held not to be in dispute might rest upon a reasonable basis. But there is no such line.

The territory which Great Britain insists shall be ceded to her as a condition of arbitrating her claim to other territory has never been admitted to belong to her. It has always and consistently been claimed by Venezuela. Upon what principle—except her feebleness as a nation—is she to be denied the right of having the claim heard and passed upon by an impartial tribunal? No reason nor shadow of reason appears in all the voluminous literature of the subject.

“It is to be so because I will it to be so” seems to be the only justification Great Britain offers. It is, indeed, intimated that the British claim to this particular territory rests upon an occupation, which whether acquiesced in or not, has ripened into a perfect title by long continuance. But what prescription affecting territorial rights can be said to exist as between sovereign states? Or, if there is any, what is the legitimate consequence? If it is not that all arbitration should be denied, but only that the submission should embrace an additional topic, namely, the validity of the asserted prescriptive title either in point of law or in point of fact.

#### Great Britain Is Inconsistent

No different result follows from the contention that as matter of principle Great Britain cannot be asked to submit and ought not to submit to arbitration her political and sovereign rights over territory. This contention, if applied to the whole or to a vital part of the possessions of a sovereign state, need not be controverted. To hold otherwise might be equivalent to holding that a sovereign state was bound to arbitrate its very existence. But Great Britain has herself shown in various instances that the principle has no pertinency when either the interests or the territorial area involved are not of controlling magnitude and her loss of them as the result of arbitration cannot appreciably affect her honor or her power. Thus, she has arbitrated the extent of her colonial possessions twice with the United States, twice with Portugal, and once with Germany, and perhaps in other instances. The Northwest Water Boundary Arbitration of 1872 between her and this country is an example in point and well illustrates both the effect to be given to long-continued use and enjoyment and the fact that a truly great Power sacrifices neither prestige nor dignity by reconsidering the most emphatic rejection of a proposition when satisfied of the obvious and intrinsic justice of the case. By the award of the Emperor of Germany, the arbitrator in that case, the United States acquired San Juan and a number of smaller islands near the coast of Vancouver as a consequence of the decision that the term “the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver’s Island”, as used in the treaty of Washington of 1846, meant the Haro channel and not the Rosario channel. Yet a leading contention of Great Britain before the arbitrator was that equity required a judgment in her favor because a decision in favor of the United States would deprive British subjects of rights of navigation of which they had the habitual enjoyment from the time when the Rosario Strait was first explored and surveyed in 1798. So, though in virtue of the award the United States acquired San Juan and the other islands of the group to which it belongs, the British Foreign Secretary had in 1859 instructed the British Minister at Washington as follows:

Her Majesty’s Government must, therefore, under any circumstances, maintain the right of the British Crown to the Island of San Juan. The interests at stake in connection with the retention of that Island are too important to

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

admit of compromise and your Lordship will consequently bear in mind that, whatever arrangement as to the boundary line is finally arrived at, no settlement of the question will be accepted by Her Majesty's Government which does not provide for the Island of San Juan being reserved to the British Crown.

Thus as already intimated, the British demand that her right to a portion of the disputed territory shall be acknowledged before she will consent to an arbitration as to the rest seems to stand upon nothing but her own *ipse dixit* [pronouncement]. She says to Venezuela, in substance: "You can get none of the debatable land by force, because you are not strong enough; you can get none by treaty, because I will not agree; and you can take your chance of getting a portion by arbitration only if you first agree to abandon to me such other portion as I may designate."

It is not perceived how such an attitude can be defended nor how it is reconcilable with that love of justice and fair play so eminently characteristic of the English race. It in effect deprives Venezuela of her free agency and puts her under virtual duress. Territory acquired by reason of it will be as much wrested from her by the strong hand as if occupied by British troops or covered by British fleets. It seems therefore quite impossible that this position of Great Britain should be assented to by the United States, or that, if such position be adhered to with the result of enlarging the bounds of British Guiana, it should not be regarded as amounting, in substance, to an invasion and conquest of Venezuelan territory.

#### The President's Duty

In these circumstances, the duty of the President appears to him unmistakable and imperative. Great Britain's assertion of title to the disputed territory combined with her refusal to have that title investigated being a substantial appropriation of the territory to her own use, not to protest and give warning that the transaction will be regarded as injurious to the interests of the people of the United States as well as oppressive in itself would be to ignore an established policy with which the honor and welfare of this country are closely identified. While the measures necessary or proper for the vindication of that policy are to be determined by another branch of the Government, it is clearly for the Executive to leave nothing undone which may tend to render such determination unnecessary.

You are instructed, therefore, to present the foregoing views to Lord Salisbury by reading to him this communication (leaving with him a copy should he so desire), and to reinforce them by such pertinent considerations as will doubtless occur to you. They call for a definite decision upon the point whether Great Britain will consent or will decline to submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration. It is the earnest hope of the President that the conclusion will be on the side of arbitration, and that Great Britain will add one more to the conspicuous precedents she has already furnished in favor of that wise and just mode of adjusting international disputes.

If he is to be disappointed in that hope, however—a result not to be anticipated and in his judgment calculated to greatly embarrass the future relations between this country and Great Britain—it is his wish to be made acquainted with the fact at such early date as will enable him to lay the whole subject before Congress in his next annual message.

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## ENGLAND'S DIFFERENT CLAIMS TO VENEZUELAN TERRITORY

The controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela over territory is one of long standing. Claims made by England have steadily increased and have always been resisted by the Venezuelans. The territory in dispute is extremely valuable and fear of losing it is thought to be the reason for England's declining arbitration.

Great Britain acquired her title to the colony of British Guiana by treaty from Holland in 1814, the provinces transferred being those of Esequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. From that time to the present day Venezuela has never recognized that England enjoys legal right to a single foot of ground west of the Esequibo River.

In 1841 Sir Robert Schomburgk, an engineer in the British service, entered the disputed territory without the concurrence of the British Government, and proceeded to run a line from the Brazilian frontier to the Boca Grande, which was intended to establish a definite boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. The Schomburgk line was not at first claimed by the British Foreign Office as legal, and has not until recently been designated in British diplomatic correspondence as England's primary base.

When Schomburgk drew his "arbitrary line" of demarcation in 1841, he set up posts to indicate British dominion at Point Barima, Amacuro and other localities. The Venezuelan Government made a vigorous protest, and Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary, promptly ordered the posts removed, thus showing that England felt no certainty of the justice of her claims.

Lord Aberdeen, in 1844, proposed to the Venezuelans a boundary line which did not follow the Schomburgk line. It conceded to the Venezuelans a large part of the coast and the mouth of the Orinoco River, which Lord Salisbury now claims. Aberdeen's proposed line began on the coast at the mouth of the River Morocco, run straight into the interior, crossing the Schomburgk line at right angles. This Aberdeen proposition was the first specific definition of England's pretended rights, and the sole foundation for it in international law was the shadowy allegation that Dutch settlements and Indian treaties justified Great Britain in instituting authority over a portion of the trans-Esequibo regions, the exact geographical limits of which had never been adjusted.

It is seen that Lord Aberdeen, in undertaking to trace British Guiana's extreme rightful bounds—thereby fixing a precedent for future British Foreign Secretaries—could find no excuse for carrying them further than the mouth of the Morocco. He made no pretense to ownership of the grand mouth of the Orinoco. It is claimed to-day by Lord Salisbury, who not only declares that England owns the coast up to the terminus of the Schomburgk line at the mouth of the Amacuro, but claims land in the interior considerably beyond the furthest westward bend of the Aberdeen line.

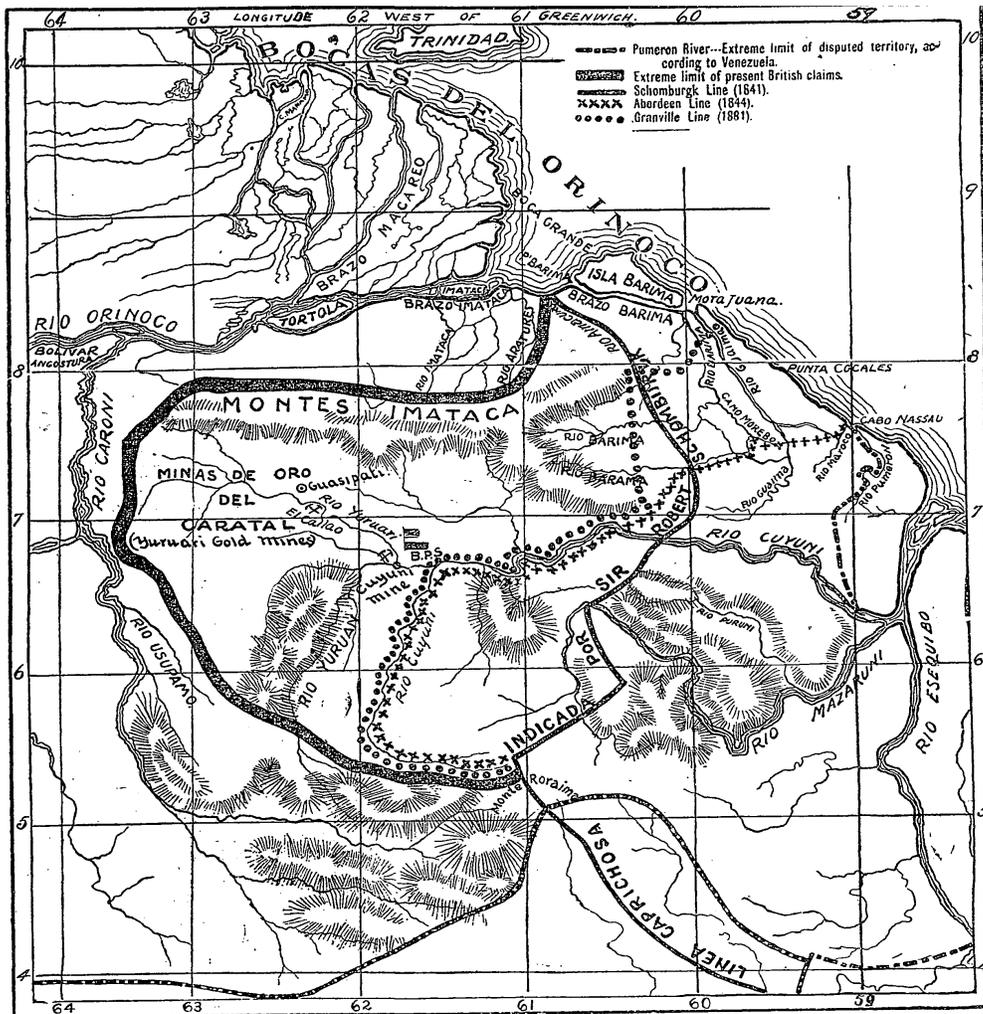
Of course, the Venezuelans declined to accept the Aberdeen line, and nothing further was done in the matter until 1850, when the celebrated status quo was established, whereby Great Britain agreed not to occupy or encroach upon the territory in dispute in consideration of a similar agreement on the part of Venezuela. What was meant by "territory in dispute" was not stated. The status quo has never been abrogated. It is claimed by Venezuelans that England has repeatedly violated the status quo by invading the territory far beyond either the Schomburgk or Aberdeen line.

Lord Granville in 1881 proposed to the Venezuelans a new boundary line. It began far north of the Aberdeen line on the coast, but a short distance south of the Schomburgk line, and did not

include the Barima River or island, which are now claimed by England. The Granville line in the interior followed the Aberdeen line, but gave Venezuela undisputed possession at the mouth of the Orinoco.

This was equivalent to a formal disavowal of any design upon the Boca Grande of the Orinoco; in the most positive style the exclusive control was assigned to Venezuela.

In 1883, (Lord Granville being still at the head of the Foreign Office.) overtures were made to Venezuela to have an amicable settlement of the case. Venezuela was anxious for settlement, and dispatched Gen. Guzman Blanco, one of the foremost diplomats of South America, to England to act in the matter. Gen. Blanco did not waste his time in discussing maps and ancient lines, but bent all his energies to secure arbitration of the matter. He gained his point, for June 18, 1883. Lord Granville assented to a treaty between England and Venezuela, one clause of which provided that any differences not adjustable by the usual means should be submitted to “the arbitration of a third power, or of several powers, in amity with both countries, without resorting to war.”



[Map: The British claims]

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This great diplomatic stroke of Gen. Blanco, absolutely bringing England to bay on the boundary question, was, however, immediately made of no avail by the overturn of the Gladstone Ministry. Lord Salisbury, who took office a few days later, promptly rescinded the arbitration clause of the proposed treaty. Since that time England has persistently declined every proposal to arbitrate the matter.

England is not satisfied with repudiating the comparatively moderate boundary designations originated by Aberdeen and Granville, but has enlarged her territorial claim with the utmost recklessness. The Venezuelan Government contends that the Essequibo-Pumeron-Cuyuni strip is the only land fairly in dispute.

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THE MESSAGE IS INDORSED  
Congressmen in Hearty Accord with the President  
POLITICAL DIFFERENCES ARE IGNORED  
Mr. Cleveland's Utterances Approved by Republicans as Well as Democrats—  
The Commission Idea Favorably Received

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17—The President's message was the topic of general discussion on the floor of the Senate long after adjournment. Mr. Voorhees said to a correspondent of *The New-York Times* that he agreed with every recommendation made by the President. "It is a strong message," he said, "and one that will appeal to the American heart. While there may be some difference of opinion regarding the best plan to adopt in connection with the Venezuelan question, I shall be surprised if the Senate does not follow the recommendation of Mr. Cleveland and authorize him to appoint a commission to examine the question in all its bearings. Such a commission should be able to report inside of sixty days. I applauded the message because I recognized the patriotic spirit which animates it. It will receive the indorsement of the people, beyond a doubt."

Senator Faulkner said the message was the strongest that had proceeded from the White House during the present Administration. "It is absolutely without a flaw." He added:

It puts the question outside of diplomatic shilly-shallying. There may be conflicting views as to the best method to be adopted by this country in pursuing the subject to its end, whatever that may be. Personally, I should think that the State Department, which has a contingent fund at its disposal, could make the investigation asked for by the President and report to Congress with greater dispatch than a commission such as he suggested. The President has taken hold of this question in a way that appeals to the true American spirit, and he will be indorsed by all parties. This matter has gone beyond the stage of partisan politics. The people know no politics when a question affecting the whole country is at stake. It need not surprise you to see a rupture in the Salisbury Cabinet as the direct outcome of this message. The position of this country is solid enough. Great Britain has been asked to arbitrate the Venezuelan boundary question. She has refused. Now the United States proposes to determine the question at issue to its own satisfaction. If it shall be found that Great Britain claims territory to which she is not entitled, she will be politely, but firmly, told to retreat beyond the lines marking her rightful possessions. If it shall be found that the Venezuelans are wrong, and that Great Britain is not a trespasser, it will be the manly, straightforward course for this Government to say so. Whatever will be the result of the investigation which assuredly will be set on foot, there can be no doubt, in view of the President's message, that this Government will strike straight from the shoulder.

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That message I regard as a boon to the Democratic Party. It adds immeasurably to the prospects of the Democrats in the coming campaign. The outlook for the party is much brighter now than it was yesterday.

While the American people are opposed to war on general principles, it must not be forgotten that we have already had two wars with Great Britain, and there is deep and lasting rivalry between the two nations. One result of another contest would be the acquisition, by the United States, of Canada, a country which ought to be included in the American Union.

While a war would be a calamity in one sense, it might eventually prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am inclined to think, however, that Great Britain will not go to war over this question.

Several Senators whose views were requested said they doubted very much whether the President's recommendation of the appointment of a commission would be adopted.

"We want something livelier than a commission," said one Senator, who did not care to be quoted. "The State Department is amply able to probe this matter, and the Secretary of State ought to be instructed to Investigate and report at the earliest possible moment."

The message came as a blow between the eyes to some of the Republican "jingo," who had expected to make political capital out of the Venezuela question this Winter. They began to look for a political trick as soon as the contents of the message were made known to them, and concluded that they had found it in the recommendation relative to the commission.

Senator Cullom, who recently made a speech on the Monroe doctrine and who is inclined to view matters from a partisan standpoint, said this afternoon that he did not propose to sanction the plan for a Democratic commission to be helping the Democrats in the coming campaign. Mr. Cullom was careful to say that he indorsed the general sentiments of the message. Mr. Teller unhesitatingly said that he was in favor of upholding the Monroe doctrine against all comers, and that the President might rely upon his support.

Other Senators and Representatives were free to express their opinions, which follow:

Mr. Brice (Dem., Ohio)—The idea of appointing a commission suggests a long continuance of the discussion. Commissions drawing a per diem do not conclude their labors speedily, and no one can tell when this commission would cease to draw its per diem.

Mr. Gorman (Dem., Md.)—It is a very thorough, emphatic, and strong American message. It looks very much as if the President intended to enforce the Monroe doctrine.

Mr. Caffery (Dem., La.)—I have not thoroughly digested the message, but so far as I was able to hear it, I am compelled to say that I look upon it as a most extraordinary message.

Mr. Bacon (Dem., Ga.)—I agree with every word of it.

Mr. Pugh (Dem., Ala.)—On this matter Democrats and Republicans come together with one accord. I am for war and free coinage. The message certainly indicates that there will be war unless England backs down.

Mr. Call (Dem., Fla.)—It is excellent, splendid. The matter is still open to arbitration, and I am sure England will finally consent.

Mr. Vilas (Dem., Wis.)—I look upon it as a strong and able state paper, one that will rank with any state paper issued by any Administration.

Mr. Gray (Dem., Del.)—I must decline to be interviewed on the subject.

Mr. Chilton (Dem., Tex.)—It is an able a timely declaration of the true American principle.

Mr. Faulkner (Dem., W. Va.)—This message may affect the Salisbury Ministry before the English Prime Minister gets through with it. He must stand up now or go under. There can be no such thing as a backdown on the part of the United States. The Congress will indorse and support the President in the stand he has taken.

Representative Sherman (Rep., N. Y.)—If the utterances of the President contained in his message on Venezuela are in any manner the result of his recent ducking outing I very much regret that his Secretary of State did not accompany him on that trip. The message has in it an American ring that is as gratifying as it has been unusual during this Administration. I might almost use the word “jingo” in reference to it, did not that word grate on Democratic ears. I am glad to commend it without qualification.

Representative Quigg, (Rep., N. Y.)—President Cleveland’s message is admirable in every respect. His statement of the grounds upon which the Monroe doctrine is made applicable to the Venezuelan boundary question cannot be answered. His definition of our duty in the presence of Great Britain’s refusal to arbitrate is clear and true. I shall vote for the commission he proposes and entertain the policy he outlines in every way I can. During a visit to Demerara and Venezuela three years ago I examined this question very thoroughly and no doubt exists in my mind of the justice of Venezuela’s contention. The President has met his duty in a manner which is at once dignified, equitable, and complete, and the sentiments of all parties and of the whole country will indorse his position heartily.

M. Grosvenor, (Rep., Ohio)—The message is a strong, clean-cut demand for the observance and defense of the Monroe doctrine, and in the light of the dispatches from the British Government, it is only a little short of a declaration of war unless England recedes or seeks farther diplomacy. The position taken by the President is, at first glance, a step in advance of the former official declarations of our country. If the attitude of England, as announced, is the ultimatum, then the message is a menace of war. It may be said, in friendly criticism of the message, that it has possibly gone just a shade too far in this direction, and apparently the President does not feel much need of Congressional action To ascertain facts by a commission to be sent to a foreign country to decide and report upon a dispute between two other countries is novel, and will possibly lead to results which Congress will not be willing to contribute to.

Mr. McCall, (Rep., Mass.)—The reply of Lord Salisbury attempts, in effect, to do away with the Monroe doctrine. Since Great Britain declines to submit the Venezuelan boundary to arbitration, we must ascertain that boundary for ourselves, and then resist any encroachments upon it. The message of the President is a spirited and noble document, and should receive the united support of both parties.

Mr. Russell, (Rep., Conn.)—The message is good. Anything less would be unpatriotic and cowardly in the President of the United States. A commission will delay the settlement of the controversy and furnish information already known. Its suggestion is prudent, perhaps, and allows England a chance to retract. It is not necessary, and we don’t want to dally any in this controversy. What a pity Mr. Cleveland cannot apply his patriotic instincts to the benefit of our home industries as well as to the defense of our rights under the Monroe doctrine.

Mr. McCreary, (Dem., Ky.)—It is vigorous, positive and able. As a reaffirmation of the Monroe doctrine it will attract wide attention, and I believe be generally indorsed by the people. The President, having tried faithfully to induce Great Britain to submit the Venezuelan boundary dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been apprised of the refusal of Great Britain, he very properly suggests that Congress make an appropriation to pay the expenses of a commission, to be appointed by the Executive, to make the necessary investigation and report without delay an regards the boundary dispute. I admire the firm and positive course taken by the President and I believe the House of Representatives will support him in his efforts to uphold the Monroe doctrine and prevent Great Britain from making illegal encroachments on the territory of Venezuela.

Mr. Cummings, (Dem., N. Y.)—The message breathes the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Andrew Jackson. President Cleveland's action stands in strong contrast with the cowardly action of Lord Salisbury in Armenian affairs.. The President stands by the Monroe doctrine, and he undoubtedly means every word he says.

Mr. Bartlett (Dem., N. Y.)—I am glad to see that the President has decided in favor of resisting the aggressions of Great Britain in respect to the boundary dispute. I believe it is practically conceded that England's title to a large part of the disputed territory is a title which might alone give. England, in any event, will consent only to arbitrate a small portion of the territory, and will insist on maintaining her hold on nearly all of the land. We should force Great Britain to recede from her position and relinquish the territory.

Mr. Livingston, (Dem., Ga.)—Mr. Cleveland's message is clean-cut American. He distinctly recognizes the Monroe doctrine in all its length and breadth, and as specially applicable in the dispute pending between Great Britain and Venezuela. He declares emphatically for resistance against British oppression, and, like the man he is, against further delay and further appeals on our part for arbitration. He suggests the very method contained in my resolution now before Congress, for a commission to ascertain for ourselves the true boundary line and then enforce the findings of that commission, even if war shall be the result. His message will find a warm response in the hearts of all Americans. He recognizes the terrible conflict that would follow, if fight we must, between the two great English-speaking peoples; yet admits that there is no calamity which a great Nation can invite which equals supine submission and loss of National honor and self-respect.

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### SOUTHERN DIPLOMATS OVERJOYED None of Them, However, Is Willing to Talk Publicly of the Measure

WASHINGTON Dec. 17.—The diplomatic representatives of American republics in Washington were highly elated over the President's message, and nearly all of them cabled copious extracts of the document to their respective Governments. Ever since the Corinto affair they had been somewhat despondent over the supposed indisposition of the United States to resist foreign aggression on the American Continent, but to-day they could not find language adequate to express their admiration for President Cleveland's forcible utterances, particularly in regard to the possible resort to other competitions than those "in the arts of peace."

None of the Ministers or Chargés d'Affaires, however, consented to speak authoritatively for their Governments in the absence of instructions, nor would any be led into a public interview on the subject. One who has had perhaps more experience in the international affairs of the United States than most of his colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps said that while he was gratified to see that the United States had finally taken a firm stand on the Monroe doctrine it would be unwise to consider it established in the code of nations, and although he believed European nations would be compelled to recognize its force hereafter, it was not by any means sure that its effect could be made retroactive, as its application to the Venezuelan matter certainly would be. Aside from this, he hoped

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(and in this he believed all American republics would support the United States) that England would be forced by war if necessary, to give up the territory she had stolen from Venezuela, and he trusted that Congress would authorize the Executive to furnish arms and men to drive out the 40,000 squatters referred to by Lord Salisbury.

Another representative of a Government that has a dispute with Great Britain as to a matter of land grabbing, differing only in degree from that of Venezuela, declared that if the United States was sincere in this matter and supported President Cleveland's suggestion for a boundary commission beyond England's influence, it would result in that greater desideratum, an alliance both for peace and war of the most progressive American republics. The boundary questions in Alaska, he said, could then be as quickly settled as that in Venezuela, and the rapid encroachments of Belize on both Mexico and Guatemala would be terminated and the title to the territory of Brazil now claimed by French and British Guiana would be determined.

With the bulldozing power of Great Britain nullified, he believed her commercial supremacy would disappear, and that trade would flow on north and south lines instead of east and west.

Another of the South American representatives was disposed, in view of the attitude of the United States in past years, and the peculiar political conditions now existing in this country, to await the sober second thought of the people in regard to the message. He thought he should like to hear what Senator Sherman (the new Chairman of Foreign Relations) said about the readiness of the United States to go to war about Venezuela, where its interests were so small, compared with what they were presumed to be in Nicaragua and Cuba.. His opinion was that Great Britain would not recede behind the Schomburgk line in the British Guiana claim, and that the United States would not resort to force in the attempt to compel her to do so. He thought, however, that Lord Salisbury would very promptly concede the remainder of the Venezuelan contention, including control of the Orinoco mouth, and that the United States would secure Venezuela's acquiescence in that boundary.

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## RIGHT AND JUSTICE

The President joins the courage of an American to a jurist's respect for right and justice. The position he takes is immeasurably strengthened by the fact that it is based upon a demand for arbitration. Great Britain refusing to submit its pretensions to an impartial examination, the President declares that we must constitute a competent court of inquiry. If the court finds that Great Britain is right, we shall interpose no obstacle to her at acquiring all the territory as to which her title is proved. If she is wrong, the unwarranted seizure of the disputed territory by her would constitute an act of aggression which we will not permit. The American people will sustain that position, because it is honorable, just, and in accord with a principle to which we have uniformly adhered for three-quarters of a century.

The British Ministry cannot maintain and justify before the people of Great Britain, against the firm and united protest of the people of the United States, a cause they dare not or will not submit to impartial arbitration.

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LORD SALISBURY'S REPLY  
Declares the Monroe Doctrine Does Not Apply to Venezuela's Case

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—Lord Salisbury's answer to Mr. Olney's note is addressed to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, and is in two installments, both under date of Nov. 20 last. The first note deals with the enunciation of principles laid down by Mr. Olney on the basis of the Monroe doctrine while the second merely discusses the boundary question between Great Britain and Venezuela.

The first note follows:

FOREIGN OFFICE, Nov. 26, 1895.

Sir: On the 7th August I transmitted to Lord Gough a copy of the despatch from Mr. Olney which Mr. Bayard had left with me that day, and of which he had read portions to me. I informed him at the time that it could not be answered until it had been carefully considered by the Law Officers of the Crown. I have therefore deferred replying to it till after the recess.

I will not now deal with those portions of it which are concerned exclusively with the controversy that has for some time past existed between the Republic of Venezuela and Her Majesty's Government in regard to the boundary which separates their dominions. I take a different view from Mr. Olney of various matters upon which he touches in that part of the despatch; but I will defer for the present all observations upon it, as it concerns matters which are not in themselves of first-rate importance, and do not directly concern the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

The latter part however of the despatch, turning from the question of the frontiers of Venezuela, proceeds to deal with principles of a far wider character, and to advance doctrines of international law which are of considerable interest to all the nations whose dominions include any portion of the western hemisphere.

The contentions set forth by Mr. Olney in this part of his despatch are represented by him as being an application of the political maxims which are well known in American discussion under the name of the Monroe doctrine. As far as I am aware, this doctrine has never been before advanced on behalf of the United States in any written communication addressed to the Government of another nation; but it has been generally adopted and assumed as true by many eminent writers and politicians in the United States. It is said to have largely influenced the Government of that country in the conduct of its foreign affairs; though Mr. Clayton, who was Secretary of State under President Taylor, expressly stated that that Administration had in no way adopted it.

Development of the Doctrine

But during the period that has elapsed since the Message of President Monroe was delivered in 1823, the doctrine has undergone a very notable development, and the aspect which it now presents in the hands of Mr. Olney differs widely from its character when it first issued from the pen of its

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author. The two propositions which in effect President Monroe laid down were, first, that America was no longer to be looked upon as a field for European colonization; and, secondly, that Europe must not attempt to extend its political system to America, or to control the political condition of any of the American communities who had recently declared their independence.

The dangers against which President Monroe thought it right to guard were not as imaginary as they would seem at the present day. The formation of the Holy Alliance; the Congresses of Laybach and Verona; the invasion of Spain by France for the purpose of forcing upon the Spanish people a form of government which seemed likely to disappear, unless it was sustained by external aid, were incidents fresh in the mind of President Monroe when he penned his celebrated Message. The system of which he speaks, and of which he so resolutely deprecates the application to the American Continent, was the system then adopted by certain powerful States upon the Continent of Europe of combining to prevent by force of arms the adoption in other countries of political institutions which they disliked, and to uphold by external pressure those which they approved. Various portions of South America had recently declared their independence, and that independence had not been recognized by the Governments of Spain and Portugal, to which, with small exception, the whole of Central and South America were nominally subject.

#### Danger Not Imaginary

It was not an imaginary danger that he foresaw, if he feared that the same spirit which had dictated the French expedition into Spain might inspire the more powerful Governments of Europe with the idea of imposing, by the force of European arms, upon the South American communities the form of government and the political connection which they had thrown off. In declaring that the United States would resist such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English Government of that date.

The dangers which were apprehended by President Monroe have no relation to the state of things in which we live at the present day. There is no danger of any Holy Alliance imposing its system upon any portion of the American Continent, and there is no danger of any European State treating any part of the American Continent as a fit object for European colonization. It is intelligible that Mr. Olney should invoke, in defence of the views on which he is now insisting, an authority which enjoys so high a popularity with his own fellow-countrymen.

But the circumstances with which President Monroe was dealing, and those to which the present American Government is addressing itself have very few features in common. Great Britain is imposing no "system" upon Venezuela, and is not concerning herself in any way with the nature of the political institutions under which the Venezuelans may prefer to live. But the British Empire and the Republic of Venezuela are neighbours, and they have differed for some time past, and continue to differ, as to the line by which their dominions are separated.

#### No Concern of Uncle Sam

It is a controversy with which the United States have no apparent practical concern. It is difficult, indeed, to see how it can materially affect any State or community outside those primarily interested, except perhaps other parts of Her Majesty's dominions, such as Trinidad. The disputed frontier of Venezuela has nothing to do with any of the questions dealt with by President Monroe. It is not a question of the colonization by a European Power of any portion of America. It is not a

question of the imposition upon the communities of South America of any system of government devised in Europe. It is simply the determination of the frontier of a British possession which belonged to the Throne of England long before the Republic of Venezuela came into existence. But even if the interests of Venezuela were so far linked to those of the United States as to give to the latter a *locus standi* in this controversy, their Government apparently have not formed, and certainly do not express, any opinion upon the actual merits of the dispute.

The Government of the United States do not say that Great Britain, or that Venezuela, is in the right in the matters that are in issue. But they lay down that the doctrine of President Monroe, when he opposed the imposition of European systems, or the renewal of European colonization, confers upon them the right of demanding that when a European Power has a frontier difference with a South American community, the European Power shall consent to refer that controversy to arbitration; and Mr. Olney states that unless Her Majesty's Government accede to this demand, it will "greatly embarrass the future relations between Great Britain and the United States."

Whatever may be the authority of the doctrine laid down by President Monroe, there is nothing in his language to show that he ever thought of claiming this novel prerogative for the United States. It is admitted that he did not seek to assert a Protectorate over Mexico, or the States of Central and South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of those States, and consequently the responsibility of controlling it. His sagacious foresight would have led him energetically to deprecate the addition of so serious a burden to those which the Rulers of the United States have to bear.

#### Should Not Act as Protector

It follows of necessity that if the Government of the United States will not control the conduct of these communities, neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which they may be guilty towards other nations. If they violate in any way the rights of another State, or of its subjects, it is not alleged that the Monroe doctrine will assure them the assistance of the United States in escaping from any reparation which they may be bound by international law to give. Mr. Olney expressly disclaims such an inference from the principles he lays down.

But the claim which he founds upon them is that, if any independent American State advances a demand for territory of which its neighbour claims to be the owner, and that neighbour is the colony of a Euro-State, the United States have a right to insist that the European State shall submit the demand, and its own impugned rights to arbitration.

I will not now enter into a discussion of the merits of this method of terminating international differences. It has proved itself valuable in many cases; but it is not free from defects, which often operate as a serious drawback on its value. It is not always easy to find an Arbitrator who is competent, and who, at the same time, is wholly free from bias; and the task of insuring compliance with the Award when it is made is not exempt from difficulty. It is a mode of settlement of which the value varies much according to the nature of the controversy to which it is applied, and the character of the litigants who appeal to it.

Whether, in any particular case, it is a suitable method of procedure is generally a delicate and difficult question. The only parties who are competent to decide that question are the two parties whose rival contentions are in issue. The claim of a third nation, which is unaffected by the controversy, to impose this particular procedure on either of the two others, cannot be reasonably

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justified, and has no foundation in the law of nations.

In the remarks which I have made, I have argued on the theory that the Monroe doctrine in itself is sound. I must not, however, be understood as expressing any acceptance of it on the part of Her Majesty's Government. It must always be mentioned with respect, on account of the distinguished statesman to whom it is due, and the great nation who have generally adopted it. But international law is founded on the general consent of nations; and no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before, and which has not since been accepted by the Government of any other country.

### Rights of Nations Stated

The United States have a right, like any other nation, to interpose in any controversy by which their own interests are affected; and they are the judge whether those interests are touched, and in what measure they should be sustained. But their rights are in no way strengthened or extended by the fact that the controversy affects some territory which is called American. Mr. Olney quotes the recent Chilean war, in which the United States declined to join with France and England in an effort to bring hostilities to a close, on account of the Monroe doctrine. The limited States were entirely in their right in declining to join in an attempt at pacification if they thought fit; but Mr. Olney's principle that "American questions are for American decision," even if it receive any countenance from the language of President Monroe (which it does not), can not be sustained by any reasoning drawn from the law of nations.

The Government of the United States is not entitled to affirm as a universal proposition, with reference to a number of independent States for whose conduct it assumes no responsibility, that its interests are necessarily concerned in whatever may befall those States simply because they are situated in the Western Hemisphere. It may well be that the interests of the United States are affected by something that happens to Chile or to Peru, and that that circumstance may give them the right of interference; but such a contingency may equally happen in the case of China or Japan, and the right of interference is not more extensive or more assured in the one case than in the other.

Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law; and the danger which such admission would involve is sufficiently exhibited both by the strange development which the doctrine has received at Mr. Olney's hands, and the arguments by which it is supported, in the despatch under reply. In defence of it he says:

"That distance and 3,000 miles of intervening ocean make any permanent political union between a European and an American State unnatural and inexpedient will hardly be denied. But physical and geographical considerations are the least of the objections to such a union. Europe has a set of primary interests which are peculiar to herself; America is not interested in them, and ought not to be vexed or complicated with them."

And, again: "Thus far in our history we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense standing armies and all the other accessories of huge warlike establishment; and the exemption has highly contributed to our national greatness and wealth, as well as to the happiness of every citizen. But with the powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed cannot be expected to continue."

### Meaning of Mr. Olney's Words

The necessary meaning of these words is that the union between Great Britain and Canada; between Great Britain and Jamaica and Trinidad; between Great Britain and British Honduras or British Guiana are "inexpedient and unnatural." President Monroe disclaims any such inference from his doctrine; but in this, as in other respects, Mr. Olney develops it. He lays down that the inexpedient and unnatural character of the union between a European and American State is so obvious that it "will hardly be denied." Her Majesty's Government are prepared emphatically to deny it on behalf of both the British and American people who are subject to her Crown. They maintain that the union between Great Britain and her territories in the Western Hemisphere is both natural and expedient.

They fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change. But they are not prepared to admit that the recognition of that expediency is clothed with the sanction which belongs to a doctrine of international law.

They are not prepared to admit that the interests of the United States are necessarily concerned in every frontier dispute which may arise between any two of the States who possess dominion in the Western Hemisphere; and still less can they accept the doctrine that the United States are entitled to claim that the process of arbitration shall be applied to any demand for the surrender of territory which one of those States may make against another.

I have commented in the above remarks only upon the general aspect of Mr. Olney's doctrines, apart from the special considerations which attach to the controversy between the United Kingdom and Venezuela in its present phase. This controversy has undoubtedly been made more difficult by the inconsiderate action of the Venezuelan Government in breaking off relations with Her Majesty's Government, and its settlement has been correspondingly delayed; but Her Majesty's Government have not surrendered the hope that it will be adjusted by a reasonable arrangement at an early date.

I request that you will read the substance of the above despatch to Mr. Olney, and leave him a copy if he desires it.

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### SAYS BRITAIN'S CLAIMS ARE JUST Disputed Territory, Salisbury Declares, Was Acquired by Conquest

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—Lord Salisbury's note of Nov. 26 concludes the correspondence. His object in writing it is, he says, because it seems desirable, in order to remove some evident misapprehensions as to the main features of the question, and that the statement of the boundary dispute contained in the earlier portion of Mr. Olney's dispatch should not be left without reply. "Such a course," he says, "will be the more convenient, because, in consequence of the suspension of diplomatic relations, I shall not have the opportunity of setting right misconceptions of this kind in the ordinary way, in a dispatch addressed to the Venezuelan Government itself."

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Great Britain, Lord Salisbury is careful to note, has heretofore refrained from presenting any detailed statement of its case either to the United States or any foreign Government, and he therefore thinks Mr. Olney's argument must be founded mainly, if not entirely, on ex parte statements emanating from Venezuela, and giving an erroneous view of many material facts.

Lord Salisbury denies that the boundary question, as stated by Mr. Olney, is of ancient origin. It did not commence, he says, until after 1840. Great Britain's title, says his Lordship, to the territory in dispute, was derived by conquest from the Dutch and military occupation of Dutch settlements in 1796.

As to the claim that Venezuela acquired the territory she now claims by assumption of all the territory of Spain, Lord Salisbury contends that this is an acknowledgment of her non-ownership of the territory now claimed by Great Britain, as Spain had not asserted ownership of it.

Continuing, he says:

"The fundamental principle underlying the Venezuelan argument is, in fact, that, inasmuch as Spain was originally entitled of right to the whole of the American Continent, any territory on that continent which she cannot be shown to have acknowledged in positive and specific terms to have passed to another owner, can only have been acquired by wrong usurpation, and if situated to the north of the Amazon and west of the Atlantic, must necessarily belong to Venezuela as her self-constituted inheritor in those regions. It may reasonably be asked whether Mr. Olney would consent to refer to the arbitration of another power pretensions raised by the Government of Mexico on such a foundation to large tracts of territory which had long been comprised in the federation."

The marking of the Schomburgk line is reviewed at length, and this line, Lord Salisbury states, instead of being an encroachment on Venezuelan territory, was, in fact, "a great reduction of the boundary claimed by Great Britain as a matter of right, and its proposal originated in a desire to come to a speedy and friendly arrangement with a weaker power with whom Great Britain was at the time, and desired to remain, in cordial relations."

Lord Salisbury says that it will be seen that Great Britain has from the first held the same view as to the extent of the territory which they are entitled to claim as a matter of right. It comprised the coast line up to the River Amacura, and the whole basin at the Esequibo River and its tributaries. A portion of that claim, however, says Lord Salisbury, they have always been willing to waive altogether; in regard to another portion they have been and continue to be perfectly ready to submit the question of their title to arbitration.

As regards the rest, that which lies within the so-called Schomburgk line, they do not consider that the rights of Great Britain are open to question. Even within that line they have, on various occasions, offered to Venezuela considerable concessions as a matter of friendship and conciliation, and for the purpose of securing an amicable settlement of the dispute.

If, as time has gone on, the concessions thus offered diminished in extent, and have now been withdrawn, this has been the necessary consequence of the gradual spread over the country of British settlements, which her Majesty's Government cannot, in justice to the inhabitants, offer to surrender to foreign rule, and the justice of such withdrawal is amply borne out by the researches in the national archives of Holland and Spain, which have furnished further and more convincing evidence in support of the British claims.

Lord Salisbury intimates that when the internal politics of Venezuela are on a more durable basis the British Government may be enabled to adopt a more moderate and conciliatory course in regard to this question, and has not abandoned the hope that the negotiations of 1890, 1891, and 1893 may be resumed with better success. He disclaims any intention of Great Britain to secure territory that

does not belong to her, and states her desire to be on friendly relations with Venezuela. In conclusion, he says, referring to the British Government:

“They have, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their readiness to submit to arbitration the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Venezuela to large tracts of territory, which, from their auriferous nature, are known to be of almost untold value. But they cannot consent to entertain, or to submit to arbitration of another power, or of foreign jurists, however eminent, claims based on the extravagant pretensions of Spanish officials in the last century, and involving the transfer of large numbers of British subjects who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony, to a nation of different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbances, and whose institutions as yet too often afford very inadequate protection to life and property.

“No issue of this description has ever been involved in the questions which Great Britain and the United States have consented to submit to arbitration, and her Majesty’s Government is convinced that in similar circumstances the Government of the United States would be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature.”

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#### THE PEOPLE WILL SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT

The declarations of Mr. Cleveland’s special message on the Venezuelan affair are very serious. They are more so than the American public had expected, though they are absolutely in harmony with the brief statement contained in the message of Dec. 3. The first impression made by the present message undoubtedly will be, coming from a President of such sober and independent judgment, with so deep a sense of his responsibility, and so free alike from the influence of popular passion or the bias of personal ambition, that it rests on a strong case. And this general, this practically universal confidence in the high character of Mr. Cleveland is a very weighty element in the situation. The people of the United States have always been and always will be prompt and firm in sustaining their Government in the assertion of their rights. Their feeling and their action are the more sure when they know that these rights are interpreted by a calm, clear, and just mind.

The substance of the case as submitted by the President may be briefly stated. In the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, which has existed in various stages of acuteness for more than a half century, Great Britain, starting from the boundary of the unquestioned territory of her colony of British Guiana, had at successive periods claimed a different and gradually greater extent of territory. The dispute having reached a critical stage, the President communicated to the British Government, in July last, a statement of what the United States regarded as their just and essential policy in the premises. This is in effect that no European power can be allowed, by the forcible extension of its territory on this continent or by other means, to extend its system over, or to oppress or control, the destiny of any independent American State. The question in the present case is, What is the boundary of British territory? Whatever it can fairly and fully be shown to be, the United States will respect it, but it should not be determined arbitrarily by Great Britain alone. It can only honorably and decisively be determined by arbitration, which the United States had urged on

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Great Britain for many years. The President requested of the British Government to be informed whether arbitration will be adopted.

The British Government has, with an elaborate statement of its case and with an extended discussion of the principles advanced and the policy avowed by the United States, declined to submit to arbitration, and equally, of course, denies the right of the United States to require it. Assuming that Venezuela maintains the position thus far taken, the President says:

The dispute has reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine, with sufficient certainty for its justification, what is the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The inquiry to that end should, of course, be conducted carefully and judicially, and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties.

In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner, I suggest that the Congress make an adequate appropriation for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the Executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report upon the matter with the least possible delay. When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela.

This declaration, as we have said, is very serious. It is made still more so by the closing words of the message:

In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the full responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow. I am nevertheless firm in my conviction that, while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self respect and honor, beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness.

It does not, in our judgment, express the scope or the authority of the principle involved in this message to designate it as a "doctrine" or to attach to it the name of any President, whether that of Monroe or another. It includes, we believe, a rational and fair application of the essential part of the "Monroe doctrine" as it has repeatedly been declared by the Government of the United States under successive Administrations and in varied circumstances. But it is now submitted to the judgment of the American Nation as an American principle. As it stands to-day in the message of the President, it is a clear, grave assertion that the United States will see justice done, neither asking more nor accepting less, to any Independent State on this continent. To that principle soon or late we believe Great Britain will assent. By that principle, in any event, the American Nation will stand.

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE  
How It Was Expressed by Its Author in Messages Regarding It

In a pamphlet entitled “The Monroe Doctrine: Its Origin and Meaning,” prepared by John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law at Columbia College, may be found all the passages in President Monroe’s messages that have been cited as containing the expression of his doctrine. At the beginning of Mr. Moore’s pamphlet are the two following extracts, numbered respectively I and II:

I

“At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has like wise been acceded to. . . In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” —Paragraph 7, message of Dec. 2, 1823.

II

“In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense.

“With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole Nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies at any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere.

“But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . .

“Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank,

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firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

“But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it at their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.”—Paragraphs 48 and 49, Message of Dec. 2, 1823.

It will be observed that the above two passages, which are sometimes printed together as if they formed one continuous passage and were intended to convey one idea, are widely separated in President Monroe’s message. In reality they relate to two different subjects.

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**ALTGELD DOES SOME JEERING  
Illinois Governor Has No Faith in the President**

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 18.—Gov. Altgeld talked freely last night concerning the attitude of President Cleveland on the Venezuelan matter as shown in his message. He said:

“This message is a loud cry to Congress to help the Administration let go or a tiger’s tail, and it shows clearly that the Administration is looking around for a hole in the fence to creep through in order to get out of the field in which it has been doing some grunting and a little rooting. This Venezuela boundary-line question is old. If there was any uncertain point connected with it, then the Administration should have gotten the necessary information before it made any protest to the British Government.

“Now, suppose a commission is appointed and it gets through the form of an investigation and then reports that the facts are in favor of England and that we ought never to have interfered and have no grounds for protesting, how will we then look in the sight of the other nations?

“And you notice the President asks that he be permitted to name this commission. Of course, he will name friends of his, and they will not report until he asks them to.”

CHICAGO, Dec. 18.—Merchants, Board of Trade members, Judges, lawyers, and prominent men of the Chicago business world generally who were asked to-day for an expression of opinion regarding the message of the President to Congress spoke approvingly of the position taken by the Government and in the majority of cases indulged in enthusiastic praise. There were a few exceptions, but the criticism was actuated by partisan feeling. Among the leading Democrats identified with the party management in the State and county none could be found who would say for publication that they approved of the criticism of the message by Gov. Altgeld, and several wore outspoken in declaring that the Governor acted ill-advisedly from a party standpoint.

Es-Mayor Hopkins was credited with saying that the criticism would cost the Governor a renomination and retire him politically.

P. D. Armour said: “I think it is a very good message. I do not think we will have any war with England, as matters have not reached the point where they cannot be amicably settled, but if there is war I believe it would be thoroughly justifiable on the part of the United States. There are a great many of us Republicans who like Mr. Cleveland.”

Marshall Field said; “Some one will have to back down in this international dispute. I need not say whether it will be the President or Lord Salisbury. Ex-Minister Lincoln says Lord Salisbury once offered to arbitrate the question. He may be willing to do so now.”

Ex-United States Senator Charles B. Farwell said: “I believe Lord Salisbury should have acceded to President Cleveland’s request for arbitration. President Cleveland has the courage of his convictions and I believe the Monroe doctrine should be upheld strictly in the present dispute.”

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A GLANCE AT VENEZUELA  
Something About the Country and Its Valuable Resources.  
HER RICH AND VALUED PRODUCTIONS  
Position of the Republic—The Cities, Lakes, Rivers and Form  
of Government—Natural Wealth and Character of the People

Although the Republic of Venezuela has been a somewhat settled and comparatively well-defined country for over 400 years, it was not until recently that the attention of the people of the United States became strongly attracted to this sister republic on the South American continent.

Venezuela, indeed, has been practically left to the unaided resources of development of its own inhabitants, since the period when the ancient Spanish conquerors abandoned the territory for those other regions on the slopes of the Andes, where the precious metals were seemingly much more abundant, and were to be had with the expenditure of infinitely less time and trouble. During these several centuries the country slumbered, and its wonderful natural resources lay undiscovered.

This was in part due to the situation of the country, and in part the consequence of the easy-going disposition of the descendants of the original Spanish inhabitants. Immigration, however, added to the awakened spirit of the age, has astonishingly quickened the impulses of the Venezuelans, as is attested by the rapid growth and quickly perfected character of their chief cities, notably Caracas, the capital of the nation and of its federal districts, which has been likened by travelers to Paris on a smaller scale.

The chief knowledge of Venezuela gained from the school geographies of a quarter of a century ago was circumscribed by the fact that it was the first land seen by Columbus on his third voyage to the west, and that it was traversed by the Orinoco, one of the greatest rivers of the world. It was pictured as a region of limitless tropic forests, immense plains, and vast mountain ranges.

Venezuela has frequently been styled in reference to its dispute with England over its boundary line, a small country. It is so only in the comparative sense, when contrasted in the mind figuratively with the enormous development and compact civilization of Great Britain. Venezuela is a large country—larger than France, Germany, and Holland combined. It is equal in extent to the great States of Texas, Colorado, Idaho, and California joined together.

Including the territory in dispute with England, Venezuela has an area of almost 600,000 square miles.

Visitors to the Chicago World's Fair were astonished to see the variety of the productions of Venezuela there displayed. These included many kinds of maize, starch, sugar and sugar cane, honey, beans, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, tobacco, hemp, palm, leaves, cotton, silk-cotton, silk-wool, vegetable horsehair, vegetable sponges, mineral waters, alcoholic, and other beverages, castor beans, castor oil, cocoanut oil, crab oil, sassafras oil, vanilla, soaps, beeswax, ornamental woods, dyeing and tanning woods, and barks, gums, resins, and caoutchoue, brooms, baskets, fibres, preserved fruits, coal, gold and silver, asbestos, copper, opal, talc, calcic spar, galena, tonka beans, lignite, petroleum, marble, paving stones, stalactites, kaolin, pipe-clay, magnesian limestone, sulphur, rubber, indigo, phosphate, guano, iron ore, mustard, sarsaparilla cinchona bark, cola nuts, tamarinds, and aloes.

Of forest woods alone there were 145 varieties, including a fine specimen of the algarrabo, a beautiful wood of dark yellowish color, streaked with green veins. There were besides many

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

specimens at prepared products, chemical and pharmaceutical, and of manufactures, not to speak of a collection of paintings by Venezuelan artists and of many books and newspapers.

Venezuela lies altogether within the torrid equatorial region, the great line passing through the southernmost territory of Alto-Amazonas. Notwithstanding this, the temperature of the country is much milder than that of the African equatorial coast lands—for instance, Guinea and Zanzibar. Situated at the northern end of South America, with the Caribbean Sea to the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the east, and high mountains in the interior, Venezuela is peculiarly favored by the natural elements. Three mountain ranges rear snow-capped summits to the sky—the Andes, the Coast Range, and the Parima Mountains. The Andes cross the northwestern States from northeast to southwest. The Coast Range runs parallel with the Caribbean coast. The Parima Mountains, beginning in the interior of the central western State of Bolivar, run east and west and mark the southern limit of the agricultural zone.

Venezuela has the shape of a three-leafed clover, with the stem on the Caribbean coast. Speaking generally, nearly every State in the country is mountainous to some degree. Among the mountains the country varies in temperature from moderate to very cold. The temperate lands begin at the height of 7,000 feet above and descend until within 2,000 feet of the sea level. Below that level are the hot countries.

There are but two seasons in Venezuela, the wet and the dry. When the sun reaches the Tropic of Capricorn the rains begin, and they do not stop until the sun has entered the Tropic of Cancer. Thus it is rainy and hot from April to October, and the rest of the year it is dry and cooler. During the summer the prevailing winds are from the northeast. There are heavy rainstorms called “northers” usually in November and December.

There are over 1,000 rivers and brooks in Venezuela, of which over 400 are affluents of the Orinoco. The Orinoco is navigable 850 miles from the ocean, and taps the fertile regions in the interior of the Colombia Republic. Some of the navigable tributaries of the Orinoco run south and join the Amazon or its tributaries, thus opening a double route to the sea. Besides this network of rivers, there are two large inland lakes, one of which, Lake Maracaibo, is as large as the Great Salt Lake in Utah, with an area of 2,100 square miles. The other, Lake Valencia, is 1,700 feet above the sea level.

There are three kinds of soil in Venezuela—agricultural, grazing, and wooded. There are 13,600 square miles of agricultural land, of which only 300 square miles are under cultivation. The Orinoco sweeps over the arc of an immense circle, entering on the east coast, and emerging from the country on the southwest border. There are over 70 islands on the coast, the largest, Margarita, being 441 square miles in area. There are over 1,500 miles of coast scattered along which are 32 harbors and 50 bays. Like the great lakes of the United States, the two great inland lakes of Venezuela have their own ports. There are five gulfs on the ocean coast, the largest of which is the Gulf of Maracaibo, 1,600 square miles in extent.

There are many mines in operation throughout Venezuela, the more valuable being in the Yuruari region, which is in the disputed territory. There is situated the famous Callao gold mine. Gold is also found in the mountainous districts of the Yaracui River, and near the cities of San Felipe and Nirgua. Several rich gold mines near Carupano are being worked with New York capital, and have assayed seven ounces to the ton. There are silver, copper, and lead mines in Venezuela. Seventy miles east of Puerto Cabello are the valuable Aroa copper mines, from which comes the red copper. In the Cordillera region are red hematite and iron deposits. The largest deposits of these ores are near the Imataca River, which is one of the tributaries of the Lower Orinoco. A dozen miles

from Barcelona are extensive deposits of bituminous coal. The Pedernales asphalt is similar to the Egyptian refined product.

There are rich salt beds in the Araya Peninsula which have been constantly worked since 1499, when they were discovered by Nino. In the last quarter of a century they have produced a Government revenue of \$2,700,000.

In Lagrenillas, near Merida, there is a lake the bottom of which is covered with sesqui carbonate of soda, which the natives call urao. There are large deposits of sulphur in Barcelona, Cremona, and Coro, and there are inexhaustible granite quarries in the Silla Mountain, near Caracas. Granite, chalk, slate, and marble abound on the coast and in the Parima Mountains. Over nine tons of solid gold were taken from the Yururi mines from 1886 to 1890. In Coro, at La Quiva, near the Pedregal road, there are forty springs which gush through beds as white as porcelain. Agriculture in Venezuela is mainly confined to the raising of coffee, cocoa and sugar cane. There are mother-of-pearl deposits in Neuva Esparta.

Venezuela is a Federal republic. Its Constitution is modeled on those of the United States and Switzerland. It gives autonomy to the States in the confederation. There are open elections, free speech, free press, religious liberty, security of person and property, prohibition of slavery, and no imprisonment for debt.

But in Venezuela there is no writ of habeas corpus and no trial by jury. The legislative power is lodged in a Senate and a House of Deputies. There are three Senators from each State, and, with their alternates, they serve four years. One Deputy is apportioned to each 35,000 inhabitants. The Venezuelan Congress consists of 27 Senators and 53 Deputies.

The population of Venezuela is 2,400,000 by the latest census. On the peace footing the army numbers 7,000 men. In case of war the effective force can be raised to 60,000 men. The annual revenue of the country is \$5,500,000, of which two-thirds is from customs duties. Venezuela imports annually \$13,000,000 worth of merchandise, and exports \$16,000,000 worth. The principal export is coffee, equal to \$15,000,000 per annum. Venezuela buys \$1,000,000 worth of goods yearly from Great Britain, and sells John Bull only \$500,000 worth annually. The United States bought \$12,000,000 worth of goods from Venezuela in 1891. Venezuela has borrowed from Deputy from each State and a Deputy from French bankers \$750,000. The internal debt amounts to \$7,500,000.

The executive power of Venezuela is vested in a president, who acts in conjunction with his Cabinet and the Federal Council. He holds office two years, and cannot be at once re-elected. The Federal Council is composed of a Senator and deputy from each State and a deputy from the Federal District, chosen by Congress from among its own members, for the term of two years. The Federal Council chooses the President of Venezuela from its own ranks. The courts are organized much like those in the United States. There is a system of free public schools. The Federal District corresponds to the District of Columbia.

The chief city of Venezuela is the capital, Caracas. It has a population of 75,000 persons. The other chief cities are Valencia, 40,000 population; Maracaibo, 35,000; Barquisimeto, 32,000, and Ciudad Bolivar, 12,000.

In one of the fine public squares in Caracas is a large statue of George Washington.

Venezuela remained under Spanish rule until 1811, when Simon Bolivar proclaimed her independent. The independence of Venezuela was recognized by Spain in 1845. In 1846 a series of civil wars began, and did not close until 1870. All slaves were emancipated in 1854. In 1864 a Federal Constitution was drawn up. Guzman Blanco became Dictator in 1870, when he was elected President.

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The people of Venezuela are in the main descended from the Spaniards. A good deal of Indian blood has been mingled with the Spanish strain. They are a talented and courteous people, who bear the reputation of being fine fighters. A considerable part of Venezuela is still practically unexplored, and is inhabited by aborigines. The republic is divided into nine States, a Federal District, and five Federal Territories. There are 3,900 miles of telegraph wire. Five steamship lines ply along the Venezuelan coasts and through the rivers. There are 234 miles of railroads. The monetary unit of the country is the bolivar, equal to 19¼ cents American money.

Caracas, the capital, is situated in the Valley of Chacao, seven miles distant from the Caribbean coast. The city is regularly laid out. There are two main streets, which cross each other at right angles. There are several fine parks. The city was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake in 1812.

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**THE RESULTS OF WAR**  
**Mr. Henderson Says the United States Would Suffer**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—John B. Henderson Jr., son of ex-Senator Henderson of Missouri, John W. Foster's private secretary in the peace negotiations between China and Japan, has issued in pamphlet form an argument on the relations of the Monroe doctrine to the Venezuelan question. After recounting the boundary question, showing the British and Venezuelans were equally negligent in settling the boundaries of Guiana, "a country in which the statistics show that the deaths nearly double the number of births," Mr. Henderson attributes to the discovery of gold the intensification of the dispute, just as a similar condition now threatens trouble in Alaska, and then proceeds to consider the interest the United States, as a nation, has in the controversy.

He begins with the farewell address of Washington and goes through the history of the developments of the Monroe doctrine just as Secretary Olney did in his dispatch of July 20, but reaches conclusions precisely opposite to those adopted by the Secretary of State and President Cleveland.

He recalls "that Sir Walter Raleigh ascended the Orinoco River, as an English discoverer, twenty-five years before Plymouth Rock was ever pressed by Puritan foot; and it must be further remembered that for nearly 300 years the Guiana country was claimed and colonized alternately by England, Holland, France and Spain; but in 1803, twenty years before the Monroe declaration was proclaimed, all right and title to what is now known as British Guiana passed to the English Government, and since that date the English title has been undisputed."

After numerous quotations from American statesmen on the limitations of the Monroe doctrine to the attempt to restore Spanish dominion over American republics, Mr. Henderson declares that the doctrine received its authoritative exposition by a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives in 1825 in the following words:

That the United States ought not to become a party with the Spanish-American republics, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing interference by any of the European powers with their independence or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization upon the

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continent of America, but that the people of the United States should be left free to act in any crisis in such a manner as their feelings and friendship toward these republics, and as their own honor and policy may, at the time, dictate.

Mr. Henderson concludes his paper as follows:

If, in the progress of the negotiation between Venezuela and Great Britain we shall discover in the conduct of the latter a disposition to use the question of unsettled boundaries as a mere pretext to extend her territorial limits at the expense of our sister republic, we are still free to denounce such act hostile and unfriendly, and even “dangerous to our peace and safety,” should the circumstances, when carefully considered, seem to justify such a declaration. At present the English Government claims to be the “innocent and injured party”; that Venezuela is the aggressor, not only in asserting a false boundary line, but in arresting British subjects on territory which has for an indefinite period been known and recognized by both Governments as the property of England. The truth or falsity of this claim is not yet developed.

If true, England is clearly justified. If false, it will be time enough for us to act.

In a material point of view, a war with England, whatever the result, can bring nothing to compensation for its losses. Over one-half of our exports now go to England. While we annually sell to her nearly \$500,000,000 worth of our products, we sell to Venezuela about \$4,000,000 worth, and to all the Spanish South American republics less than \$20,000,000 worth. Such a war means ruined commerce, increased National debt, a new pension list, and taxation of the people to the very extreme of poverty and want.

The pamphlet has attracted much attention from members of Congress and diplomats.

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**AWAITING OFFICIAL NEWS  
The British Government Not Regularly Informed  
COMMISSION MAY HASTEN A CRISIS  
Its Arrival on the Guiana Border Liable to be Regarded as a Menace  
European Views and Effects**

LONDON, Dec. 18.—The Marquis of Salisbury held the usual Wednesday reception at the Foreign Office to-day. The French, German, Italian, and Spanish Ambassadors, and the Austrian and Dutch Chargés d’Affaires were present. United States Ambassador Bayard was absent.

It is understood that the British Government has not been informed officially of the proposed commission in connection with the Venezuelan boundary dispute, and that Great Britain will follow the usual diplomatic course until overt action is taken by the United States.

The action of the House of Representatives in voting an appropriation for the expenses of the commission may hasten a crisis, but it is not expected that there will be serious developments until the commission shall have arrived in Venezuela. Its presence on the Guiana border will constitute a grave menace, and the necessary instructions will be forwarded to the authorities to maintain the interests of Great Britain in Guiana.

It is the opinion in financial circles here that President Cleveland’s message will render the placing of a new issue of United States bonds in London impossible.

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A representative of **The United Press** interviewed a number of prominent Stock Exchange operators, from whom he elicited expressions of belief that the affair would not finally be serious, and that the fall of prices resultant from President Cleveland's message would not be permanent.

A number of politicians seen at the various Conservative clubs by **The United Press** representative maintained that diplomats, acting under the instructions of Lord Salisbury, had sounded the European powers during last Autumn, and prior to the dispatch of Great Britain's reply to Secretary Olney's note, with the result that the diplomats answered that all the powers having interests in America agreed with Lord Salisbury that the Monroe doctrine as stated by Mr. Olney, did not possess any international authority.

All attempts to obtain from United States Ambassador Bayard an expression of his views in regard to President Cleveland's message or any other phase of the Venezuelan dispute have been fruitless. Mr. Bayard positively declines to say a word on the subject.

The first announcement in London of the communication of President Cleveland's message to Congress was made in a **United Press** dispatch to **The Central News**, the leading features of which the Central News immediately sent to the Foreign Office, whence they were at once transmitted to Lord Salisbury at Hatfield House over the Premier's private wires.

This was the first intimation that Lord Salisbury had had of President Cleveland's serious view of the Venezuelan situation. The Premier and his secretaries were greatly concerned over the critical turn which the affair had taken and asked for further information expressing their thanks to **The United Press** for its promptness in cabling the important news and to **The Central News** for its courtesy in placing it at their disposal.

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### The President's Message as Viewed by Frenchmen

PARIS, Dec. 18.—M. Lucien Millevoye, formerly a member of the Chamber of Deputies, has an article in **La Patrie** in which he says:

“President Cleveland's message inflicts a harder blow on British pride than it has received in a century. It will diminish England's prestige in all parts of the world. England must undertake and ultra-formidable adventure or bow to the Americans' haughty ultimatum. Since Napoleon threatened to invade England no chief of State has dared to use toward the British Foreign Office such firm language as that of Mr. Cleveland's.

“England is in a dilemma. Submission is equivalent to humiliation, and resistance is equivalent to war, an implacable duel with all the energy and the moral and material forces which America has at its disposal, including the Irish, whom England's iniquitous rule has exiled to the New World. Europe will not intervene. It would not dare to brave an American coalition roused to anger by an attack upon its dearest interests. The time is past when British diplomacy bribed half the world and intimidated the remainder. It is only audacious now with weaklings like the Matabeles; it will now and warn her that she need not look for any help from France.”

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AMERICAN NEWSPAPER COMMENT  
The President's Course Receives the Approval of the Press

All the American newspapers, with one or two exceptions, heartily approve President Cleveland's attitude regarding Britain's claims to Venezuelan territory. North and South, East and West the papers give unqualified approval. Below will be found the views of leading Journals:

**Albany**

ALBANY, N.Y., Dec. 18.—**The Journal** says:

“The message of President Cleveland appeals to the people of this country at a time when conditions compare similarly in not a single respect with those existent in 1823, when President Monroe promulgated the Monroe doctrine. To-day there exists no fear that any Continental nation or alliance of nations will extend its system to any portion of this hemisphere, so that it will become dangerous to our peace and safety. We question the wisdom of the proposition advanced by President Cleveland. As the matter stands to-day, however, there is but one course open to Congress, and that is to accept the advice of the President.”

**Atlanta**

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 18. —**The Atlanta Constitution** says the message is very strong throughout, and from first to last breathes the genuine American spirit. It strikes a note of patriotism that is not often heard in high places during these latter days, and for that reason it will fall on the ears of the people with a welcome sound.

**Baltimore.**

BALTIMORE, Dec. 18. —**The American** (Rep.) says:

“It will receive the approval of the American people. It will warm their hearts and gratify their pride as no State paper has done during this Administration.”

**The Herald** (Ind.) says:

“It is a peculiarly able and lucid statement of the American position. No more positive or emphatic defense of the Monroe doctrine could have been expected or desired. For once England has met its match in the field of diplomacy.”

**The Sun** (Dem.) says:

“The Republican howlers for a ‘vigorous policy’ and for war on any terms and against anybody cannot but be disappointed at the awful turn President Cleveland has given to their bombastic war cry. The only political stock in trade left to the Republicans was their Jingo cry, and they hoped to ‘whoop things up’ with this and put the Administration of the Democratic Party in general in an unpopular attitude. But the transparent scheme has failed,

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and without committing himself or his part to anything further at present than the ascertainment of the facts, the President has completely turned the table on them.”

### Buffalo

BUFFALO, N.Y., Dec. 18.—**The Courier** says:

“The President’s message is firm and vigorous, but it is also calm and deliberate. At such a time hot words and intemperate harangues should be avoided.”

**The Express** characterizes it as bold and patriotic.

**The Evening Post** says:

“The message promises to become the historic confirmation of the Monroe doctrine, and before the question is settled to establish once for all universal recognition of this American contribution of this American contribution of the law of nations.”

**The Enquirer** says the message is a splendid utterance, and that “the President will be sustained in the position he has taken at all hazards and at all costs.”

**The Evening News** says: “The President will be heartily supported by the American people of all ranks and persuasions.”

### Charleston

CHARLESTON, S.C., Dec. 18.—**The News and Courier** to-day has a column editorial admiring the spirit, but criticising the lack of judgment of Mr. Cleveland’s message. The following opening sentences indicate the spirit of the editorial:

“President Cleveland’s special message to Congress on the Venezuelan question must satisfy the most exacting and enthusiastic Jingo. But it will make the judicious grieve. We have no criticism to make of the message itself, nor of Mr. Cleveland’s statement of the case. He has expressed himself with even more than his usual clearness and force, but it is to be hoped on every account that some satisfactory basis may yet be found for an honorable adjustment of the differences between the United States and Great Britain without resort to the last dread appeal of nations.”

### Chicago

CHICAGO, Dec. 18.—The following are the comments of Chicago newspapers on the President’s special message:

**Inter Ocean**, (Rep.):

“The President’s special message relative to Venezuelan affairs is in a tone that will be pleasing to the country.”

**Record**, (Ind.):

“In substance the message is a dignified but peremptory declaration that the Monroe doctrine is sound international law, that the United States will abide by it, and that further aggressions in Venezuela will be met with

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resistance by every means within this Nation's power. If Congress remains steadfast in support of the President's policy, the effect of this message will be the final establishment of the Monroe doctrine beyond any nation's power to dispute."

### **Cincinnati**

CINCINNATI, Dec. 18.—**The Commercial Gazette** (Rep.) says:

"The message of yesterday will become one of the great historic papers at the Nation. Briefly it is an unreserved acceptance of the doctrine of President Monroe, and it expresses his willingness to go to the extreme lengths in support of the doctrine."

**The Tribune** (Rep.) says:

"It will stand so long as this Nation stands as one of the greatest and most momentous utterances at an American president."

**The Enquirer** (Dem.) says:

"President Cleveland's message on the Venezuelan question leaves no room for criticism. It is an exhibition of the American backbone which every true American will applaud."

### **Cleveland**

CLEVELAND, Dec. 18.—**The World** (Rep.) says:

"President Cleveland has given the people of the United States a genuine and agreeable surprise. In a dignified, patriotic, conservative, yet courageous temper he has accepted the challenge which Great Britain has laid down in its contemptuous commentaries on the Monroe doctrine."

**The Press** (Ind.) says:

"Every patriotic American will have a higher opinion of Mr. Cleveland now that he has thrown down the gauntlet."

**The Recorder** (Ind.) says:

"The message of President Cleveland sent to Congress yesterday is forcible and exactly to the point."

**The Plain Dealer** (Dem.) says:

"There ought to be no partisan differences in the response to this appeal to the patriotism and self-respect of the American people."

**The Leader** (Rep.) says:

"This means that John Bull must either fight or back down. Grover Cleveland is exactly right"

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**Detroit**

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 18.—**The Journal** (Rep.) says editorially:

“There can be no further misunderstanding or doubt as to the position of this Government relative to the controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain. The Monroe doctrine is clearly involved; it will be defended at all hazards.”

**The Evening News** (Ind.) says:

“Our Government has declared in the most solemn manner how the Venezuelan dispute can be settled, and there can be no retreat. England will not be permitted to hold even the Schomburgk line without arbitration.”

**The Tribune** (Rep.) says:

“We stand pledged by President Cleveland’s message to investigate the merits of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, with the support of sword and bayonet, if they are needed.”

**The Free Press** (Dem.) says:

“The fact seems to be that the Marquis of Salisbury and his advisers have made up their minds to insist upon the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela which they, themselves, have marked out. If that is the case the consequences must, indeed, be momentous. They may involve us in a war.”

**Philadelphia**

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 18.—**The Record** (Dem.) says editorially:

“President Cleveland’s message is a strong and firm declaration. There is no jingoism in it, but there is such a courageous assertion of the Monroe doctrine as might have been expected from a Democratic Administration carefully following Democratic precedents.”

**The Ledger** (Ind. Rep.) says:

“President Cleveland’s message is clear, emphatic, and dignified. It will be heartily indorsed by every genuine American.”

**The Times** (Dem.) says:

“The President speaks for the Nation.”

**The Press** (Rep.) says:

“President Cleveland has at last taken a stand upon a capital question of foreign relations in which he will carry the cordial and unanimous approval of the American people.”

**The Inquirer** (Rep.) says:

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“No one can call the President to account for not taking a vigorous stand regarding the British encroachments upon Venezuela.”

**Pittsburg**

PITTSBURG. Penn., Dec. 18.—The following editorial comments from to-day’s Pittsburg papers illustrate the feeling here about the President’s message of yesterday on the Venezuelan boundary dispute:

**Dispatch**, (Ind.):

“On the main question that the principle involved is fundamental to our own existence, and that it must be maintained at any cost, the President will have the necessary support of the Congress and the whole Nation.”

**Commercial Gazette**, (Rep.):

“The message defines the situation in terms not to be misunderstood. That these sentiments will be approved by the great majority of the American people is not to be doubted.”

**Post**, (Dem.):

“Great Britain refusing to arbitrate, we propose to arbitrate for ourselves, and maintain the award made, no matter where it leads—to peace or to war.”

**Times**, (Rep.):

“Every loyal American must rejoice in President Cleveland’s firmness and determination.”

**The Leader** (Ind.) commends the message as voicing the sentiment of the whole people.

**The Press**, (Rep.):

“It is not probable that the two greatest Christian powers of the world to-day are to be involved in actual hostilities. The firm and uncompromising attitude taken by President Cleveland is bound to give the Monroe doctrine that standing in international law which it demands.”

**The Chronicle Telegraph**, (Rep.):

The firmly worded message to Congress sent yesterday by Mr. Cleveland cannot help being influential in settling a contention of long standing. The President’s recommendations in connection herewith are wise, far removed from the spirit of jingoism or desire to precipitate war.”

**St. Louis**

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 18.—Local papers comment as follows upon the President’s special message:

**Republic**, (Dem.):

“The message is the most virile assertion possible of the Monroe doctrine. There is no jingoism in it, but pure Americanism.”

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**Globe-Democrat**, (Rep.):

“The President grasps the Venezuelan situation with commendable vigor and courage.”

**Richmond**

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 18.—**The Dispatch** says editorially this morning:

“The special message of President Cleveland sent to Congress yesterday leaves not a shadow of doubt as to his position on the Venezuelan question. It seems to us that Congress is bound to vote the money that the President asks. If so, we hope and expect that he will appoint a commission of cool-headed and patriotic men, who will proceed cautiously and verify every statement that is made to them. Then if it is found that Great Britain is bent upon extending her domain upon this continent, and still persists in declining to submit the question to arbitration, this country will be committed to aid the Venezuelans, in defending their territory against British aggression. In other words, we shall then have war.

“That war is a serious thing we need not tell the people of the South, the people of Richmond particularly. Nevertheless, whenever the country needs soldiers it will find that the South will not only furnish its share, but more than its share.”

**Rochester**

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Dec. 18—**The Union and Advertiser** says editorially:

“President Cleveland’s message meets the fullest expectations of the country and elicits the warmest approval of the patriotic people and press of all parties and of no party.”

**San Francisco**

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 18. – The San Francisco morning papers comment on President Cleveland’s utterances as follows:

**Call**, (Rep.):

“By his message of yesterday, President Cleveland assumes the rightful position of a President of the United States. He asserts the principles of true Americanism. He speaks the popular will in language not to be mistaken.”

**Chronicle**, (Rep.):

“The argument of the President is unanswerable. Let it be understood that the Government will not recede.”

**Examiner**, (Dem.):

“President Cleveland has taken precisely the stand in his Venezuelan message which Americans who are not jingoes but who are keenly alive to the honor, the interests, and the traditions of their country hoped he would take.”

**Savannah**

SAVANNAH, Ga., Dec. 18.—**The Savannah Morning News** says:

“The President’s Venezuelan message meets the hearty approval of the people. They believe the Monroe doctrine should be upheld, and that it must be upheld now or forever abandoned. They are not anxious for war with

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Great Britain. They want peace with all the world, and they would willingly do all that could be done with honor to maintain it, but they prefer war, knowing full well what it means, rather than have peace on terms that would not be creditable to the Nation.”

### Syracuse

SYRACUSE, N.Y., Dec. 18.—**The Journal** comments editorially on the President’s message:

“Venezuela will secure her rights to the dispute, England will suffer no wrong, and there will be an end to attempted encroachments by foreign powers upon territory which rightfully comes under the protection of the Monroe doctrine, and the world will know once and for all time that the United States will maintain that doctrine at all hazards.”

### Utica

UTICA, N. Y, Dec. 18.—**The Utica Observer** closes its editorial on the President’s message, and the situation with these words:

“The President’s firm dignity and fearlessness, which denote strength and determination, will go far toward a peaceful settlement of the matter.”

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### CANADA GOES WITH ENGLAND Biased Comment on the President’s Venezuelan Message

TORONTO, Ontario, Dec. 18.—**The World** says: “If the President is acting from what he considers patriotic motives alone, then his message is to be dealt with in a serious aspect. But if he is simply trying to boom himself for a third term his conduct will be discounted by the Republican Party even more rapidly than by the British Government. Before, therefore, expressing an opinion on what the document really means the world at large will require to know what the President’s aspirations are in regard to his successor. That can be learned by watching the political development within the United States during the next few days, rather than by regarding what the people of England and elsewhere may think of it.”

**The Ottawa Citizen** (Government organ) says: “President Cleveland is apparently willing to run the risk of war with England in support of monstrous and unjustifiable claims for the purpose of appealing on the eve of an election contest to the baser elements of the population or the United States.”

**The Gazette** concludes as follows: “President Cleveland makes no serious attempt to answer Lord Salisbury’s argument, but expands himself in vague and general phrases, more or less referring to the subject of disagreement.

He then suggests at commission, and hints that the United States will go to war with England unless the latter accepts the results of the commission, an astounding piece of impertinence. Of course, if the Americans want war with England, then war it must be. A great crime for those who

promote it, the enormity of which is made absolutely clear by the flimsiness of their pretended claims in equity and justice.”

**The Montreal Star**, under the caption, “Why There Will Be No War,” says: “If the cheap fustian of politicians should appear likely to entice the over-busy American people unthinkingly into war, it will only be necessary to shake in their laces the pension charges which are still increasing, though the local ‘unpleasantness’ of the sixties is now thirty years below the horizon. They might feel equal to the task of getting together an army; they, especially the inland cities, might be willing to endure a bombardment of the seacoast towns; they might even face the possibility of the creation of a new batch of colonies; but the firmest nerve would shake when they thought of the pension payments that would grow bigger and bigger as the war passed further and further into the past. Congress may be valiantly willing to send the whole nation to the front in this Venezuelan dispute, but will it dare face the pension rolls of the future?”

**The Montreal Gazette** says: “Lord Salisbury’s firm statement of his case shows that Great Britain will not be move from the course she has marked out for herself in defense of her subjects’ rights. President Cleveland’s position is a new one in the history of diplomacy. It is not warranted by international law. It is not backed by good sense. It is not even justified by that much-talked-of and little understood thing, the Monroe doctrine.”

**The Mail** says: “To declare that the Monroe doctrine is an authority upon this continent is one thing; to exercise jurisdiction under it upon soil that is held to be British is another. Congress may well hesitate to take so serious a step. The commission, however, is a very good device, from Mr. Cleveland’s point of view, which is evidently that of the politician who is out for votes.”

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HARSH TALK IN ENGLAND  
President Cleveland’s Attitude Criticised by Newspapers  
SAY BRITAIN CANNOT BE SCARED  
Opinions on the Controversy of the Paris and Berlin Journals—Comments  
of the American Press

LONDON, Dec. 18.—The English newspapers all comment on President Cleveland’s message. The general tone is that England should not recede. **The Globe** says:

“Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney have strained the friendship of the two countries almost to the point of breaking.

“It is difficult to write calmly of the amazing claims which these gentlemen advance in the name of the United States, but we trust that the proposed commission will be politely but firmly requested to pursue their inquiries on the far side of the Schomburgk line.”

**The St. James’s Gazette** says:

“The claims set up by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney are so exaggerated and their language is so offensive that it would cause no surprise if there should be a similar explosion of violence in Great Britain.”

**The Manchester Guardian**, commenting on President Cleveland's message to the American Congress yesterday, says:

"We deeply regret the tone of Mr. Cleveland's message. A grave struggle will now begin between moderate and extreme public opinion in America, the issue of which will have the gravest effect upon the peace of the world. The British Government, who are the exponents of Great Britain, will only do their duty if they strengthen the hands of the friends of peace in the United States by avoiding any expression of public animosity."

**The Sheffield Telegraph**, the organ of the steel-plate manufacturing district, says:

"Mr. Cleveland's language is admirably calculated to induce England to bid the Yankees to do their worst, which, as they would be the attacking power, seeing that they have neither army nor navy to speak of, would incline to the ridiculous. Still, if the United States really means fighting, Great Britain is not likely to evade the challenge. Certainly we will not be turned from the plain path by threats."

**The Pall Mall Gazette** does not regard Mr. Cleveland's communication to Congress as a serious message, but only an election address, which ought to bring him the solid vote of the concession mongers, who already see themselves washing out tons of gold on the Essequibo River. **The Gazette** advises Mr. Cleveland to go before the country immediately, before the people of America have time to study the Olney doctrine, and not give them a day to ask what he would think if England appointed a commission to delimit the frontiers of the United States and Mexico.

**The Westminster Gazette** speaks of the horrors of fratricide within the Anglo-Saxon race and says: "We do not believe that war is possible."

Most of the newspapers print articles summing up the war strength of the United States.

**The St. James's Gazette** publishes a list of the British warships now in American waters, together with their dimensions, etc., which is followed by a list of the vessels composing the United States Navy, giving also their capacity, &c.

**The Westminster Gazette** has an article showing the numerical strength of the United States Army and the strength, character and location of the country's defenses, and **The Pall Mall Gazette** presents a map of the disputed frontiers, accompanied by an article thereon.

**The Daily News** to-morrow will say that it was hardly to be expected that Congress would do otherwise than grant an appropriation for the proposed Venezuelan commission.

"Mr. Cleveland's plot," **The News** will say, "was well laid and has achieved his immediate object. Probably he sees in the vista a third term as his reward. But we cannot believe he will permanently gain. It is not to the advantage of the Republicans to prolong the excitement. Thus party feeling, combined with the words of the wise, will make common sense prevail. If the message had been communicated to the Foreign Office it must have led to a rupture of diplomatic relations. As it is, it does not call for a reply."

**The Daily News** in an editorial will review past disputes between the United States and England, which for the moment looked serious enough, but in which, with sense and good temper, both sides came to an arrangement on peaceful and friendly terms.

**The Standard** to-morrow will say it is apparent that the war fever in the United States is among politicians, and instances Mr. Chandler's bill. It continues:

"While the fit lasts we must expect to deal with grandiose talk and must not be surprised at the promulgation of the most ridiculous plans, but we have an abiding faith in the good sense of the American people and feel sure that when they come to review the facts calmly they will be prepared to admit that Mr. Cleveland has altogether overdone his part."

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

The paper discusses Mr. Olney's dispatch, reasserts the strength of the English position, and concludes as follows:

“We fail to find a shadow of excuse for an act of astounding and utterly unprovoked unfriendliness. Even if our case were less strong it would be startling, indeed shocking, to find the head of the American Republic plunging with so much levity into a position from which one side or the other must recede with some discredit and not without some humiliation; but that in the actual circumstances Mr. Cleveland should employ language recommending action that savors of a readiness to commit England and the United States to a fratricidal conflict seems to us little short of a grave crime.”

**The Chronicle** to-morrow will say:

“Had the controversy arisen between Great Britain and a European power it would by now have had consequences of the most serious character. But we and the United States are brethren, and family quarrels have often kindled a quick flame and ended in sudden tenderness. Therefore we do not and will not assume that President Cleveland's message has produced an impasse. Above all, we will not contemplate the iniquity of a war between England and America. It is a thing that civilization would not envisage. It horrifies even cool or hostile observers.

**The Morning Post** to-morrow will say that if the utterance of Secretary Olney and President Cleveland meant anything, the recall of Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador to the United States, would be justified. The paper agrees with Mr. Cleveland in deprecating an appeal to arms, but says that “language of this kind makes it necessary to consider the chances of war.”

**The Daily Telegraph** to-morrow will say:

“Any serious discussion of the possibility of a war between Great Britain and the United States arising is ridiculous. It is a mischievous political dodge that ought to be regarded as a sign of incipient dementia. We are perfectly satisfied to rely upon the straightforward, high-bred simplicity of Lord Salisbury's diplomacy and the good sense, widespread honesty, intelligence, and kindness of the American people.”

“England will begin to comprehend that America is no longer a field for English expansion. Mr. Cleveland appears to intend purposely to offend other powers, but it must be remembered that the elections in the United States are near.”

The **Lokal-Anzeiger** says that the President's message is purposely aggressive and will make a friendly solution of the question harder than ever.

**The Journal des Debats** says that Mr. Cleveland's language is somewhat immeasured, and undoubtedly places before the United States the alternative of fighting England, however monstrous that might be, or beating an inglorious retreat after yesterday's bravery. The paper contests the right of the United States to intervene in the Venezuelan dispute. The Monroe doctrine, it says, cannot be considered by the rest of the world as an international act possessing any value as a law of nations. It is surprised at the proposal to send a commission to examine a disputed boundary in a foreign country.

In conclusion **The Debats** says that, notwithstanding the unfavorable character of American political customs it refuses to believe that Mr. Cleveland would risk the fortune and honor of the Americans for mere political motives. It hopes and believes that the good sense of the Washington and London statesman will prevent an open rupture between Great Britain and the United States.

**La Liberte** says:

“Peoples of the same race and origin are accustomed to using strong language without fighting. Doubtless the differences will be settled pacifically. If Lord Salisbury should pick up the glove so

arrogantly thrown down England would be able to organize a military expedition in a few hours, while the United States is unprepared. The complication affords matter for reflection on the disadvantages of colonial expansion.”

**The Temps** has a two-column editorial on the message, which, it says is the gravest document signed by an American President since President Lincoln’s manifesto on the Trent Incident. The question is whether Mr. Cleveland is merely twisting the British lion’s tail or is acting seriously. At any rate his action is without diplomatic precedent unless such can be found in the annals of the arrogant Roman Senate. England refuses arbitration, while the United States Government declares that it will compel England to accept its judgment without appeal. It is impossible for an autonomous State, let alone a great power, to submit to such humiliation. Mr. Cleveland has been accused of restricting the meaning of the Monroe doctrine, but in fact he now stretches it beyond measure.

Monroe never imagined such action. Mr. Cleveland’s claim of supreme authority over the whole hemisphere is a claim that is harmful to the protégés of the United States, as Europe and England will not bow to such a pretension. Arbitration has been greatly harmed in public opinion, yet war is impossible. The incident is one of the periodical outbursts that had a parallel in the Sackville-West affair. The paper says it wishes and expects that a pacific solution of the questions at issue will be found.

In the **Figaro** to-morrow Jacques Saint-Cère will have an article under the caption “Monroe est Mon Rot” in which he will contend that the Monroe doctrine is not a principle of international law. If the Americans, he says, hold to a doctrine forbidding Europe to interfere in American affairs, why do they interfere in European questions?

England may be wrong or right, but the principle involved is of world-wide interest. France has a similar difficulty with Brazil. It is impossible to admit a principle which would prevent settling directly with the latter.

The **République Française**, the **Presse**, and the **Soir**, while they do not indorse President Cleveland’s interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, gloat over England’s dilemma. “England cannot count on any support.”

The **Freisinnige Zeitung** says President Cleveland’s aggressive tone is hardly credible. It seems to serious politicians like playing with fire and do not know how to be prudent. The **Freisinnige Zeitung** concludes by expressing the hope that such a trifle as the dispute between Great Britain and the United States in relation to the Venezuela-Guiana boundary will not lead to war between the countries.

**The Cologne Gazette**, discussing President Cleveland’s message to the American Congress, says:

“Against pretensions of this kind all of the European States will stand by England, for it is a question to be decided once and for all, whether unbridled claims of the United States shall be recognized or European civilization subordinated to North American civilization on the American Continent. Great Britain has the fullest moral and material right to persist defiantly in a conflict so passionately initiated.”

The **Gaulois** says that the consequences of a war between the United States and England are altogether too great to admit that they are possible. The writer contrasts the position of an American President empowered to invoke the country to war with that of the President of France, who is under the restraint of the Chambers.

VIENNA, Dec. 18.—The **Neue Freie Presse** says that the indignation expressed in England over President Cleveland’s message in regard to the Venezuelan controversy is abundantly justified.

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POLITICS AND PATRIOTISM

It is not surprising that the London papers should attribute the course of the American Government in the Venezuela matter to partisan or personal ambition. They do not know much about America and her public men at best. They have had a few conspicuous instances in the past of idle threats used to excite popular passion. It is natural and pleasant to think that an opponent is playing a mean and ignoble part, and easy to say so, even when you do not wholly believe it. The utterances of the Executive of the United States arouse less perturbation in English minds if they can be dismissed as the declamation of a “lion’s tail twister,” and it is tempting to dispose of them in that way even if they have to be considered with greater gravity later on. Moreover, the habit of the English journalist is to treat with more or less conscious sense of superiority any criticism of the English Government, which he usually believes is positively the only one in the world that tries to base its conduct on moral principles. He thinks that he knows that the English record in Venezuela—of which he probably learned for the first time in Lord Salisbury’s dispatch to Sir Julian Pauncefote—is “stainless,” and he is practically incapable, on short notice, of conceiving that any one should question it from good motives. When he says that Mr. Cleveland is bidding for a third term he has found an explanation that for the time explains and that will be accepted with eagerness by his own readers. It is not worth while to blame him very harshly, for in the long run he is apt to show himself a reasonable person, and we can afford to wait.

But it is surprising, and, to speak plainly, it is disgusting, to find Mr. Cleveland accused of abusing his great trust in order to secure his renomination to the Presidency when such accusation comes from an American journal, and especially when it comes from a journal that daily proclaims its unswerving adherence to a higher and purer standard than any other know in the daily press. To any one reasonably familiar with the history and present condition of the politics of this country it would be plain that Mr. Cleveland, were he guided by ambition, would not seek to attain its object by what his accusers are sure is pure bullying of a friendly and powerful Government. No man who has held the Presidential office twice and three times has been a candidate for the Presidency would make so obvious a blunder as that. Particularly would such a blunder be impossible to a man who had on two successive occasions defeated before the people candidates who expressly appealed to the sentiment he is now charged with flattering. If we concede, for the moment, that Mr. Cleveland has suddenly become base enough to play such a part, he must also have become a rash, unreflecting, blind, and stupid fool. That may be the character in which he now appears to those who attribute to him a vile motive for a serious and even momentous act of public policy. But the man who believes that that is Mr. Cleveland’s real character compels us to think that for the time it is his own character.

Surely, if ever there was a public man from the days of Washington to the President who has won and deserved the confidence of the Nation in his unselfish devotion to duty as he sees it, it is Mr. Cleveland. His record is one long proof of it. We need refer to but two instances. At the close of his first term he deliberately and consciously endangered his own re-election by his unqualified declaration of fidelity to tariff reform, believing at the time that the chances of securing then the

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approval which he was confident the Nation would ultimately give that reform were very slight. Again, on the eve of the canvass of 1892, against the judgment of many politicians of note in his party, he declared his opposition to free silver, before which the “leaders” of both parties were trembling. A man of Mr. Cleveland’s experience who is capable of such decisive acts as these is not capable of prostituting his high office to curry favor with the unthinking. We cannot disregard all the evidence of a career known of the whole country, a career marked by unusual candor and fearlessness in the expression of opinion and motive, and one pursued in the fierce light of political contention as bitter and cruel as our history has ever known. But we must disregard this evidence before we can justify or excuse the contemptible aspersions cast upon the President.

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### **PARTISANSHIP LAID ASIDE All Members of Congress Cordially Sustain the President**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—The President has reason to be gratified with the spirit manifested by the Senate since his Venezuela message was received.

Although there are a few Senators who regard his ringing declarations with partisan eyes, the majority indorses all that he said, and stands ready to support his policy. The “jingo” Senators, like Lodge, Frye, and Chandler, realize that the message completely overshadows their previous utterances, but they are “game,” and thus far have not uttered any discordant notes. Mr. Chandler, on the contrary, has come forward with a proposition to put the country in possession of much-needed large and small arms.

He introduced in the Senate to-day a bill calling for the appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be used for the betterment of our National defenses.

#### **Senator Chandler’s Plan**

Senator Chandler’s bill directs the President to strengthen the military force of the United States by adding 1,000,000 infantry rifles, 1,000 guns for field artillery, and not exceeding 5,000 heavy guns for fortifications. The sum of \$100,000,000 is made immediately available for the purpose of the proposed armament. The same measure was introduced in the House.

Senator Gallinger also introduced a bill instructing the Secretary of War to negotiate and contract for the purchase from Genevieve G. Kennon, widow of Beverly Kennon of the letters patent granted to him for the invention of a counterpoise battery for the protection of cannon in coast and harbor defenses.

#### **Mr. Chandler Expects No Opposition**

Mr. Chandler said to a correspondent of The New-York Times this afternoon, that his bill would probably become a law.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

We have devoted much of our time and money in the last few years to the upbuilding of the naval establishment,” he said, “and the army has been neglected. What we need in an emergency like that which now confronts us is plenty of modern guns for the soldiers who may be called into the field and heavy cannon for sea coast defenses. Our navy is able to take care of itself, and there is always the prospect of a foreign alliance which would offset our present deficiencies in the way of warships.

“Our first duty is to put our seacoast in shape for adequate defense and to provide means for arming a million men. The moral effect upon Great Britain of the passage of this bill would be very salutary. There unquestionably is a strong sentiment in favor of it.”

Mr. Chandler’s bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, at whose hands it will receive early consideration. There is little likelihood that it will be reported before the beginning of the holiday recess.

### **Hitt’s Resolution Delayed**

There was considerable disappointment expressed over the failure of the Senate to receive the resolution adopted by the House appropriating \$100,000 to carry out the President’s recommendations regarding the appointment of a commission to inquire into the Venezuelan question. Under the law passed in the last session, such resolutions are required to be printed, and it was impossible for the printer to supply the printed copy before the Senate adjourned.

There is some difference of opinion in the Senate as to the exact method of dealing with the proposition for a commission, but there is apparently no danger of a controversy as to the general proposition. Some Senators want to go through the form of consideration of the measure by a committee, with the view of making some provisions not included in the measure as passed by the House.

The thing they particularly want is to provide a limit of time within which the commission must report. The objection made by a good many Senators to this is that the time taken for these formalities will defer the appointment of the commission and cause the delay which all profess to be anxious to avoid.

### **Commission Will Report Promptly**

Persons who have talked with Mr. Cleveland on the subject are convinced that he desires a very early report from the commission, and will so indicate to members on their appointment.

The Senators who suggest deliberation would have the Committee on Foreign Relations completed at once and the matter referred to it for a report. This contemplates a possible delay of action by the Senate proper until after the holidays, and therefore it is not popular. A considerable number of Senators on both sides of the Chamber say that there can be no holiday adjournment until after the House resolution has been acted on by the Senate, and that if the matter shall go to the committee it must be with the understanding that the report be made in time for action before the holidays.

Every suggestion of delay or hesitation on the part of any one appears to meet with general disfavor.

Mr. Hitt explains that his failure to provide a time within which the report of the commission shall be made was because he deemed it unnecessary. He was satisfied that the report would be

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made as soon as possible. There does not appear to be any doubt that the resolution will receive the indorsement of the Senate.

It is taken for granted that Mr. Cleveland will lose no time in naming the members of the commission. The opinion was expressed at the Capitol to-day that a commission of active men could examine the necessary data and come to a conclusion in comparatively short time. Conservative members of the Senate say that the time occupied by the commission in its investigation ought to be employed in strengthening our naval and military departments.

### England Must Retract or Fight

Most of the Senators appreciate the gravity of the situation.

“Unless Great Britain shall back down the only result of the attitude of this country can be war, unless the United States commission shall decide that Great Britain is right,” said a Democratic Senator this afternoon.

“It is impossible to get around this fact. It must be conceded that this country is not in a fit condition to issue a manifesto to a first-class power like Great Britain. There is much to be done to get the army and navy in fighting condition, and two or three months will hardly suffice to bring the work up to satisfactory proportions. Much may be done, however in that direction in that limited time.

“I hope that the Chandler bill or one similar to it will become a law very soon, and that the gun factories of the country will be run to their fullest capacity. England arrogates to herself all the patriotism in the world, and does not think it possible for Americans to turn their eyes from business long enough to consider the honor of their country.

“The spectacle of gun factories and shipyards working overtime would be an object lesson which would open the eyes of John Bull to the seriousness of the controversy in which he is now engaged. I am glad to see that the sentiment of the country is with the President, and I am confident that the country will now take up the question of its defenses in a spirit that will be productive of much good.”

Senator Pettigrew takes the view that Great Britain will not fight with the United States. He is the representative in the Senate of that inconsiderable element which deprecates any movement which savors of war. “There is no danger of England going to war with us over any question,” he said to a correspondent of **The New-York Times**.

“She is the Shylock of the world, and for years has been living on the accumulations of the tolling masses of the world. Her exports in the last few years have fallen off \$84,000,000, while her imports are constantly increasing. No country whose yearly imports exceed its exports by \$600,000,000 may be expected to go to war with a powerful nation. It is Great Britain’s mission on earth to accumulate all she can and bullyrag weaker nations. She has everything to lose and nothing to gain by going to war with this country.

“Despite her present aggressive attitude, she will find a loophole to retreat. In my opinion there is no necessity for any warlike preparations on the part of the United States, for England will not fight us.”

### Revenue Will Be Voted

This view is shared by only a few members of the upper chamber.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

The question of revenue has arisen in connection with the proposed arming of the country, but it is dismissed with the assertion that long term, short interest bonds will be cheerfully voted.

One gratifying sign to those who are jealous of their country's honor is the practical disappearance in both houses of partisan spirit. There are, of course, a few men in each branch who cannot rise above the level of partisan politics, but these are apt to be swept out of sight in the tide of patriotism which now is rising so rapidly.

### **Representatives Act As One**

There was a large audience in the gallery of the House this morning in expectation of a long and interesting debate on the President's special message on Venezuela.

The visitors were not altogether disappointed but the debate was shorter and less spirited than had been hoped for. Mr. Crisp and Mr. Hitt both attempted to obtain recognition from the Speaker at the same time. Speaker Reed naturally and perhaps properly, from a party standpoint, saw Mr. Hitt and gave him recognition.

The veteran from Illinois, who had undoubtedly consulted with the Speaker before the House met, sent up for immediate consideration a bill providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate the Venezuela boundary question and make a report, and appropriating \$100,000 to defray the expenses of the commission authorized by the bill.

If the Speaker had been a Democrat instead of a Republican, it is probable that Capt. Boutelle would have insisted upon being called to order and disciplined by being ordered into his seat. He was disposed to be captious, but did not go so far in his manifestation of uneasiness and dissatisfaction as to object, although he was invited to do so by Mr. Reed.

Mr. Crisp did not oppose the prompt disposition of the immature and hastily constructed Hitt bill, which was more useful as a test of the feeling toward the Administration than it was as promising a conclusion to the boundary dispute.

### **Mr. Hitt's Bill Presented**

Immediately after the reading of the journal, Mr. Hitt (Rep. Ill.) asked unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which he sent to the desk and had read. It appropriated \$100,000 for the payment of the expenses of the commission suggested by President Cleveland in his message yesterday for the purpose of determining the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana. The reading of the bill was followed by applause.

Mr. Boutelle (Rep., Me.) asked if it were the intention to pass the bill without debate.

Mr. Hitt stated that that was his desire.

Mr. Boutelle said that he hoped that in view of the vast importance and serious gravity of the consequences that might grow out of the passage the bill, the House would proceed in a decorous and deliberate manner in the consideration of this matter.

Mr. Boutelle said that he had been charged with being a jingo, whatever that might be, and he did not think it was necessary for him to state wherever he was known that, should Congress and the President find themselves in a position where they felt it necessary to call the country to arms, he would not be found lagging behind. The press this morning, he said, brought to the House notice that in the consideration of this affair the members should take counsel of their calmness and deliberation.

The eyes of all the people, he said, were upon the House and Senate this day, and to this matter the members ought to give as much consideration as would be devoted to an appropriation of a few thousand dollars. He hoped that the bill would be sent to a committee in the regular way to be thoroughly digested there and then reported to the House.

Speaker Reed—Does the gentleman object?

Mr. Boutelle—I have not objected. I simply suggested the hope that the bill might be sent to the committee.

The Speaker—Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill? [A pause.] The Chair hears none.

### Speaks for the Measure

Mr. Hitt followed in a speech in support of the bill. He said:

Mr. Speaker, appreciating all that was said by the gentleman who has just taken his seat and the patriotic impulse that led him to make his remarks, I desire to say only a word in explanation of the bill and its purpose, which, I trust, will satisfy everyone in this House – and I say it without mentioning this side of the House or that side. I hope we have not two sides when it comes to a question of this kind.

The President of the United States yesterday sent a message to this House. After a general discussion in that message of doctrines, policies and National interests there is a request made directly by the executive of this House for action to aid in the exercise of his executive functions. It is purely an executive function to ascertain all the facts relating to any question of negotiation with a foreign country.

The gravity of the case is such that the President suggests a mode of determining a cardinal question in the controversy, and he asks us to co-operate with him by enabling him to appoint three men to examine the records and evidences of the facts involved. In this contention between the two great Governments the first fact for us to remember as patriotic Americans is that the success of our country in its contention depends above all upon our presenting a united front, so that all Americans shall appear to be one, and that our Government shall speak for all the people of the United States.

And the prompt response of the people's representatives here in according this small sum of money to pay the expenses of an investigation which the President says shall be carefully and judicially made and with the least delay possible—a suggestion which I am sure was made in good faith and will be so carried out by an American President—we answering in that spirit which becomes Americans, and promptly granting the appropriation, the spectacle will be presented of Republic that is one man.

In negotiations of this character any officer charged with the duty or representing this Government is hampered and his opponent is encouraged by every word of dissent that comes from his home. Every criticism behind the officer's back puts him at a disadvantage, and hesitation by this Congress, the postponing of this simple question of an appropriation to aid the President in performing an executive function, would be construed by the British press and the British Government as evidence that the people of the United States were not behind the President; that his action in the matter had some relation to party tactics, and that he did not speak the voice of the American people.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

Let us answer and do our duty, all of us, now. We shall have long days in which to discuss the Monroe doctrine and the exact words in which it should be formulated, if we do not agree with the precise terms in which in which Mr. Olney or the President has put it. But on this matter discussion only confuses, and gives aid and comfort to those across the sea. Any disclosure of dissent here—and at bottom there really is none—any appearance of dissent would not aid, but would hamper those who are clothed by the Constitution with this great duty. I hope, therefore, that the House will proceed to pass the bill without delay. I have made these few remarks, not from any desire for debate, but merely as a suggestion by way of guidance to the action which I believe we ought to take and in which I hope all will concur. And now, Mr. Speaker, unless there is some considerable body of gentlemen here who desire discussion I will move the previous question.

**Indorsed by Mr. Crisp**

Mr. Crisp, the ex-Speaker, said:

Together with all on this side of the House, I rejoice that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hitt) has been recognized to ask consideration of the bill which has just been read at the Clerk's desk. It does seem to me that there can be no division in this House as to the propriety of the immediate passage of that bill. For a great many years there has been a controversy as to the divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. We respectfully invited Great Britain to submit the controversy between that Government and the Republic of Venezuela to arbitration. Great Britain has declined arbitration. Now what are we to do? If the American people have a fixed opinion upon any question, it is the opinion that no European country shall be permitted to acquire territory on the American Continent by force. Now, the question is, what are we to do?

Inasmuch as Great Britain has declined arbitration of this controversy, we are bound to ascertain, and to ascertain speedily, on which side lies the right, and that is the object of the President's message and of this bill. If we to have the assistance of Great Britain in ascertaining the facts by means of arbitration, then we must ascertain them for ourselves, and we ought to do it at once. The suggestion of my friend from Maine (Mr. Boutelle) to wait until a committee is appointed means to wait three weeks, while we should at once authorize the appointment of this commission and the payment of its expenses, so that it may proceed, as I have just said, to ascertain where the right is; and every one may rest assured that when we ascertain where the right is, we have the courage and the manhood to maintain it.

The previous question was then ordered without a dissenting vote and the bill read a third time and passed unanimously.

Mr. Dingley offered a concurrent resolution providing a holiday recess extending from Friday, Dec. 20, to Friday, Jan. 3, 1896.

Mr. Meredith (Dem., Va.)—Before that resolution is passed I would like to have some gentleman on the other side introduce a bill to repeal the law forbidding old Confederates from serving in the army or navy. I think this would be a good time.

The resolution was passed, and then at 12:40, on motion from Mr. Dingley, the House adjourned until Friday.

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### Senator Morgan is Pleased

Senator Morgan, (Dem., Ala.)—The present Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, expresses his views on the President's message as follows:

“I look upon the President's message as a thoughtful, able, carefully prepared, and vigorous document. It is time that we should have an utterance of this character, and Americans, who always like a straightforward declaration, will support all that the President has said on this subject so fraught with vital consequences for the people of this country.

“The message will meet with the approval of Congress, and will teach England that she has gone as far as she dare in this matter. The whole subject will be up soon for discussion in the Senate, and I predict there will be nothing uncertain about the sentiments that will be expressed on the floors of the two houses of Congress. That I deem the situation one of the most vital importance is suggested by my motion yesterday granting the Committee on Foreign Relations the authority to sit during the recess of Congress.”

### John W. Foster's Views

John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State, an acknowledged authority upon the subject of international law, cordially approves and supports the position taken by President Cleveland and Secretary Olney upon the meaning and scope of the Monroe doctrine, as laid down in the President's message delivered to Congress yesterday, and in the dispatch to Lord Salisbury written by the Secretary last Summer. He was asked for an expression of opinion upon the situation, and in response said:

“I recognize the President's exposition of the Monroe doctrine as a correct statement in its application to the present controversy with Great Britain, and I deem it the duty of every citizen of the United States to support him in his attitude. I do not, however, regard his course as necessarily leading to war.

“I have confidence that the two English-speaking people of the world will be able to find a peaceful method of adjusting the question honorable alike to both.”

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### JULES SIMON EXPECTS NO WAR Holds that the Monroe Doctrine Is Not Applicable

PARIS, Dec. 18.—In an interview to-day M. Jules Simon\* said that, notwithstanding his sympathies with a sister republic of France, he could not see how the Monroe doctrine was applicable in the Venezuelan controversy.

Replying to a suggestion that President Cleveland's action was a political manoeuvre, he said that he thought that such a motive for the course followed by Mr. Cleveland would be unworthy of the President and degrading to the Nation.

He was convinced, he added, that a peaceful solution of the question would be found that would be honorable to both countries.

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\* French statesman and philosopher

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**IT WAS MR. CLEVELAND'S WORK**  
**The Venezuelan Message Was Written by the President Himself**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—There has been an absurd story in circulation in connection with the Venezuelan message, to the effect that Mr. Cleveland was not the author of that document, and that his signature was the only thing contributed by the Chief Executive. The reputed author was Secretary Olney.

As a matter of fact Mr. Olney did not write the message. It was entirely the work of the President, and appears as originally written, with the exception of a few changes in expression. The message was written on unruled, common, white paper, of note size, apparently torn from a convenient block. Each page is finely written in the running and familiar chirography of the President. There are fifteen pages in all. The President made few alterations, the composition being almost without interlineations.

It is understood that Secretary Olney did prepare a form of message, as is usual in such instances for it is customary for the Secretary of State to outline, as a sort of brief, the documents which appear as part of such a message as the Venezuelan document. Often the Secretary's contribution serves as the basis of the Executive communication, and it did so in the present instance, but the message which was published this morning, and which has aroused so much patriotic indorsement, is the work of Mr. Cleveland, and every word was written by him personally.

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**SURPRISING INCREASE IN TERRITORY**  
**British Claims in Guiana Nearly Doubled In One Year**

One phase of the history of Great Britain's contested claims in Venezuela may be traced in interesting fashion in the pages of the "Statesman's Year Book," a publication whose authority is recognized the world over. It has for many years been edited by J. Scott Keltie, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, and it is revised after official returns. From 1869 to 1885 inclusive the "Statesman's Year Book" gives the area of British Guiana at 76,000 square miles. In the issue of 1886 this area in the most surprising fashion jumped up to 109,000 square miles.

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The Hon. William Ewart Gladstone was at that time Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Earl of Rosebery was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Earl Granville Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Gladstone Government came into power after the general election of 1880, and was restored to office as a result of the election in 1886. There was a short interregnum from June 24, 1885, until Feb. 6, 1886, during which period the Marquis of Salisbury assumed the reins of government, but it was during the first of these Gladstone administrations that the Granville boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana was promulgated, whereby the British Government increased its possessions in British Guiana from 76,000 square miles to 109,000 square miles by alleged encroachments on Venezuelan territory.

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**THINKS ENGLAND IS RIGHT**  
**Prof. Moore, ex-Assistant Secretary of State, Talks of the Message**

FLUSHING, L. I., Dec. 18.—Prof. John Bassett Moore of Columbia College, who was Assistant Secretary of State under James G. Blaine, who is a recognized authority on international law, and who has issued recently several pamphlets on the Monroe doctrine, said to-day that he believed England's position in regard to the boundary of Venezuela was the right one.

England, he said, seized the territory in dispute under the right by which unoccupied land may be claimed, and made it valuable. There is an unclaimed strip of land on the other side of Venezuela in every respect as valuable as that in dispute. England. Prof. Moore said, has twice established a boundary line, and in every way attempted to act fairly.

The sentiment aroused in America, he declared, is an almost insane one. There seems to be no reason on the part of England to war with America, he said, yet to maintain her self-respect she may be forced to it. Our naval men, he stated, all agree that we are in no position to cope with England upon the waters. Why America should forsake alliance with the Anglo-Saxons, her own kindred, and take up with those of Spanish descent seems to him incomprehensible. The Spanish are a treacherous race, unsettled and wavering, he said. The South American republics are continually changing their position, and if the United States intends to become their champion it will keep the country continually involved in diplomatic controversy with European countries. Prof. Moore says he is preparing a paper on the Venezuelan question.

President Cleveland's vigorous utterances are approved by men of all political factions.

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**THE PRESIDENT'S COURSE UPHELD**  
**Members of Congress Indorse the Message In Regard to**

**Venezuela's Boundary Dispute**  
**REVENUES FORTHCOMING IN THE EVENT OF WAR**  
**Senator Chandler Proposes to at Once Expend One Hundred Millions of Dollars to Defend**  
**the Coast—The House Adopts it Resolution to Provide for the Commission Suggested by**  
**President Cleveland—Partisanship for Once Forgotten**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—The President did not have to go to the Capitol to-day to ascertain how his message of yesterday had impressed the members of Congress, and the general public. Dispatches poured into the White House from every part of the land weighted with the approval of men in public and private life. Senators and Representatives called upon him in great numbers to commend in person the stand he had taken in asserting anew the traditional policy of this Government. Every one of these official visitors offered at once, and in the most cordial manner, support of any effort to maintain the American position taken.

Almost without exception the metropolitan newspapers were in accord with the general feeling expressed by the White House visitors. The bellicose spirit manifested by the fragments of London editorials had been read and their tone was understood, but the knowledge that England was substantially a unit in denouncing our contention did not dash the enthusiasm of those who regarded the President as right and as having expressed the feeling of the people he was chosen to represent at the head of the Government.

The approval of the President is not partisan. The words of indorsement uttered by Republicans are as straightforward and as unmistakable as those expressed by Democrats. In only a few instances, notably those of Senators Gray and Hill, have there been Democratic declinations to comment upon the President's message. Senator Gray's silence is construed to indicate disapproval of the President's position, and it must be stated in fairness to Senator Hill that the declination of the New-York Senator to speak is not a reluctance to aggravate the British authorities, but a feeling that there is something in the message that may be in time construed to qualify its ringing reiteration of the Monroe doctrine. He intends to speak to the public when he has anything to say.

**The President Heartily Indorsed**

Some comments upon the message and the effect it has had upon the relations of the President with the leading men of his party in Washington have been sent out from this city to-day, and if read by any considerable number of persons they are apt to have a misleading influence. These comments give the idea that the message has severed from him the men who have been his friends, and has not increased the confidence of his former admirers.

It would be difficult, it not impossible, to prove this. In the effort to find critics of the President in the ranks of the Republicans, reports are made of covert sneers at him, and references are made to alleged comparisons of his courage in asserting the Monroe doctrine with the indifference manifested toward slaughtered Armenians. The comparisons are as absurd as they are forced and inadmissible. This talk is palpably an effort to find what is regarded by a select few as a "jingo" character in the message of the President. If such comments as those suggested have been made they have been so "covert" that they have been heard only by the man who wrote them, and, at all events, they were so carefully expressed that but one correspondent has enjoyed the privilege of hearing them, and he has made the most of an opportunity to enjoy what he imagined, perhaps, was a monopoly.

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### **No One Attacks the President**

It ought to be observed that the comments are entirely impersonal; that not one of the men who are referred to as thinking that the President's course has "thrown him into the hands of his enemies" has been considered of sufficient importance to permit the use of his name in the repetition of his criticisms, and there is anonymous authority only for the intimation that the President has taken the stand that meets with almost unanimous approval merely in pursuance of a campaign policy.

That this feeling did not exist in the House at noon to-day will be apparent to any one who will take the trouble to read the report of the proceedings in that body, which at once took up the bill offered by Mr. Hitt to enable the President to appoint a boundary commission, with the liberty to use \$100,000 to pay its expenses. This sudden action on the part of the man who is to be the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee cut out Mr. Crisp, who had in contemplation the offer of a similar proposition.

### **An Imperfect Bill**

With Mr. Reed to watch out for Mr. Hitt, and with the power to overlook Mr. Crisp, even if the Democratic leader were really entitled first to the floor, the opportunity was assured to the Republicans. The bill went through after a slight interruption by Capt. Boutelle, whom the Speaker unsuccessfully endeavored to put in the position of objecting to its immediate consideration, which the doughty warrior did not desire to do. The bill went through without so much as one opposing voice.

Now that the bill has been approved by the House, it is seen to be imperfect. That may have been the intention of the introducer, who neglected to say whether the commission should consist of one man or fifteen men. The size and character of the appointments are left entirely to the discretion of the President, and there is no limit of time in which the report of the commission is to be made to the President and the Congress. The Senate will undoubtedly amend the bill in these particulars, and having prescribed the number of commissioners to serve for the investigation, will also fix a limit of time in which they shall be called upon to complete their work. However amended, the bill must go back to the House for its consideration as amended, so that it looks as if the commission might not be authorized until after the holiday recess.

### **English Opinion Disregarded**

The expressions quoted from the British papers this morning are not weighing very heavily against the American argument. Most of them are taken as the official and organic utterances of Tory sheets, and all of them seem to reveal an ignorance of the dispute that is common with the British people. The later dispatches from London confirm this opinion, for it is reported that the people in London do not know what the newspaper dispute is all about. But it is assumed that even the densest of Britons will be able to comprehend the fact that the managers of the Tory Administration have refused to submit to arbitration a case that the parties on one side are willing shall go to an arbitrator, while the other side is manifesting a preference for war rather than a settlement of the controversy by peaceable means. Arbitration could be accepted without cost to the people or loss of self-respect. War must impose upon Great Britain and the United States heavy

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

burdens of taxation, and possibly great loss of life and material. When that is accomplished it is not at all certain that Great Britain will have anything to show for its bluster, loss of life, and refusal to resort to the inexpensive and reasonable proposition to arbitrate.

A party that undertakes to carry out a policy of resistance to so reasonable a proposition as that made by Secretary Olney and insisted upon by the President would not long remain popular in the United States, and it is believed that the people of Great Britain are likely to be convinced of the correctness of our position if they devote any time to investigation of the subject.

### **Bloodshed Not Expected**

With all the vigorously defiant talk there is an undercurrent of opinion that the trouble will come to an end without bloodshed. Everybody cannot take just the view that is entertained by the younger men of the army and the navy. To these trained men of war the prospect of a collision between England and the United States offers so many chances of achievement in their profession that they will, no doubt, see with regret the diplomatic settlement of the controversy. Men who consider the prospects of war lightly, and talk about its opportunities for fame and glory cheerfully, are apt to be impatient of the arguments that represent the superior importance of maintaining amicable relations with the whole world and preventing the interruption of our business with other nations.

But, with some of those who are most averse to war, the prospect of sounding the willingness of the country to test its readiness for self-defense and even aggressive operations is considered a wholesome one.

The freedom from partisanship of the approval of the President was expressed by a Republican, who said of the leading editorial in *The Times* of to-day that it expressed his opinion of the message better than he had held it himself.

### **Partisanship Abandoned**

“The President,” he said, “has made a declaration which is entitled to and which will receive the support of every American, of whatever party.”

It is understood that the Hitt bill will be amended in the Senate so as to provide for the appointment of two members of the Venezuela commission by the Senate, two by the House, and two by the President. The expectation is that it will consist of three Democrats and three Republicans, and that the men selected will be of such character as to commend them to the support of both parties.

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THE FINANCIAL MARKETS  
An Advancing Market Checked by the Venezuelan Incident  
INTERNATIONAL STOCKS FREELY SOLD  
Other Issues Decline in Sympathy— Industrials Also Lower—Exchange

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## Rates Firm—Call Money Higher

Tuesday—P. M.

President Cleveland's message to Congress on the Venezuelan matter reached Wall Street when the market was showing considerable strength, operators having been liberal buyers throughout the morning. It was several minutes before the full import of the matter impressed itself, during which there was a temporary lull in business. Then fractions began to fall with rapidity from stocks having an international market, and it was not long before the whole list was moving downward. Business was over for the day in London when the news came, so there was really no selling for the foreign account. But it was evident that local operators believed that American stocks would be thrown over by the foreigners at the first opportunity, and it was equally evident that they did not intend to make the market attractive for the expected liquidation. Louisville and Nashville dropped 2 points; Denver preferred  $1\frac{3}{4}$ ; Baltimore and Ohio,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ; Southern preferred  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ; St. Paul, Kansas and Texas preferred, and Wabash preferred, each  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ; Reading, 1, and Atchison  $\frac{7}{8}$ . These declines were from the high prices prevailing about noon, the net losses for the day being somewhat less.

Interest in the Venezuelan matter overshadowed everything else, and, pending further developments, the disposition was to close up accounts and wait events. This resulted in liquidation in all the leading industrials, as well as in the local railway list. The large increase in Wabash earnings for the second week in December did not check the decline in the preferred stock, and the ratification of the Pacific Mail-Panama Railway agreement was marked by a decline of more than 2 points in Pacific Mail. The foreign exchange market was strong and rates were verging on the point where gold may be shipped to London on Saturday. There was a slight flurry in the call money market. Loans on the exchange ran up to 3 per cent, and many banks demanded 4 per cent. . .

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## THE COUNTRY'S RESPONSE

The unanimous passage of Mr. Hitt's resolution appropriating \$100,000 to defray the expense of the Venezuela Boundary Commission furnishes the best possible evidence of the disposition of Congress toward the recommendations of the President's message. It is apparent that the resolution stands in need of amendment since it fails to indicate the number of Commissioners to be appointed and does not clearly prescribe the duties they are to perform. Those details can be attended to later. The main thing was that the House should at once and with unanimity support the President in the firm position he has taken. That has been done, and in doing it the House responds to the spirit of the country.

We are informed by cable dispatches that the President's application of the Monroe doctrine to the Venezuela controversy is unsatisfactory to the great powers of Europe. This is interesting, but not specially important, since we already knew the temper of the European powers and could easily have foreseen the nature of the replies they would make to the inquiries said to have been addressed to them by Lord Salisbury before he drew up his answer to Secretary Olney's letter of July 20. The

Monroe doctrine in its modern applications, through which it broadens to a set of principles that it seems to us it would be much better to call the American doctrine, was not formulated for the interest and behoof of the great European powers. It works for our interest, for our defense, and to the entire satisfaction of the American people, who have given it their unfailing support for three-quarters of a century. We have no more occasion to inquire how it suits Europe than Europe has to inquire if we are content with its balance of power arrangements, about which we have never given ourselves the slightest concern. But chief among the fools who have favored us with their valuable opinions upon the unsubstantial character of the Monroe doctrine are the Paris journalists, who will be singing a very different tune in the not distant future.

Anybody could foresee that stocks would fall upon the publication of the President's message. In particular it could be foreseen that American securities would be thrown over in the London market with the natural and inevitable effect of advancing interest rates in New-York and of creating a condition favorable to a considerable outflow of gold. This state of things would call for serious revision of any arrangements hitherto contemplated for maintaining the Treasury reserve. But the cause of the trouble provides also the remedy. It has always seemed plain to us that in ordinary conditions no popular loan would appreciably add to the stock of gold in the Treasury, and we have often given our reasons for holding that opinion. But when once the patriotism of the American people is appealed to, as it is most powerfully appealed to by the President's message, when it is understood that English holders of our securities are throwing them upon the market, partly, of course, through motives of speculative prudence, but partly also through a sentiment of awakening hostility, the American people will take the bonds of a popular loan at any moment in amounts sufficient to replenish the reserve. Such an appeal from the Treasury would call forth accumulations of gold from all their hiding places, petty in the individual sums, but in the aggregate sufficient for any Government need.

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**VENEZUELAN MINISTER PLEASED  
Gratified at the Stand Taken by President Cleveland**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, expressed himself as thoroughly gratified with the recommendations of the President, and is confident that the enthusiasm in Venezuela when the main points of the message are received where will be very great.

He considers as remarkable the deep insight into the question shown by the President, and can find no words strong enough to commend the masterly presentation of the facts of the controversy by Secretary Olney.

In regard to the commission Señor Andrade believes it would be most welcome to Venezuela, a similar commission having been recommended by the representative of that country in London in 1893 to Lord Rosebery.

That proposition provided for eight or ten men of the highest technical attainments, including lawyers, to examine the legal portion of the controversy, and in case of failure of this commission to agree, the points it left disputed would be referred to arbitration.

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The Minister thinks the commission suggested by the President could complete its labors without going to Venezuela in a few months, from material available in this country.

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VIEWS ON THE MESSAGE  
Further Opinion Regarding President Cleveland's Action  
EX-SECRETARY EVARTS SATISFIED  
Abram S. Hewitt Opposed to War—Criticism by the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott  
—Mayor Schieren's Views

Reporters for The New-York Times obtained further interviews yesterday on the President's message regarding the Venezuelan boundary question.

Ex-Secretary William W. Evarts said: "I am satisfied with the course the President has taken."

Ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, after expressing a disinclination to discuss the President's message, said: "So far as I understand it, this is not the Monroe doctrine at all. If war is declared, it will be declared on some other basis than that. But I think the horse sense of the country at large is thoroughly opposed to war. Our people do not want to fight about the exact location or a boundary line away down in Venezuela. It seems to me that the Monroe doctrine is not the issue here and does not cover the case. The thorough student of international law must be well aware of this. The message is the statement of a good politician.

"The Venezuelan question, it seems to me, must be decided on some other issue than this elastic Monroe doctrine. I recall in this connection the setting up of the empire in Mexico, at the close of the war, which was extremely offensive to us. But Secretary Seward practically told France she must get out, and France promptly did get out."

Gen. Russell A. Alger of Michigan was at the Fifth Avenue Hotel last night. He is a Republican who has often been mentioned as a possible candidate for President. Speaking of President Cleveland's message, he said: "It was a bold, manly message, and it was timely. The American people will always support their President when he is right, and they will always support the Monroe doctrine."

Gen. Alger also said that the action of the House of Representatives yesterday in unanimously voting the one-hundred-thousand-dollar appropriation for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the President to investigate the boundary question was right and worthy of all commendation. He deprecated the suggestion that has been made by some that the message was written for partisan reasons. He did not believe that such a criticism should be made, and he was emphatically of the opinion that on an issue like this all patriotic Americans should stand together.

Gen. Anson G. McCook, now City Chamberlain and formerly Secretary of the United States Senate, and always a Republican of high standing, said: "President Cleveland's message is a dignified, patriotic document well worthy of an American President."

Mr. McCook also said that he was disgusted with the idea that when a President of the United States made such a declaration he should be charged with doing it for partisan purposes.

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Tax Commissioner Wells, a Republican and a strong partisan, said that the people would sustain President Cleveland in this matter as they had sustained President Lincoln years ago.

Gen. Felix Agnus of Baltimore, a staunch Republican, who arrived at the Fifth Avenue Hotel last night, said that he believed in proceeding carefully in the matter. He did not want to underestimate England as a foe. But if it should come to war then all British control should be banished from this continent.

All the South American republics would be with the United States in the conflict, and Canada and the British possessions in North America should be wiped out and made a part of the United States.

Simon Sterne said: "This is far too important a matter for me to discuss in an offhand way and without due reflection."

James C. Carter said: "I have read the message, but I cannot enter into any discussion of it. I cannot express an opinion on it."

Francis L. Eames, President of the Stock Exchange, said: "While I do not think that the time had come for such a message, it is a good thing for a nation to stand firmly for its rights. Not being a prophet or a son of a prophet, I cannot foresee the outcome."

Collis P; Huntington said: "I think England made a mistake in declining arbitration. Our people are thoroughly committed to the Monroe doctrine, and will stand by it."

Washington E. Connor said: "No doubt the President will have the support of loyal citizens throughout the country in whatever action he may take to maintain the Monroe doctrine. His argument against the forcible extension of British boundary lines is unanswerable. It is time for the people of this country to give more attention to patriotism than to politics. For some time each of the great parties has made the mistake of trying to gain some advantage at the expense of the other. In a situation like the present one, with a question affecting the general welfare, partisanship should be put aside. The Venezuelan question must be settled on its merits. That is our position, and it is sound. We can well afford to stand by it."

John F. James of Brooklyn said: "I think the President has done a grand thing. I have always had a high regard for Mr. Cleveland, but the course he takes in this matter increases my admiration of him greatly. His views are marked with the greatest propriety, and should not only be acquiesced in by every true American citizen, but given the most unqualified indorsement as well."

A. Abraham of the firm of Abraham & Straus of Brooklyn said: "I believe the President to be a very wise and conservative man, and do not believe he has taken the present step without exercising the greatest judgment and being thoroughly advised. If England is encroaching on our territory, or infringing on the Monroe doctrine, we should not hesitate about showing our true colors. Still, I think that when the only thing at issue is the question of boundary, the matter is one which can be settled by arbitration.

"We are not so well prepared to go to war as England, with her enormous fleet. We are trying hard to equal England in that respect. England should be content with her possessions on the American continent, which cover, I believe, a larger area than the United States does. Why she should assume her present attitude on the Venezuelan question I find it difficult to understand."

Thomas E. Pearson of Brooklyn said: "I think the President's message is a grand doctrine. There is a democratic tone about it which everybody will admire. The President takes a very proper view of the matter, and his position will certainly commend itself to every citizen. He very wisely suggests arbitration, and I think England, in due course of time, will see the justice of the position, and act accordingly."

Public Administrator William B. Davenport of Brooklyn said: “I heartily approve of the President’s sentiments. I trust that no warlike results will follow. The President only performed a duty which could not have been avoided.”

Mayor Schieren of Brooklyn said: “I am glad to see the President take the stand that he has taken. I believe in the Monroe doctrine and its enforcement. There is a line drawn, and when foreign powers propose to go beyond it I believe the President should stand firm in opposing them. I do not think that the president has any political motives in this matter, as has been suggested in some quarters. Every public official is open to the criticism that his every public act is for a selfish purpose. I have seen nothing to indicate that President Cleveland desires another term.”

Justice William E. Osborne of the Brooklyn City Court said: “I heartily approve of the President’s action, and of the doctrine it so ably sets forth. I believe it will meet with universal approval as soon as it is fully understood.”

Ex-Park Commissioner George V. Brown of Brooklyn said: “President Cleveland has always shown himself honest and faithful to the interest of the American people in every emergency, and he has not failed and will not fail us in the present instance.”

Bernard J. York of Brooklyn said: “I think it one of the finest and strongest documents that ever emanated from the Executive Mansion. It is certainly time that we asserted ourselves in defense of the Monroe doctrine as against the encroachments of European powers. The message of the President is higher than mere politics,”

I. Augustus Stanwood, Chief Accountant of the Brooklyn Police Department, a cousin of the late James G. Blaine, said: “I think Mr. Cleveland has taken a very good stand, indeed. The United States has never interfered with European matters, and has always kept its hands off in questions directly affecting European countries. But our country has a direct interest in all that appertains to foreign influence with matters affecting this hemisphere. I do not think we will have wait. The British Government can scarcely afford it at present, but I am glad that Mr. Cleveland has taken such a decided stand. I speak as a Republican and as an American citizen.”

Police Superintendent McKelvey of Brooklyn said: “I like the note of Americanism in President Cleveland’s message.”

Brig. Gen. James McLeer said: “It seems to me that there is but one opinion of the position taken by the President in respect to the question. All party lines are obliterated. It is possible that the wise men of this country, after careful consideration, may determine that the question is not one that comes within the provisions of the Monroe doctrine, but until that decision is made it is the duty at the American people to stand by their President and adopt his patriotic utterances as their own.”

Prof. Franklin W. Hooper of Brooklyn said: “My impression is that the President knows what he is about. I have not had time to read his message carefully. I do not at this moment recall that he has made during his Administration any serious mistakes in his foreign policy. I am of the opinion that the people of the United States ‘will stand solidly behind the President in this matter.’”

The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, said: “I hesitate to criticise the foreign policy of the President of the United States, because I cannot but assume that he possesses a knowledge respecting the question at issue greater than that of most private citizens. But assuming the facts to be all as stated in his message, I should dissent earnestly from the conclusion to which he would lead the country.

“The Monroe doctrine was legitimate and necessary at the time it was propounded. Its wisdom, even as Monroe propounded it, is more doubtful now, and there appears to me to be no reason for extending it, while it is certain that the President’s policy would be a very great extension of it.

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“We have offered our friendly offices to Great Britain, and she has declined them. Now the President practically proposes that we shall say to Great Britain, ‘You must do in South America what we think is right, or we will go to war with you.’ If she refuses, and we do go to war with her, this means danger all along our Northern border from Maine to Vancouver. It means also a possible peril to all our seaports from British fleets, and this double peril the President proposes that we shall invite.

“At some remote future day England may come into conflict with us if we allow her to extend her South American colony; therefore, we are to challenge her to a conflict now. In truth, our interests would be promoted rather than imperiled by English immigration to South America and the increase of English colonists on that continent. The spirit of the Monroe doctrine is hostility to the introduction at monarchical institutions on this hemisphere. An English colony is more really republican than a Spanish-American republic. If every one of those republics could be converted into an English colony the United States might well felicitate herself upon the change. Every increase of Anglo-Saxon civilization in the world is a gain to the world. Every increase of that civilization in America is a gain to our own nation. Canada is a far better neighbor than Mexico.

“As our own interests do not call for intervention, so neither does justice. In case of a great palpable wrong in South America like the massacre of the Armenians in Turkey, for example, or like the invasion of Mexico by France, our intervention might justly be defended on humanitarian and philanthropic grounds.

“But there is no such palpable and monstrous wrong in the present case. There is a dispute concerning boundary lines, which to all but a limited number of Americans is very obscure and uncertain.

“If we are to interfere in every such case, it can only be on the ground that we assume a protectorate over the whole of South America, an assumption which neither our interests, our duties, nor our abilities warrant.

“I very much hope that the Republican House of Representatives will refuse to grant the President the appropriation which he asks for a commission to investigate the Venezuelan boundary question, and will adopt so far as in it lies, a policy for minding our own business.”

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VIEWES OF GERMAN JOURNALS  
The Venezuelan Question Regarded as a Serious One

BERLIN, Dec. 18.—The message of President Cleveland to the United States Congress in regard to Venezuela is heartily indorsed by the United States Embassy here. The authorities of the embassy applaud Mr. Cleveland’s firmness, but will not talk any further on the subject.

The *Vossische Zeitung* in commenting on President Cleveland’s message on the Venezuelan question, says that the President’s sharp tone against England and his emphasizing the Monroe doctrine will attract the attention of other powers.

The *National Zeitung* says:

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“Rudeness toward unliked countries is the rule when Presidents reseek office. As the Washington Government claims exclusive rights in the matter of arbitrating American affairs, the whole arbitration claim becomes a pure farce.”

The **Boersen Courier** says that England first haughtily treated the Alabama claims, but was afterward obliged to accept arbitration on the question, and that established a precedent.

The **Boersen Zeitung** says:

“President Cleveland’s answer leaves nothing to be desired in its outspokenness.”

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### DISAGREES WITH THE PRESIDENT A Yale Professor Criticises Mr. Cleveland’s Message

NEW-HAVEN, Conn., Dec. 19.—Prof. William G. Sumner of Yale writes to a local newspaper that he has been incorrectly reported on the Venezuelan question. He says:

“I dissent from every statement of the history or law contained in it, (the President’s message,) and I regard all the proceedings in the matter as unjustifiable. The suggestions of the message seemed to me undiplomatic and mischievous.

“There will be a sober second thought to this matter. War with England would be grave business for our sons and for our property. If we are only playing with the nation or war, believing ourselves secure, we shall not cut a good figure in our own eyes when we come to realize how we are acting. Let us wait for the second thought. Possibly it may also prove a boomerang in its political effects.”

### WHAT WOULD RESULT FROM WAR? Ulysses D. Eddy’s Views Regarding a Conflict with Great Britain

Ulysses D. Eddy said yesterday, in speaking of the Venezuelan affair:

“War would be a misfortune, especially between two such nations as the United States and Great Britain. We see already the effects of war talk in the sale of our securities abroad and in demands for our gold for them. A rupture of relations would threaten us with serious financial confusion. But in an affair involving the country’s welfare or a National principle or policy, the people must be willing to make sacrifices.

“If we were to go to war with England we must expect at first heavy losses by attacks on our seaboard, but we would come out of the conflict not with 3,000,000 square miles of territory but with 6,000,000.

E. F. Beddall of 50 Wall Street said: “The general belief is that the President is right and the people will uphold him. In view of all that would be involved in war, however, it would seem that the question must be settled without resort to hostilities

### FORMER MINISTER PERAZA’S VIEWS What He Says of Territory in Dispute in South America

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

N. Blolet Peraza of Brooklyn, who was Minister Plenipotentiary from Venezuela to the United States for a number of years up to 1892, gave out yesterday this brief explanation of the Guiana controversy.

“Two centuries ago Holland invaded Spanish Guiana. At that period all of Venezuela was a Spanish possession under that name. The war ended in 1791, and according to the treaty of peace signed then, Spain ceded the colonies to Holland—Esequibo, Demerara, and Surinam—and the Esequibo was agreed upon and recorded as a dividing line between the two possessions. This treaty was signed at Aranjuez, in Spain, in 1791. Spain and Holland, in this treaty, had an extradition clause which permitted the extradition of criminals, and the Esequibo River was clearly defined as the dividing line between the possessions.

“Spain owned what the treaty described as hers by right of discovery, and Holland was described as owning up to the Esequibo River by right of conquest over Spain. This line still stands. When England first drew the Schomburgk line, Venezuela protested but England stated that it was drawn for the purpose of exploration. Venezuela thought the explanation in good faith, and was further deceived when England asked Venezuela to build a lighthouse at the mouth of the Orinoco on the English side of the Schomburgk line. When England claimed the mouth of the Orinoco, I presented the protest of Venezuela to Secretary Blaine—I was Venezuelan Minister at the time—and this was just four years after Venezuela had been requested by England to erect the lighthouse at the mouth of the Orinoco.

“During the period 1791 to the date of the independence of Venezuela, Spain had exercised full power and full jurisdiction in Guiana, as far as the Esequibo River, and there is not a single record of a protest from Holland, but, to the contrary, there are many records which show that she recognized the jurisdiction of Spain over that territory. England would have avoided all this trouble if she could have shown even in confidence to any American Minister in London any proof of her right to a claim over the disputed territory.

### VENZUELANANS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC President Crespo Says They Are Most Grateful to the “Great Republic”

Col. George W. Turner, editor of **The New-York Recorder**, sent the following telegram to President Crespo Tuesday night:

“Will your Excellency voice to the citizens of the United States the opinion of your countrymen on President Cleveland’s message?”

This reply was received last night:

“I answer your telegram with satisfaction. Popular enthusiasm here is indescribable. All Venezuelans pronounce to-day with profound respect and gratitude the name of the Great Republic.”

### What Henry Clews Suggests

Henry Clews sent the following telegram yesterday to Washington addressed to Senator Wolcott of Colorado and to Representative Sereno Payne of New-York:

President Cleveland’s proposition to Congress to appoint a commission to determine the boundary line in the dispute between England and Venezuela can be made available for an amicable settlement of the vexed question, provided Marquis Salisbury will also appoint a commission for the

same purpose, and then leave the settlement of the question to the two commissions, whose decision will be final without appeal. This will end the business and cannot fail to be satisfactory to all concerned. Congress should pass a resolution requiring the President to invite England to appoint a commission to co-operate with our commission in effecting a settlement of the boundary-line as above proposed.”

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COMMISSION BILL GOES OVER  
A Populist Senator Insists upon the Observance of the Rule

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—As soon as the Journal of yesterday was read in the Senate to-day, a clerk from the House delivered to the Senate the Venezuelan Commission bill, and the Vice President laid it before the Senate. Practically the entire session was devoted to consideration of this bill.

Mr. Sherman (Rep., Ohio), moved that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; but, as his attention was called to the fact that the present Chairman of that committee (Mr. Morgan, Dem, Ala.) was not in the Chamber, he withdrew the motion temporarily.

Mr. Cockrell. (Dem, Mo.), Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, reported back favorably the concurrent resolution for the holiday recess, from Friday, Dec. 20, until Friday, Jan. 3, but Mr. Chandler (Rep., N.H.), objected to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution, holding that the Venezuela business should be disposed of first. The resolution went over until tomorrow.

Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.), offered a resolution instructing the Finance Committee to inquire whether it would not be expedient and proper for the Government of the United States at this time, “when the contingency of war between the British Empire and the United States of America may suddenly arise,” to open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 18 to 1; also to issue an adequate volume of greenbacks, and to withdraw the National bank power of currency issue.

M. Platt (Rep., Conn.) moved to strike out the “whereases” in reference to war; and then both he and Mr. Gorman (Dem., Md.) objected to its consideration to-day.

**Mr. Morgan on the Commission**

The House bill appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of the proposed commission to Venezuela was laid before the Senate, and Mr. Morgan (Dem., Ala.), Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, addressed the Senate on the subject. The Senate, he said, in considering a question of such gravity, ought to deliberate as long as was proper and necessary in order to come to an absolutely correct judgment; and he therefore favored the reference of the bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations. But he should object to any such reference unless the Senate agreed that it would take no recess until the committee should make its report. For, while he would hasten slowly

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in the matter, he would still make all necessary speed. It was a question that was agitating the people of the United States, and of the whole world; and delay would give an opportunity for the formation of incorrect opinions that might become very unfortunate. He preferred to have appropriate and necessary deliberation. He had doubts as to whether Congress intended to intervene in that which was a diplomatic question, or whether it intended to leave to the President of the United States the full and unembarrassed exercise of his Constitutional power in framing and shaping the diplomatic question for the future consideration of Congress.

The division line between the functions of Congress and of the President was a clear one, and was one which he did not care to cross by anticipation. As an illustration of his meaning, he instanced the case of Mr. Blount, who was sent by the President as a special Commissioner to Hawaii without nomination to or confirmation by the Senate. That question was again involved in this matter, and ought to be duly considered and acted on. It was for the Senate to determine whether it would interfere in the matter legislatively, now, or whether it would leave it where the President desired (as indicated in his message) it to be left, in the hands of the Executive. There was no difference of opinion, he believed, between the President and Congress as to the promptitude with which the question ought to be settled. He believed that the President and Congress were in entire accord.

### **The President's Act Conclusive**

So far as the Monroe doctrine was concerned, that was settled by the action of the Executive, at least; and the conclusions reached by the Executive on it could be absolutely and unequivocally confirmed. He did not at all, he thought, mistake the sense of Congress or of the people of the United States on that subject. The question of the application of the doctrine to the present case was one which was settled by the President's message quite as conclusively. But it was not settled absolutely. The Government has passed now to an attitude on the Monroe doctrine that would gratify, he thought, the present generation of men and all generations of Americans who might live hereafter. It was an assertion of the right of the United States, as the controlling nationality on this continent. It has been made and would stand as the law of the United States. He was incapable of expressing the ratification he felt that a question which had been so long debated had at last received such a clear-cut definition. He could never express his gratitude that a conclusion had been arrived at so entirely comports with the dignity and honor of the Government of the United States, with its prestige among the nations of the world, and with the sentiment of all the people of the country.

### **Mr. Sherman Commends the Message**

Mr. Sherman, (Rep. Ohio), who is to be Mr. Morgan's successor as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was then next speaker. He expressed his general assent to Mr. Morgan's views, and commended the President's message, but favored a reference of the House bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and its deliberate consideration by that committee and by the Senate. The bill, as passed by the House, he said, should be amended, defined, and limited. He indorsed the Monroe doctrine, but argued that its application to a specific case was a matter of the gravest importance to the United States and to the world. The controversy was a serious one, but he had no doubt that the question would be settled peaceably. An assertion should be made of the right of the United States to prevent European powers from invading the American continent and

treating it as they treated Africa and Asia. America was now settled in every part by people of European origin, England having the greatest interest. Mr. Sherman declared:

Under the circumstances, I do not expect that a war will ensue. I do not contemplate or wish to contemplate the possibility of such an event. I have seen enough of war in my time to dread its principles and its consequences. I do not wish, in the slightest degree, to say a word that would indicate that a war was likely to ensue about this small matter. At the same time I think that the President of the United States did right in taking the ground that it is our duty, as the most powerful of American nations, to say to the countries of Europe: "These two continents are already occupied by Christian people, and we are willing to see that their rights shall not be trampled upon by European powers." As a matter of course, we cannot interfere in any agreement made between Venezuela and Great Britain as to the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, but I have a map here [pointing to it] which shows repeated encroachments made by Great Britain. This is a serious controversy, and Great Britain has taken the ground that she will not even submit it to arbitration.

Now, I think that the British people, when they understand this matter, when they see that it has attracted the attention of the civilized world, will not insist upon that refusal, especially when it is recollected that the Monroe doctrine was not, perhaps, as much the doctrine of Monroe as it was the doctrine of Mr. Canning, the English Prime Minister.

While we are in no hurry, I do not wish this matter to pend beyond the present session. But I do think that the bill ought to be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that it should be acted upon promptly. Let that committee hear suggestions of amendment to the House bill. If all amendments be voted down by the committee and the Senate, and if they choose to take the House bill, well and good. We will pass it. But I demand the right of the Senate to consider so grave a proposition as this, and not to be hurried in its consideration. It is supposed that we are a slow-moving body. Well, we ought to be. This bill ought to be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the committee should be instructed to report it back – say to-morrow, or at any other time necessary – and let it then be discussed in the Senate. If the committee reports that amendments are necessary, and if the Senate adopts those amendments, I have no doubt that the House will also agree to them, and if the committee does not report any amendments, the Senate will pass the bill as it came from the House. That will show no haste, no excitement.

### Mr. Lodge Asks a Reference

Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.), said that it would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the question involved in the bill. It seemed to him that the proper course for the Senate to take with such an important matter was the usual course—to send the bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations and to instruct that committee to report at once—to-morrow if the Senate so pleased. He did not think that Congress ought to adjourn for the holidays until the bill was disposed of. He had not the least desire to delay action. On the contrary, he wished to expedite it in every possible way. But he thought that action taken by the Senate in its ordinary and usual way, after the report of a committee, would have far more weight and would meet much more certainly with the approbation of the whole American people than if the bill was passed now without having consideration from the appropriate committee. If it were referred to-day it could be reported back to-morrow and passed by the Senate. He added:

Let Congress remain in session until the bill is disposed of. Surely, at this time, Senators are not going to set the question of a holiday against dealing with a matter which involves a principle on which are staked the interests and safety of the United States, and which may bring hostilities between the two great English-speaking nations of the world. It is of the utmost importance that we shall show to the world that we are united, without distinction of party or of section, in support of the policy which the President's message outlines. We shall be able to say, as Webster said, that our politics stop at the water's edge, and that when we have to deal with a foreign question we are all simply Americans. It has been freely charged in the English press published in London and in that small edition of it

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published in the City of New-York, that this whole thing is a matter of politics, and that it is being used by the President for electioneering purposes.

This is the most mistaken view ever uttered. I believe that the American people, without distinction of party, believe in the Monroe doctrine.

### **Mr. Voorhees Ready to Act**

Mr. Voorhees (Dem., Ind.) said that he could see no reason why action on the House bill should not be taken at once. He was not contemplating war or peace. He was contemplating what was right in the case. He was not in haste, and the English Government had not been in haste when it took five months to make up its mind what answer to give to Mr. Olney's dispatch, or whether it would answer it at all. He had no fear of war. He looked upon war as a horror, and hoped that every Christian man did so. But there would be no war over this matter. He declared:

There is a hostage on this continent, north of us; and England will not fight on an issue of this kind. She does not dare to do so. The commerce of the world is in English bottoms. No! There will be an adjustment and a settlement. Let us have that understood, and we will go along peaceably. Let us now go forward and settle the question for ourselves, so far as our responsibilities are involved. Let England have what belongs to her and no more.

I trust that we will waste no further time on this great question, but dispose of it, pass the bill, and let the President appoint his commission.

Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.) objected to the second reading of the bill to-day—so that the motion to refer could not be entertained. There was no doubt, he said, that there was unanimous agreement in the Senate on the subject of the Monroe doctrine. Nobody misapprehended the force of that doctrine or what it was. But there might be a grave question as to its application to this particular case. He looked upon it, not as a rule of international law except so far as it was a rule of National self-defense.

### **Mr. Hawley Would Go Slow**

Mr. Hawley (Rep., Conn.), expressed regret at the tone at Mr. Voorhees's remarks. It was not wise, he said, to assume that either the great British nation or the great American people would refuse to fight in any imaginable contingency. He would not discuss the question of war at all. What was desired under the provisions of the House bill was information. There was not a Senator or a citizen who would not be very glad indeed to receive the careful report of five leading jurists on the merits of the question. Nobody knew what the facts were. The English Government itself did not know—as was shown by a map in which there were six different boundaries. If that was not a case for a commission, he did not know what would be. If the Senate should act upon the bill without its having received the mature consideration of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it would be reproached with having departed from its usual course. On the other hand, if the bill were sent to the committee, various amendments would be offered to it; for instance, that the Commissioners should be nominated and approved by the Senate, and that a time for final report should be fixed in the bill.

Mr. Chandler (Rep., N.H.), obtained the floor but his contribution to the discussion consisted in having read from the Clerk's desk the memorial submitted to Congress and the President last

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February on the part of English gentlemen to have a system of international arbitration established to prevent war.

### **An American Doctrine**

Mr. Teller (Rep., Col.), contended that in ordinary decency the Senate ought to wait until the bill was reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations. The President, he said, had the power to appoint a commission without the consent of Congress; but if he wanted the assistance of Congress he was entitled to it. The President's message, as a whole, met with his hearty approval, but he had expected it. No President and no Secretary of State, he said, had reached a point where he would retire before the assertion of the Monroe doctrine. It was, however, not merely the Monroe doctrine; it was the American doctrine. It was a doctrine which grew out of the right of self-defense. Continuing, he said:

If we believe that the establishment of colonies on the western hemisphere is contrary to our interests and threatening to our institutions, it is our right to say that they shall not be established. We do not resort to international law for our defense; we resort to the right of every nation to say that no other nation shall arrogate to itself so much power as to threaten its stability. Let the bill go to the committee, and, if the committee wants two weeks to consider it, or a month, let the committee take that time. Nothing will be lost by delay. Great Britain will not misunderstand our attitude, and does not misunderstand it now. We know that we are not willing to abandon the Monroe doctrine, or to permit European Governments to interfere improperly in American affairs.

If war should break out, it would be a universal war. We would not be without European allies. The interest of certain European countries would be that we should destroy the prestige of Great Britain, not only on sea, but on land. Great Britain knows that, we know it, and the world knows it. The great Russian Government, patiently waiting to get its advent to the sea, would find an opportunity which it has never yet had. Do you think it would be slow to take it? Russia is waiting to crowd her domination on the line of British India. Do you suppose she would fail to do it? She is waiting to complete her commenced domination over China. Do you suppose she would fail to take the opportunity?

In my judgment there is no danger of war over a trivial question like this. The consequences would be more serious to Great Britain than to us. But I do not wish to say that in the way of threat. I do not believe that that is the way to discuss this question. Neither Great Britain nor we can afford to go to war unless there is a great principle at stake and a great necessity for war. It would be the most inhuman thing in the world for these two great English-speaking people to go to war. There is no haste in this matter. It is a question involving the friendship, peace, and prosperity of the two greatest nations of the world. Let us approach it as statesmen and Senators ought. Let us not be impatient. And, above all, let us not be anxious only to get political advantage one side of the other. It is too big a question for party purposes and party gain. Let the question be settled in such a way that when Great Britain sees what you have done she will know that there is a united nation back of it, and that we have, as we ought to have, the approval of the civilized world. We cannot afford to go to war until we have that, and that cannot be had until the facts are judicially determined. When that determination is made I am for acting in accordance with the honor and dignity of the Government of the United States without reference to what way be the result.

### **The Bill Goes over for a Day**

This closed the discussion, which was carried on throughout with much spirit, but with no show of passion or excitement. As Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.), persisted in his objection to the second reading of the bill, it had to lie upon the table till to-morrow, when it will have its second reading, and when the motion to refer it to the Committee on Foreign Relations will be in order.

In the meantime, Mr. Morgan, Chairman of the committee, asked members of it to meet in committee at 10 A.M. to-morrow, saying that there were other resolutions before it, embodying the

same question, and that he believed the committee would be prepared to report to the Senate tomorrow with such suggestions as it might deem proper to make, when the Senate could take action on the bill.

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**ENGLAND SLOW OF ACTION  
No Developments Expected Till After the Holidays  
A SEMI-OFFICIAL STATEMENT MADE  
The Chancellor of the, Exchequer Thinks the Venezuelan Difficulty Will Be Adjusted  
Without a Resort to Arms**

LONDON, Dec. 19.—Lord Salisbury did not come to London to-day. Business at the Government offices went along as usual, and there was no bustle or excitement. It is the opinion in official quarters that there will be no developments in the Venezuelan matter until the Christmas holidays are over. It is also thought that the Government will not act in any way until it receives a formal intimation of the appointment of the American commission.

In a speech delivered at Bristol to-day Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a passing reference to President Cleveland's message. Some people, he said, appeared to regard a war between the United States and Great Britain as impossible owing to their ties of kinship.

Nothing, however, was impossible. War had already happened between them. If kinsmen unhappily differed they became sometimes very bitter enemies. But he did not believe that many persons, if any, on either side of the Atlantic thought that the people of the United States or Great Britain wanted war. He was confident that when a true statement of Great Britain's case was ably and fully presented and Lord Salisbury's dispatches were laid before both peoples the result would be peaceful and honorable to both countries.

Gen. Lord Wolseley, Commander in Chief of the British forces, in the course of an address to the inmates of the Soldiers' Home at Norwich to-day, mentioned the difference between the United States and Great Britain over the Venezuelan question and exclaimed: "God forbid that there should be war."

The Rev. Joseph Parker, in the course of a sermon in the City Temple to-day, told his hearers that there would be no war between England and America. The Christians of both countries, he said, would keep the peace of the world. . .

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**FRENCHMEN APPROVE THE MESSAGE**

## Rejoice at the Stumbling Block to Further British Aggression

PARIS, Dec. 19.—M. Delcasse, formerly French Minister of the Colonies, said in an interview with a United Press reporter to-day:

“Mr. Cleveland is a man of sound sense and reflection and it is not likely that he sent his Venezuelan message to Congress without having duly weighed the consequences and being practically certain of achieving his aim.”

M. Delcasse declined to say whether he approved the message or not, and added that if it were true that England meditated taking action in Asia Minor it would cause modifications in the policy of Turkey.

M. Deloncle, the French Colonial expert and Deputy, spoke in warm approval of the message, which, he said, vigorously affirms an indestructible national tradition and promulgates a new public right against which British rage is powerless.

“It is useless,” he declared, “for England to hope to obtain the support of Europe in this matter. Mr. Cleveland has turned the tables by employing toward Great Britain the methods that she herself has hitherto used against her enemies. France, which has long been demanding the arbitration at her dispute with Brazil, is bound to support Mr. Cleveland, who reassures France of at the impossibility of England’s encroaching upon French territory recognized by the Utrecht treaty. The appointment of an American boundary commission will accomplish a work of justice and establish an excellent precedent. The eventual consequences of Mr. Cleveland’s attitude will be the autonomy of Canada and the end of British intrigues in Central and South America. Europe now realizes that a force exists which is capable of imposing respect for a right which it has hitherto been accustomed to ignore.”

M. Joseph Reinach, journalist and member of the Chamber of Deputies, said: “Mr. Cleveland’s interpretation of the Monroe doctrine is quite inadmissible. His message is either an election manoeuvre or an aggressive expression of a fixed resolve to provoke a conflict with England. Nothing in the Monroe doctrine warrants American interference in the demarcation of a frontier.”

M. Houanet, member of the Chamber of Deputies, said: “England’s attitude in Venezuela amply justifies the United States in intervening in behalf of a weaker republic. President Cleveland’s message will cause England to reconsider, and not rush into a conflict over a few square miles of waste land.”

M. Hanotaux, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of Premier Dupuy, and retained that portfolio in the succeeding Ministry formed by M. Ribot, when asked to give his views upon the tension between the United States and Great Britain over the latter’s claim in Venezuela, said that no serious French politician would venture to express an opinion in a case upon which two powers friendly to France were at variance. He had, he said, the most implicit confidence that Lord Salisbury’s judgment, firmness, and fairness would attain a satisfactory solution of the difficulty without resort to force. M. Hanotaux declined to discuss the Monroe doctrine. Each case, he said, ought to be judged upon its merits. If the boundary dispute between France and Brazil became acute it ought to be submitted to arbitration. In the small dispute between France and Venezuela, which was not a territorial question, the United States sought to interfere. He (Hanotaux) resisted such interference and simply demanded that France be left to settle the matter without the intervention of a third party.

The **Temps** says that the possibility of a war between Great Britain and the United States controverts the proverb that “Blood is thicker than water,” and pricks the bubble of a gigantic

Anglo-Saxon federation. It adds that the violence of American politicians is laughable, although the matter becomes grave when it is remembered that the excitement is echoed in England.

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PROF. WESTLAKE'S OPINION  
He Discusses the Monroe Doctrine in *The London Times*

London, Dec. 19.—**The Times** will to-morrow publish a letter anent the Venezuelan dispute from Prof. John Westlake, Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge. Prof. Westlake says:

“How far the Monroe doctrine is consistent with international law depends upon the circumstances of each case to which it is applied.

“If the United States can show that the dispute affects any real interest of theirs they are as free to intervene as England would be under similar conditions, but they cannot maintain their right to intervene merely because the Venezuelan dispute falls, if it does, within the general terms of a rule of their policy, which, in other cases, may concern real interests of theirs.

“If President Cleveland considers that the United States have real concern in the question, we may be sure that all experienced diplomats, of whom the United States have many, will agree that his right course is to take the best advice he can get and act upon it, but not to clothe the means by which he seeks advice with even the semblance of an assertion of jurisdiction.”

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THE COUNTRY IS AROUSED  
It Stands Firmly by the President in the Venezuela Matter  
CONGRESS WILL DO ITS FULL DUTY  
The Senate as Determined as the House to Maintain the Nation's Honor  
DISPOSED TO PROCEED CAREFULLY  
Probable that the Bill Providing for a Commission Will Become a Law This Week

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—The delay caused in the Senate in the passage of the Hitt bill, to authorize the President to appoint a commission to investigate the Venezuela boundary question for the information of the Administration and the Congress, should not be taken as an indication of flagging interest in the dispute between the United States and Great Britain. But the first flush of excitement had passed, the parties had had some chance to cultivate rivalries, and reasons not altogether free from partisanship helped to make it easier to let the bill go to the Committee on

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Foreign Relations than to force it through by a vote not altogether unanimous. The Senate Committees are to be changed soon.

### **Willing to Trust the President**

Mr. Morgan, who is Chairman to-day, in a few days may be succeeded by Mr. Sherman, and it is evident that, while the Republicans are not unwilling to co-operate with the President, they are not indifferent to securing such commendation for their party as may be obtained by prompt and patriotic action in which they may lead.

There are more plans for amending the bill in the newspapers and in the corridors of the Senate than can be traced to any sponsors. One hears that a proposition will be made to make the commission one of six or nine members, the members to be named by the President, the House, and the Senate, each naming a third of them.

Mr. Morgan was more than usually friendly and trustful to-day when he declared that, for his part, he was willing to leave the investigation entirely to the President; and as the Hitt bill imposed no limitations upon the President, according him freedom as to the number and character of the commission, and Mr. Morgan was frank in declaring that he would not amend it, it may be the bill will come back from the committee unchanged in that respect.

### **Against Making a Time Limit**

There is little acceptance of the proposition of Mr. Lodge to prescribe the time in which the commission must report. If the President shall be permitted to control the commission, and he shall discharge his duty with as much acceptability as he so far has shown in this matter, it is assumed he will not permit any time to be wasted.

One purpose in the minds of some at the Senators is the amendment of the Hitt bill to reassert the Monroe doctrine as a part of the expression of the will of the Congress in giving the President the power to investigate, in order to be guided in future recommendations. The fact that the doctrine never has been expressed in a law is urged as the best reason for this amendment of this bill. This suggestion may meet with better acceptance than any which shall propose a limitation upon the President.

There is a patriotic desire to give the impression, in anything that may be done, that the President is acting for the Nation, and not for a party or parts of all parties. No better way of conveying the National feeling can be devised than that of throwing upon the President the opportunity and the responsibility of securing in his own way the report that is desired.

### **No One Questions His Patriotism**

There admittedly is no doubt of his patriotism. It is conceded cordially by all men here that he has met fully every expectation that American citizens have formed of what the President should be in such an emergency. It will be hurtful to the United States and its cause if at this time any indiscreet or embarrassing limitations, conceived in a mere party spirit, be imposed upon President Cleveland.

The United States should be heard through the law the Senate is about to pass, and no mistake should be made in having the will of the people expressed in such a way that the impression made in

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England shall be doubtful or carry an intimation of reluctance on our part to trust fully the Chief Magistrate.

### Studying the Map

Everybody who has not studied already the map of the Venezuelan boundary dispute has taken up the subject as one to which he is bound to give careful attention. Maps of the half dozen British lines, advancing further and further into Venezuela from Guiana, are to be found in offices and shops, some in plain black and white and others in colors. If similar maps are to be found in England, and the British citizen stops to examine them, it must become apparent to him, as it is plain to the dullest American, that there is something wrong with England's case, and that Great Britain has been a great many years in making up the present claim against Venezuela. The map of the controversy is a quicker and deeper convincer than the long letter of Salisbury.

When the proposed American commission shall have investigated for the President, and shall have reported with a line which it has found to be a reasonable and just limit of the English claims, it may be west of the Essequibo and far to the east of the sweeping line enclosing the newly discovered gold fields and reaching well toward the Orinoco River.

### The Case of Alaska

Some of the students of the Venezuela boundary dispute at the State Department and the Capitol are wondering whether we are to have a similar dispute with Great Britain about the Alaska boundary line. The United States Government has neglected its possessions on the Yukon. Assuming that the English adventurers and prospectors who have gone there to seek gold and other things follow the plan of the English adventurers in Guiana and Venezuela, if Great Britain is to sanction that method of procedure, all the subjects of the empire in Alaska will have to do will be to establish themselves boldly upon territory they desire to hold, set up the flag and an outpost, claim the land by virtue of occupation, and then be insulted and belligerent if the assertion is made by the United States that the land belongs to us by treaty cession and by lines described at the time of the purchase from Russia.

### Would Do It if She Dare

There is not the slightest doubt if Great Britain believed that we were no stronger than Venezuela the Alaska land would be claimed.

Following further the British plan in Venezuela the Salisbury Ministry might be expected to refuse to submit their claims to arbitration except, perhaps, as to territory which they had not yet occupied, but which they hoped to get into and hold by outrageous assertion and bluster.

If there is any widespread impression in England that the feeling here is one of resentment, the speeches of several Senators to-day ought to remove that impression. In the War and Navy Departments where there are many officers who believe a war would be helpful to them, giving the two branches of the service a chance to justify the legislation, appropriation, and care invested in their behalf for many years, during which we have avoided wars, the talk is naturally about preparations and resources.

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### Men Who Hope for Peaceful Settlement

Men who have seen war and remember some of its miseries and the train of expenses and excesses following war conditions, deplore the fighting talk and counsel the wise discretion that will enable us to dispense with it.

Among the politicians and in the diplomatic circles there is, notwithstanding the admission that the situation is a serious one, the general opinion that the extremity of war will be avoided and that possibly England will suggest the way to Venezuela by which that country and the United States may escape the conflict that would be disastrous to business and revive the unfriendliness between the United States and Great Britain that existed a hundred years ago, immediately after the War of the Revolution and until after the war of 1812.

### The Administration Is Watchful

The concern of the Administration about the future is indicated by the report from the Navy Department to-day, that the North Atlantic squadron, with which Admiral Bunce was about to go to the southward for a practice cruise, will be held at Hampton Roads for further orders.

If it shall sail Dec. 21, it may be assumed that the outlook is considered free from immediate danger. The Hitt bill will have been passed, it is believed, before that date, and the reception given to it in England may control the department in letting the fleet depart, or in holding it for such defensive purposes as it may seem likely to be useful for.

### Work for the Engineers

Meanwhile, the services of the engineers of the army, who have direction of the submarine defenses of our harbors, which to some extent must be relied upon until more adequate defenses can be provided, will be brought into employment. Their preparations will be in the nature of things kept from the public. There is an impression in the army and navy that this Government has not kept pace with other nations in the sort of work performed in France and Germany by the general staff, and that every nation that might become our foe is better prepared by the study of hypothetical attacks and defensive operations than is the Government of the United States.

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SENATE ACTION DELAYED  
Populist Allen Obstructs the Passage of the Hitt Bill  
THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS SUSTAINED  
Members of the Upper House Approve the Administration's Attitude  
with Relation to the Venezuelan Dispute

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—The “calm, deliberate second thought” of the Senate, coupled with the desire of Mr. Allen, the Nebraska Populist, for a little cheap notoriety, operated to-day to delay

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action upon the House bill to appropriate \$100,000 for carrying out the President's suggestion with regard to the Venezuelan boundary.

It was shown in these dispatches last night that there was a disposition in the Senate to delay action on the bill. This disposition was made manifest this morning when the bill came up for consideration. Much to the surprise of the Democrats, who had favored its immediate consideration, Mr. Morgan, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, moved that the bill be referred to his committee. The reasons he advanced for this course appeared to the Senate to be in line with the traditions of that body. Mr. Morgan took the ground that the dignity which should surround an important action like that proposed by the President would be intensified by close observance of the usual Senate forms. His declaration that he would not support a motion to adjourn over the holidays until this bill had been acted upon was a source of some comfort to those who desired immediate action.

Mr. Sherman, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Teller, and Mr. Hawley of the Republicans advocated the reference of the bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations, while Mr. Voorhees made a vigorous appeal for quick consideration. Mr. Lodge offered an amendment making it necessary for the proposed commission to report not later than April 1.

Mr. Allen destroyed all hope of action upon the bill to-day by objecting to its second reading. His performance left the bill upon the table.

Much to the gratification of the Senate, Mr. Morgan suggested a way around the Allen obstacle. The Committee on Foreign Relations has had the general subject of the Monroe doctrine under consideration in connection with resolutions bearing upon it. This committee will meet to-morrow, before the Senate convenes, and arrange to accept the proposed amendments, so that it will be ready to act as soon as the bill is read the second time and referred to it. Its report will be submitted, according to the arrangement, before the Senate is ready to adjourn, so that final action may be had before the holiday adjournment.

The attitude of Mr. Allen is explicable only on the ground that he was in a humor to make trouble and took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the rules. According to Senate Rule 14, "Whenever a bill or joint resolution shall be offered, its introduction shall, if objected to, be postponed for one day," there must be three readings of every bill and joint resolution previous to its passage, which readings shall be on three different days unless the Senate shall otherwise unanimously direct.

Mr. Allen may pursue his obstructive tactics to-morrow, but it is assumed that he will subside. At the most he could only delay consideration of the bill one day longer, unless he should decide to filibuster. His explanation today of his action was extremely puerile. He said he wanted the Senate to control the commission.

In addition to the Lodge amendment, another will probably be inserted to the effect that the Senate shall confirm the appointment of the Commissioners. There is a disposition on the part of some members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to insert the Monroe doctrine in the bill, it being their opinion that a more opportune time was never presented for renewing this declaration and making it essentially an American doctrine. From statements made by members of the House it is believed that the bill, as thus amended, will be acceptable to that body and will be passed before the holiday adjournment.

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**SIGNATURES HARD TO GET**  
**Charles Stewart Smith Wants President Cleveland Criticised**  
**SEEKS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AID**  
**A Petition for a Special Meeting Circulated with Slight Success—Only Ten Names Needed**

Charles Stewart Smith, whose appetite for merchants' movements in public affairs has been growing since he got some glory of the Committee of Seventy's work, made a flat failure down town yesterday in an effort to get up a demonstration on the Venezuelan matter in the Chamber of Commerce. He talked about a meeting to members whom he met, and finding no dissent down town from his expressions of regret over the decline in the security market and the threatened exports of gold, he concluded that there would probably be something in it for Mr. Smith, in the way of fresh fame, if he would take the lead in trying to commit the Chamber to a criticism of President Cleveland's message.

A. petition addressed to Alexander E. Orr, President of the Chamber, was accordingly drafted by Mr. Smith. It read as follows:

“Dear Sir: The undersigned members of the Chamber respectfully request that you call a special meeting of the Chamber at an early date for the purpose of considering the Venezuelan question, brought into prominence by the message of the President of the United States.”

Ordinarily Mr. Smith has had no trouble in getting signatures in numbers to suit to any paper designed to bring about a special meeting of the Chamber. Ten names are sufficient for the purpose. They could usually be had in any block down town, or in almost any of the large office buildings. It was different yesterday. Mr. Smith worked hard with the paper. He found sympathetic ears for regretful talk of business disturbance, but unwilling pens. After hard sledding, he carried his petition home with him, declaring that he would not yet abandon the attempt to get signatures,

Out of 1,000 members of the Chamber, with the majority of whom Mr. Smith considers himself personally friendly, he could not prevail on a meagre nine to join him in this movement.

Mr. Smith showed the petition to President Alexandre Orr. He got little comfort from Mr. Orr, who said he would be bound by the rules of the Chamber to call a meeting on the petition of ten members, but that since the number of signatures was insufficient, he could not think of issuing a call. That settled the matter for the day down town, although Mr. Smith, in chagrin over the fizzle of his scheme, said he would get the signatures if he had to work at night for them.

The Smith movement excited general comment down town. Much of it was severely critical of its originator. Business there has been much disturbed over the Venezuela affair. Investors have found their plans spoiled far a contented holiday season. The effect of the message has been to touch nearly every pocket.

If there were any choice of seasons for losses and financial distractions, it would fall on almost any other time than this. But in matters affecting the general welfare, the financial district is not behind in loyal interest, and the bare suggestion of not standing behind the President in a controversy with another Government was not to be tolerated.

If the financial community is not in a mood to ignore its losses for the week, talk of setting itself in opposition to the Government provoked so much resentment yesterday that a call for a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce to indorse the President would doubtless have been eagerly

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signed. There is probably no likelihood of such a call, because sacrifices have been confined within too narrow compass so far to insure unanimity at expression, but the opinion of members of the Chamber was that while substantial indorsement might not now be feasible, the usefulness of the Chamber would be injured beyond hope at repair if anything were to be done by it at this time except in cordial and unqualified support of the Government's position.

Bankers who refused to sign the Smith paper felt that the financial community could afford a much more serious shrinkage than has yet occurred, with losses of gold, wholesale return of securities from Europe, and all the entailed evils rather than to expose the Chamber of Commerce to the adverse criticism of the country. Much as they deplored strained relations with any country, as a disturber of business and finance, they agreed that jealousy and distrust of New-York could in no way be so greatly aggravated as by the first sign of a lack of entire concurrence with the Government's course and with feeling in other sections.

The sentiment of members of the Chamber was well expressed by John A. Stewart, President of the United States Trust Company, who said:

"I have heard that Charles Stewart Smith is agitating a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, to be called for the purpose of considering President Cleveland's attitude on the Venezuelan question.

"I don't want to criticise Mr. Smith, but I say," and Mr. Stewart brought his fist down emphatically—"I say it is the duty of every American citizen to sustain the President."

Other remarks on Mr. Smith were less considerate of his feelings. His propensity for thrusting himself forward on all possible occasions seemed to exhaust the patience of some of his critics, who said that this performance ought to drive him into the retirement of the cemetery company of which he is Treasurer.

The business of selling burial lots was thought to be the only one likely to save him from discredit hereafter. It was generally agreed that the memory of his Presidency of the Chamber of Commerce could no longer serve him in any public capacity.

General feeling in the down-town district, shared by members of the Chamber, was that nothing should be permitted to indicate a division of sentiment in this country. Such expression could only please the English, while enthusiastic support of our Government was the surest way to command proper respect for it abroad. The English strength, it was pointed out, was reinforced by the strongest possible public approval.

A similar spirit of loyalty here would do more to prevent further differences than any other agency. Comment in this line was so vigorous that many thought that the Smith fiasco might result in a demonstration to show the country that New-York intends to be in the front for the Government in whatever may occur.

Charles Stewart Smith was seen late last night, and when asked about the petition said:

"I have not been down town since noon, and do not know whether the petition has received the signatures necessary for such a call. I have no doubt that many more signatures than were needed were secured.

"The first suggestion for such a meeting came from John H. Inman, not from me. Among the other signers when I left, besides Mr. Inman and myself, were Cornelius Vanderbilt, Chauncey M. Depew, and J. Edward Simmons.

I think the meeting will probably be held next week, but just when or what action will be taken, of course I cannot say."

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THE “THUNDERER” ALARMED  
Hopes for Peace, but Advises Preparation for War

LONDON, Dec. 19.—The newspapers in the morning will comment on the action of the United States Senate with relation to the bill for a commission to examine the Venezuelan boundary question. **The Times** will say of the situation:

Despite some severe criticism in America, evidence accumulates that President Cleveland’s message was framed in accord with and to play upon a popular sentiment. There is no reason to doubt that the Senate will pass the Commission bill, although it is obvious that the commission is not likely to be granted on Mr. Cleveland’s own terms. A most remarkable incident of the discussion was Senator Lodge’s unconscious humor in moving that the Commissioners report on April 1.

We are afraid that the Americans will not be moved by arguments drawn from precedents and established principles of international law. They have always shown themselves a sentimental, excitable Nation. They have the haziest idea of what the Monroe doctrine really is, but nevertheless they are quite willing to enter upon a holy war to defend it. We must reckon on this feeling and be prepared for the wildest aberrations it may cause.

This does not lessen the gravity of the situation; indeed, it rather increases our sense of the peril to which immense international interests are subjected by combined sentiment and ignorance. We earnestly hope that the opinion of the sagacious, far-seeing men of the United States, which has already begun to assert itself, will prevail over the reckless policy of the President.

The fact cannot be ignored, however, that the latter is supported by a majority of both houses and the great body of the public opinion of the country. As we cannot yield to Mr. Olney’s demands, whether they are supported by the people or not, without surrendering the title to almost the whole of our empire, we must hold ourselves prepared to defend our rights in any quarter where they may be threatened.

**The Standard:**

It is no small advantage that time for reflection has been gained. Englishmen have far too high respect for the better order of American opinion than to doubt that in the end the voice of reason will be listened to. Great Britain does a look to continental powers for material support. We can afford to be fairly cheerful in our isolation, for, to tell the whole truth at once, we do not believe that the people of the United States will ever be so unfaithful to reason and right as to give logical effect to the plain sense of President Cleveland’s menace.

Great Britain may safely leave the two amateurs, Cleveland and Olney, to face the censure that the educated opinion of the world will pronounce on their efforts.

In the meanwhile the cordial good will and respect that Great Britain entertains for transatlantic genius outside of election politics will not be impaired.

The “isolation of England” will furnish a topic for discussion in several other newspapers.

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LONDON, Dec. 19.—The press continues to discuss the Venezuelan incident. Among to-day's comments are the following:

**The Morning Post**—There seems little doubt that the commission will hold an inquiry, in which event an unexpected way of escape may be provided for President Cleveland.

**The St. James's Gazette**—The Americans would fight with all the fierce energy of the race for a principle or an idea, and sacrifice a million men and spend a thousand million dollars to punish what they conceived to be an invasion of their rights or an attempt to work an injustice upon them. We know that, and respect them for it.

**The Daily News**—The whole political prospect in the United States has changed, and the common sense of the American people has reasserted itself. The Senate discussed the matter of a grant for the commission with the dignity and gravity becoming the first assembly of the Union. The jingoes were evidently overawed not by what passed in the Senate, but by what was passing outside. They already had had a taste of plain speaking from many quarters of the Union. It is not England, but Europe which threatens them with confusion, and proclaims the message an outrage on right and injustice that has not been paralleled since the time of Napoleon.

**The Westminster Gazette**—Lord Salisbury made a mistake in going beyond necessity in the case, and arguing against the Monroe doctrine as being obsolete. He ought to have confined himself to showing that it did not apply to the present case.

**The Pall Mall Gazette**—We are not infuriated, nor are we excited, but we are partly astonished, partly amused, and also somewhat embarrassed, as when somebody else has committed a bad breach of decorum in public. We know it is not our fault, yet we feel awkward, and are disposed to blush.

**The Globe**—Whether election exigencies lie behind the message of President Cleveland or not, it does not matter. A much more serious matter is the fact that the Chief Magistrate of the United States has distinctly pledged himself that if England refuses to abide by the award of a commission of arbitration, he will resort to warlike measures to enforce obedience to his will.

**The Liverpool Post** says that when Secretary Olney's letter in regard to Great Britain's position in Venezuela reached Lord Salisbury last August the Premier saw the gravity of the situation. His first idea was to obtain the withdrawal of the letter by the American Secretary, but he did not make a formal request for its withdrawal, finding that it would be fruitless.

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## THE VENEZUELAN CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence accompanying the message of the President on the 17th inst. is printed in full in The Congressional Record, pages 204 to 212. It embraces a letter of Secretary of State Olney to Ambassador Bayard, July 20, 1895; a brief note to the Ambassador from the Acting Secretary of State. Mr. A. A. Adee, July 24; a letter of Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote, Nov. 26, 1895, and a second letter of the same date.

Mr. Olney's letter begins by the statement that "the President has given much anxious thought" to the subject treated, and "has not reached a conclusion without a lively sense of its great

importance, as well as of the serious responsibility involved in any action now to be taken.” He then reviews briefly the history of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela touching the boundary between the latter and the colony of the former known as British Guiana. From the outset “the claims of both parties, it must be conceded, are of a somewhat indefinite nature.” On the one hand, Venezuela, though declaring her territorial limits to be those of “the Captaincy General of Venezuela in 1810,” contented herself with claiming the line of the Essequibo River. On the other hand, Great Britain, claiming from Holland, “apparently remained indifferent as to the exact area of” her “colony until 1840,” when she commissioned Sir R. Schomburgk “to examine and lay down its boundaries.” To this line Venezuela declined to accede. “Since 1840 various other boundary lines have from time to time been indicated by Great Britain, but all as conventional lines – lines to which Venezuela’s assent has been desired, but which in no instance, it is believed, have been demanded as a matter of right. Thus neither of the parties is to-day standing for the boundary line predicated upon strict legal right—Great Britain having formulated no such claim at all, while Venezuela insists upon the Essequibo line only as a liberal concession to her antagonist.”

Mr. Olney then traces the successive propositions made by Great Britain as to a boundary—the Aberdeen line of 1844 abandoning the coast from the mouth at the Moroco to the mouth of the Orinoco, where the Schomburgk line had ended, but including territory west of that line and further south; the Granville line of 1881, which struck the coast, about half way between the Moroco and the Orinoco; the Rosbery line of 1886, which swept in some 33,000 square miles west of the Granville line, including gold mines, and, finally, the Salisbury line of 1890 and the second Rosebery line of 1893, embracing the valleys of the Yurnan and the Yuruari and the mountains of Imataca and extensive auriferous regions. On the expansion of the British claims the letter of Mr. Adee cites the “British Colonial Office List, a Government publication”, which in 1885 stated of British Guiana: “It is impossible to specify the exact area of the colony, as its precise boundaries between Venezuela and Brazil respectively are undetermined, but it has been computed to be 76,000 square miles.” In 1886 the same statement occurs, with the change of area to “about 109,000 square miles.” The maps in the two volumes are identical, but later maps “show a varying sweep of the boundary westward into what previously figured as Venezuelan territory.” The point of international importance in the comparison of these varying lines is not the inclusion of gold mines, but the insistence by Great Britain, after 1886, of the inclusion of the Island of Barima and the right bank of the great mouth of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Amacura, which in 1844, and even in 1881, she had been ready to abandon.

Mr. Olney, after further tracing the stages of the controversy, sums up “the important features of the existing situation” as follows:

1. The title to territory of indefinite but confessedly very large extent is in dispute between Great Britain on the one hand and the South American Republic of Venezuela on the other.
2. The disparity in strength of the claimants is such that Venezuela can hope to establish her claim only through peaceful methods—through an agreement with her adversary either upon the subject itself or upon an arbitration.
3. The controversy, with varying claims on the part of Great Britain, has existed for more than half a century, during which period many earnest and persistent efforts of Venezuela to establish a boundary by agreement have proved unsuccessful.
4. The futility of the endeavor to obtain a conventional line being recognized, Venezuela for a quarter of a century has asked and striven for arbitration.
5. Great Britain, however, has always and continuously refused to arbitrate, except upon the condition of a renunciation of a large part of the Venezuelan claim and of a concession to herself of a large share of the territory in controversy.

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6. By the frequent interposition of its good offices at the instance of Venezuela, by constantly urging and promoting the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries, by pressing for arbitration of the disputed boundary, by offering to act as arbitrator, by expressing its grave concern whenever new alleged instances of British aggression upon Venezuelan territory have been brought to its notice, the Government of the United States has made it clear to Great Britain and to the world that the controversy is one in which both its honor and its interests are involved, and the continuance of which it cannot regard with indifference.”

The remainder of Mr. Olney’s letter is devoted to the consideration of the rights and duties of the United States, and with this portion our readers are already so far familiar that it does not now require extensive analysis. The following passage shows most clearly the decision of the Government of the United States as to what is not and what is involved in the American principle generally designated as the Monroe doctrine:

“That America is in no part open to colonization, though the proposition was not universally admitted at the time of its first enunciation, has long been universally conceded. We are now concerned, therefore, only with that other practical application of the Monroe doctrine, the disregard of which by a European power is to be deemed an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. The precise scope and limitations of this rule cannot be too clearly apprehended. It does not establish any general protectorate by the United States over other American States. It does not relieve any American State from its obligations as fixed by international law, nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them. It does not contemplate any interference in the internal affairs of any American State, or in the relations between it and other American States. It does not justify any attempt .on our part to change the established form or government of any American State or to prevent the people of such State from altering that form according to their own will and pleasure. The rule in question has but a single purpose and object. It is that no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power or self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies.”

Mr. Olney reviews at some length the utterances of the American Government on various occasions with reference to this principle. He points out the consequences of adhering to it in the case of Mexico, in excluding Great Britain by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty “from occupying or exercising any dominion over any part of Central America,” and in justifying the position of the United States that “Cuba will not be permitted to become the possession of any other European country.” He indicates certain developments of the rule “apparently not necessarily required by either its letter or its spirit,” such as “the objection to arbitration of South American controversies by an European power.” And he submits that his enumeration demonstrates that the Venezuelan boundary controversy is in any view far within the scope and spirit of the rule as uniformly accepted and acted upon.

After developing the argument as to the consequences of failing to apply this rule, Mr. Olney explains that the Venezuelan dispute may involve “the forcible assumption by an European power of political control over an American State,” which the United States is entitled and required to treat as an injury to itself.”

“The political control at stake, too, is of no mean importance, but concerns a domain of great extent—the British claim, it will be remembered, apparently expanded in two years some 33,000 square miles—and, if it also directly involves the command of the mouth of the Orinoco, is of immense consequence in connection with the whole river navigation of the interior of South America.”

And Mr. Olney then states the logical necessity under which our Government asks for an arbitration of this dispute:

“It is not admitted, however, and therefore cannot be assumed, that Great Britain is in fact usurping dominion over Venezuelan territory. While Venezuela charges such usurpation. Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither. But while this is so—while the United States may not, under existing circumstances at least, take upon itself to say which of the two parties is right and which is wrong—it is certainly within its right to demand that the truth shall be ascertained. Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has occurred, or is now going on. Otherwise, if the United States is without the right to know and have it determined whether there is or is not British aggression upon Venezuelan territory, its right to protest against or repel such aggression may be dismissed from consideration.”

The substance, then of the declaration of our Government is that the United States claims the right and, acknowledges the duty to see that justice is done to Venezuela in any controversy involving the political control of that State, and that in order that it may be fairly and fully determined what justice requires, it asks the Government of Great Britain to submit the boundary dispute to impartial arbitration.

The reply of Lord Salisbury to Mr. Olney’s letter consists of two letters, each bearing date Nov. 26, nearly four months after a copy was left with him by Mr. Bayard (Aug. 7). The longer of the two letters gives the British history of the Venezuelan dispute. He asserts that the title of Great Britain is derived from conquest and military occupation of the Dutch settlements in 1796, and that on this occasion and at the time of a previous occupation, in 1781, the “British authorities marked the western boundary of their possessions as beginning some distance up the Orinoco beyond Point Barima, in accordance with the limits claimed and actually held by the Dutch, and this has always since remained the frontier claimed by Great Britain.”

He further declares that the “Government of Great Britain have from the first held the same view as to the extent of territory which they are entitled to claim as a matter of right. It comprised the coast line up to the River Amacura and the whole basin of the Essequibo River and its tributaries.” He states that any propositions to vary this boundary that have been made have been “concessions as a matter of friendship and conciliation” only. And he sums up the present position of the British Government as follows:

“A portion of that claim [to the Essequibo and its tributaries] they have always been willing to waive altogether; in regard to another portion they have been and continue to be perfectly ready to submit the question of their title to arbitration. As regards the rest, that which lies within the so-called Schomburgk line, they do not consider that the rights of Great Britain are open to question.”

He explains that concessions have lessened in extent because of the gradual spread of English settlements which her Majesty’s Government cannot surrender to foreign rule.

The other and more direct answer to Mr. Olney’s letter by Lord Salisbury relates to the principle laid down by the Government of the United States and its application to the present question. He declares that the original Monroe doctrine cannot be made to cover the case; that, if it could, it is not accepted as a part of international law; he traverses the arguments by analogy used by Mr. Olney, and he states the actual position of the Government of Great Britain as follows:

“They fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change. But they are not prepared to admit that the recognition of that expediency is clothed with the sanction which belongs to a doctrine of international law. They are not prepared to admit that the interests of the United States are necessarily concerned in every frontier dispute which may arise between any two of the States, who possess dominion in the Western Hemisphere, and still less can they accept the doctrine that the United

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States are entitled to claim that the process of arbitration shall be applied to any demand for the surrender of territory which one at those States may make against another.”

We have here placed before our readers in as succinct manner as possible the essential points in the correspondence on which the message of the President on Dec. 17 was based. Practically the British Government, in denying to the United States the only means adequate to ascertain the full rights of Venezuela, which (and no more) the United States Government feels bound to protect, imposes upon that Government the duty of ascertaining those rights in the most thorough, careful, and impartial way remaining open. That is what the President has asked and received authority to do. It is a step which he was bound to propose, and which Congress, truly representing the Nation, has promptly empowered him to take.

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**TO STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT  
Venezuelan Revolutionary Junta Advised to Stop Hostilities**

A cablegram was received last night by the Venezuelan Revolutionary Junta advising that further hostilities against the Venezuelan Government cease. Charles C. Bolot, Secretary of the Junta in this city, has authorized the following statement:

“This step has been precipitated by the vigorous message of President Cleveland in the Guiana controversy. I expected that such a course would be advised by Gen. Monagas and his friends just as soon as he learned what had happened. I cabled the facts to him the afternoon that the message was handed to Congress and the information reached him last night. He sent us instructions at once. He has not had time to instruct us in detail, and only directed us to stop all further operations. This step stops the revolution. We don’t care to say anything further beyond what has been said. We will aid the Government.

Gen. Monagas and all his officers and men, arms, ammunition, dynamite, Hotchkiss gun, and other materials in the hands of the insurgents will be offered to the Crespo Government just as soon as England invades Venezuelan territory and fires upon the Venezuelan flag. If there is no war, and our National honor is not assailed, we reserve the right to settle our internal troubles, our local political differences, in any way we see fit.

“In the event of war we will work in perfect harmony with the Government, and prove that the land of Bolivar is still in a position to duplicate its victory over another European monarchy.

“In my opinion England has only three courses open to her: First, Lord Salisbury must resign or his Cabinet must go out. This would give England time to form a new Cabinet, which would have to go over the archives and study the question anew—this is an old British trick. Second, she can recall her Ambassador and meditate war. Third, and the most probable course, she may accept the studied lesson of justice which the United States has taught her.”

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THE NEW VENEZUELAN MINISTRY  
Señor Andrade Announces Its Appointment to Secretary Olney

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, was among Secretary Olney's callers, this morning. While there was no special significance in the visit to-day, it being diplomatic reception day at the State Department, the Minister seized the opportunity to pay his respects and to thank Secretary Olney for the interest he had officially taken in the boundary dispute. Señor Andrade had received his weekly official mail just before going to the State Department, and was enabled to announce the formation of the new Venezuelan Cabinet which was formed by President Crespo Dec. 9. Its personnel is as follows:

Foreign Relations—Dr. Pedro Ezequiel Rojas.  
War—Gen. Ramon Guerra.  
Treasury—Gen. Henrique Perez.  
Public Works—Dr. Claudio Brazual Serra.  
Interior—Dr. S. Francisco Castillo.  
Fomento—Gen. Francisco Tosta Garcia.  
Public Instruction—Dr. Frederico R. Chirinos.

Of these Gen. Guerra. and Dr. Castillo have continued in office during the Summer and are now reappointed. Gen. Garcia is transferred to the Department of Fomento from Governor of the Federal District, in which office he is succeeded by Gen. Estchan Ibarra Hervera. Dr. Rojas was Minister of Foreign Relations a year ago. He has had official charge of the boundary dispute for many years, and is considered one of the ablest diplomats in South America.

Among other callers at the State Department this morning were Minister Lazo de Arriago of Honduras and Señor Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish Minister. Senators Lodge, Call, and Morgan also saw Secretary Olney.

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COMMENT IN RUSSIA  
A Suggestion of European Intervention in Case of War

ST. PETERSBURG, Dec. 20.—Several of the St. Petersburg newspapers discuss the dispute between Great Britain and the United States, and profess to believe that the issue will be pacific. The *Novosti* says the present conflict interests the whole of Europe, and therefore the mediation of certain European powers, with a view of bringing about a peaceful settlement, would be opportune.

The *Novoe Vremya* says:

If it should come to a war between the United States and Great Britain, the latter would have to encounter internal as well as foreign foes, for the Irish would scarcely look passively on such a conflict. In that event, England's affairs in Turkey and the far East would not wear so favorable an aspect as she might desire, and there would come an hour of bitter retribution for a past on which Englishmen pride themselves, forgetting successes gained by guile and force are never enduring.

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COMMON SENSE IN ENGLAND  
A Judicious View of the Case in a London Newspaper

WASHINGTON Dec. 20.—The State and Navy Departments have just received the latest issues one of the most important London marine journals, *The Shipping World*, in which several pages are devoted to adverse criticism of the English politicians who have denied to Venezuela the justice of arbitrating the boundary dispute. An appeal is made to the Government to consent to an honorable settlement of the controversy, with the interests of British politicians made subservient to those of British traders. The disastrous effects upon British commercial prosperity of a possible war with the United States are strongly emphasized.

This influential English journal says:

We have reached a crisis in our quarrel with the little republic of Venezuela. The collision between the outposts on the Yuruan River has served to bring to a head a controversy over boundaries which has lasted for a hundred years. Lord Salisbury has demanded apology and reparation, which will probably be made, not, perhaps, with heartiness and sincerity, but because President Crespo has neither army nor navy worth talking about, and must needs yield to superior force. The larger question of determining the boundaries between British Guiana and Venezuela will remain; and while we hope and believe it will be settled amicably, the controversy undoubtedly contains the elements of a possible war with the United States.

The merits of the case have been practically abandoned on both sides of the Atlantic. The press of England is well nigh unanimous in supporting the contentions of Downing Street, and even *The Times* refers to the scene on the Yuruan as "British soil" while the press of the United States are equally unanimous in supporting the case of the republic. The man who invented the cry "My country, right or wrong," did a poor turn for humanity but that mad principle is already supreme in this dispute. Day after day we read of "the line" of demarkation. This shows that few of those who discuss the question have taken the trouble to inform themselves concerning it. The official maps

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serve to show that there are many lines. And the President of Venezuela is in this peculiar position: When he retires at night, he does not know what the boundaries of his country may be when he wakes up in the morning.

The editor of *The Shipping World* proceeds to recount the successive encroachments, which he calls “stealing,” and concludes as follows:

We believe that this question will be settled without bloodshed, but we repeat that it contains elements that may lead to war with the United States. That, at all events, every jingo will admit, will be no child’s play. The policy foreshadowed by Washington, and formulated by James Monroe, from whom the doctrine has taken its name, is directed against the interposition of foreign powers in the affairs of the Spanish-American republics. The United States professes to believe in this doctrine in a still wider sense. To what extent they believe in it, we cannot say; nor are European powers compelled to accept the American version of the policy in government which should prevail in South America. But, from very shame, Congress will be obliged to stand by its resolution, and Senator Morgan, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate, must maintain a show of consistency. A few weeks ago he said that the United States should not permit this aggression. He stated it as his belief that it is the purpose of Downing Street to push forward her frontier sufficiently far into the interior to encompass the rich gold fields of that section. And against this policy he would put the Monroe doctrine into operation. We have heard a great deal—too much for our taste—about this Monroe doctrine. It is something like the funds of a man whom we once saw playing cards for a stake, his part of which was supposed to be in a five-dollar bill in his pocket. When it was his turn to “put up” his money, he referred to the invisible note. And when he had lost all of the reputed value of the note, he walked away.

The Monroe doctrine is referred to, but we never see it in operation. We care nothing in this crisis about political pretensions, even those of the first magnitude, involved in the American policy: but we care everything for the principle of international disputes. We have escaped a conflict of arms until now, because Venezuela is too small to fight. If our cause is a fair one, we have nothing to fear from arbitration. If we have behaved in a grasping and an arbitrary way, and have presumed upon our strength to set justice aside, we ought to be stopped in our unrighteous career.

We scarce know where to turn—in Parliament or out of it—excepting to the ranks of a gallant band of Quakers in this country, for a man who is prepared to fight for peace. And we cannot help singing, “Oh, for one solid hour of John Bright.”

These words come with extra force now that this country has taken action on the Venezuelan matter.

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### BISHOP DOANE IS EXCITED He Thinks the Talk About War with England Is Preposterous

ALBANY, Dec. 20.—The Rev. William Crosswell Doane, Bishop of Albany, has prepared a long communication to the press in relation to the Venezuelan question.

He says:

The time is soon coming when an appeal to the sober judgment of men who have settled down from a wild excitement will be heard and heeded; and, perhaps, it will do no harm to make the appeal now. Does anybody believe that the enlargement of British possessions in South America is likely to affect a republican form of government in the United States? The question is too preposterous to be considered at all. The name of any man would be consigned to immortal infamy who succeeded in breaking the peace between England and America, either by refusing arbitration instead of war or in enforcing arbitration by means of war.

As an American, I am especially concerned with the American condition, and the pain of it lies in the zest with which demagogues and half-Americanized foreigners, and, to a large extent, the press, hail the possibility of war with an unholy haste, before a commission had been even granted or appointed to ascertain whether the claim of Great Britain was right or wrong, and an enormous amount of money is proposed to be appropriated for war preparations.. It is time to protest against the haste, the appeal to prejudice, the recklessness and bravado of the whole American attitude, as well as against the hard and haughty assumption of the English view. I believe that neither of these conditions represents the thought, the purpose, or the feeling of either people. I venture to prophesy that somehow these empty vaporings will vanish into thin air, and no serious consequences will result, except the substitution of confidence and comity to the present feeling.

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### A Proper Subject for Arbitration

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

It seems to me that Great Britain's answer to the overtures of this Government for an arbitration of the differences between the claims of Great Britain and Venezuela is singularly inconsistent.

When the principle of arbitration is approved it appears to be very illogical to say that such a method of settling international disputes does not apply to the present case, because Great Britain does not recognize the present aspect of the question as a dispute, though many years have elapsed since there was in fact a claim to certain territory by Great Britain, which the Venezuelan Government has disputed.

Such an arbitration, or the propriety thereof, is not dependent upon an indisputable fact, but, upon a disputed fact, much less is it dependent upon the assumption that the claim of the stronger Government settles the question of right, however hostile to the claim of the weaker. If such were the test of arbitration, no case could ever arise for such a peaceable adjustment of international differences.

It is not the purpose of this communication to review the action of the President or the propriety of his suggestions in the emergency, first, because it is not necessary, and, second, because the facts are not sufficiently known to me to justify any such attempt. Besides, upon Congress devolves the responsibility of acting in the premises.

There is one concession in the President's message from which I must dissent. Without considering whether the "Monroe doctrine" has been incorporated in or recognized as a part of international law, it certainly has become the settled policy of this Government, and I am inclined to go further than the President, and to hold, as has been well said, that "it was a notification to all European Governments that the United States would resent and resist any attempt they might make to extend the monarchical system to any part of this hemisphere not then subject to it." This position, I think, we are bound to maintain, even against the consent of those Governments sought to be acquired.

To illustrate my position: Suppose Turkey should by negotiation undertake to acquire Mexico, and to establish its inhuman, brutal, and despotic Government over that country, would Mexico's

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consent justify our acquiescence in such a dangerous and hateful menace at our very doors? I think not.

D. C. Calvin.

New-York, Dec. 20, 1895.

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DILKE INDORSES SALISBURY  
The American Claim Untenable—Effect of War on Trade

PARIS, Dec. 20.—Sir Charles Dilke, M. P., who is in Paris, in an interview heartily approved the attitude assumed by Lord Salisbury, which, he said, was the only position he could adopt. Arbitration, he thought, was impossible, but between that and serious talk of war there was a long distance. The conquest of Canada by the United States was possible, but the cost and sacrifices would be similar to those incurred in the war of the rebellion, while the British fleet could destroy the commerce of America.

Venezuela would be the first to suffer in the event of war. Her towns would quickly be destroyed by the British fleet before aid could arrive from the United States.

As regarded the Monroe doctrine, Sir Charles thought it was a very legitimate expression of the feelings of the American people. He had no doubt the various American republics would unite to prevent the introduction of European militarism or European intervention in their affairs, but it was clearly understood that France, Holland, and Great Britain, having territory in America, would not agree with the United States on this point.

Gil Blas publishes a report at an interview with H. Vignaud, First Secretary of the United States Embassy. Mr. Vignaud expressed regret that the French press should have made the error of deducing fantastic conclusions from the message. He did not think that France, whose interests were opposed to those of England everywhere, would favor Great Britain, especially as France had not opposed the aims of the United States anywhere. Mr. Vignaud said he felt certain that the United States would not yield, but that Great Britain, which had everything to lose in a war, would give way. War, he said, would mean that Canada would become part of the United States and that English trade would be destroyed within a month following the outbreak of hostilities. A few shells thrown into an open port would cost England dear. There was no doubt in his mind, he said, that in the event of war France would take advantage of the occasion to settle the question in regard to Egypt and Siam, while Russia would advance her interests in India.

The Gaulois publishes an interview with Count Chaudordy, in which he expresses the opinion that England has found her master in arrogance. He thought that the Monroe doctrine applied to North America, not to South America.

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LONDON'S WEEKLY PRESS AROUSED  
Seriousness of the Situation Recognized, but Danger Not Feared

LOBNON, Dec. 20.—The weekly press of London devotes much space to a discussion of the situation between Great Britain and the United States. Among the comments are the following:

The Spectator—The event and the document are of grave importance. It is difficult for Englishmen to conceive circumstances under which they would willingly go to war with the United States. At the present moment such a war would seem to Englishmen peculiarly horrible, owing to the permanent complications in Europe and the desire, in which the statesmen of the American Union share, to rescue the people of Armenia from bloodthirsty tyranny. It is clear, however, that the dominant party in the United States puts forward pretensions to which no self-respecting power could possibly submit. As Mr. Cleveland puts the matter, in language, the stateliness and force of which we fully acknowledge:

“While it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march to civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness.”

The message is an extraordinary expansion of the Monroe doctrine. To submit to it is to confess that we regard our American possessions as no longer independent. Nobody here dreams of menacing the United States; nobody here has the faintest idea of conquering, colonizing, or claiming any fresh portion of either of the two Americas, and nobody disputes the right of the United States to defend any State in America which she may think proper, in her interests, to defend. All we maintain is that we are entitled to protect against Spanish aggression frontiers which we believe are unquestionably ours, and which the people of the United States, if Guiana were theirs, would similarly defend.

We are not even defending them against the United States, whose nearest territory is 1,200 miles distant, but against a turbulent little Spanish State, which was born after we made our settlement in Guiana, and, therefore, is in no way assailed, menaced, or injured by our action.

The Tablet—There is danger lest, in the natural resentment caused by the manner of President Cleveland's message, we may overlook the sentiment and line of reasoning beneath, which so warmly commends it to the hearts of the American people. The Americans have seen how another continent has been parceled out, how the doctrine of the hinterland has been pressed, and how certain it is that all of the Old World quarrels, rivalries, and frontier disputes will soon be reproduced upon the soil of Africa.

The Monroe doctrine may not be a part of any code of international law, but it is a part of the settled policy of the United States, and that is within the knowledge of all the world.

It is irrelevant to contend that our right to the territory within the Schomburgk line is too clear for dispute, since the fact remains that it is disputed and has been disputed for years.

The Saturday Review—Sensible people on both sides of the water recognize that President Cleveland has played Dogberry to no purpose. He has written himself down an ass, and that is about

all he has accomplished. Mr. Cleveland's message shows how far a man who in the main is able and upright, is compelled to stoop to-day in order to reach the prize of political popularity in the United States.

The Speaker (Gladstonian)—We have no reason to thank Mr. Cleveland that the peace of the world is not disturbed by the incredible crime of war between England and the United States. He has brought the two countries into a position of such extreme danger and difficulty that only the good sense and the good feeling that are at the root of the character of the two peoples can be trusted to avert a fatal collision. Who is responsible for bringing the two countries to the point of contemplating a struggle which would ruin both for a generation? Not England. Has she shown any disposition to trespass upon the rights of the people of the United States? Has she failed in the usages of diplomatic courtesy? No fair-minded American dare answer in the affirmative. If Lord Salisbury had willfully provoked public feeling in America, it would not have been left to the Americans to rebuke and punish him.

We are not among the adherents of Lord Salisbury, but we must affirm that we fail to find in his dispatches a single line to which reasonable Americans can object. The trumpety question of Venezuela which is made the excuse for Mr. Cleveland's shrill challenge, is in itself the merest subterfuge. The manoeuvre may succeed as a party stratagem for securing Mr. Cleveland's election for himself or his nominee, but he will have bought his triumph at a price which few men would care to pay. There is no need to discuss the monstrous pretensions contained in President Cleveland's message and Secretary Olney's dispatch. If they mean anything, they mean that notice to quit the New World is served in the rudest manner upon Great Britain. Surely, Mr. Cleveland must know that a great power will not accept such a notice until she has exhausted all of the resources at her command for resisting aggression, which, if successful, would destroy her status before the world.

The Economist—There is no excuse for a panic. Ample time will be occupied in negotiations, during which public opinion in both countries will grow cool. In the meantime, there is nothing to be gained by discussing, as the daily newspapers do, President Cleveland's action, party politics, and wish for popularity. The influences of all Governments are dependent upon the mass of the vote, and there is no satisfaction in hearing that the American masses are so hostile to Great Britain and that all the parties are trying each to outstrip the others in the race of Jingoism. We see really no evidence that the American people are so penetrated with Jingoism as to desire to absorb unwillingly Canada, much less to fight for the West Indies, with its addition to the colored population of the United States.

The Government, with its usual disregard of diplomatic forms, has said a little more than it means; that it is vexed by our refusal to arbitrate, and that its governing idea rather is to compel us to arbitrate than to make itself the sole in America. President Cleveland's message was written like a dispatch preceding war, but it isn't addressed to the world, or to England, but only to the people of the United States.

The other weekly prints treat the subject in much the same vein.

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FREE TRADERS HESITATE  
The New-England Club Demands Time to Consider the Message

BOSTON, Dec. 20.—The New-England Free Trade League, at a banquet to-night, adopted resolutions relative to the Venezuelan controversy. President Lamb of the league indorsed Ambassador Bayard's recent Edinburgh speech. His remarks were applauded, as was his reference to "the present hysterical craze for war." The Venezuelan resolutions adopted were as follows:

The recent message of President Cleveland has proposed to Congress that unless Great Britain shall surrender her claim to all lands which we may find, upon inquiry, belong to Venezuela, we shall resist her aggression by every means in our power.

Before our people are required to sacrifice their lives and their property in this war, we hope they will be given time to reflect upon certain material facts.

1. We have no treaty, offensive or defensive with Venezuela. We have assumed no protectorate over her. We are under no obligations, express or implied, to fight her battles for her. There can be no valid ground for our interference in the present dispute unless the alleged encroachments of Great Britain upon Venezuela are, in the words of President Monroe, "dangerous to our peace and safety."

2. The disputed territory could not be used by Great Britain as a base of military operations against this country. It has no good harbors. It is a thousand miles away from our nearest coast. Without this, Great Britain has St. Lucia, Bermuda, Halifax, Vancouver.

3. Annexation of the disputed territory to a British colony would not be an assault on our political system. Next to ourselves, Great Britain and her colonies best exemplify the working of free institutions. The most potent argument against such institutions is furnished by the turbulent republics of Central and South America.

Fourth – The controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela does not threaten our foreign trade. Under the so-called "reciprocity" clause of the McKinley tariff, we had no difficulty in making a satisfactory commercial agreement with Great Britain as to her West India colonies, including British Guiana, but Venezuela refused to make those concessions which our Government demand, and, in consequence, President Harrison exercised the power of retaliation conferred upon him by that act.

Fifth – We have told Great Britain that she must submit her boundary dispute to arbitration. But we have not offered to submit to arbitration the question whether we have any interest in that dispute which can by any possibility justify an armed intervention.

The resolutions were adopted by a vote of 39 to 15.

Other resolutions were adopted indorsing the sentiments of Ambassador Bayard, as expressed in his Edinburgh speech.

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ENGLAND STILL STUBBORN  
London Newspapers Continue to Put on Bold Fronts  
JEER AT THE MONROE DOCTRINE  
Profess to Have Information that There Has Been a Revulsion in  
Feeling in This Country

LONDON, Dec. 20.—All of the morning newspapers to-morrow will continue their discussions of the Venezuela matter.

The Morning Post will contend that events have shown that dislike and envy of England are imbedded deeply in popular feeling in the United States, and suggests that it would be worth while to reflect whether a position that is regarded with such jealousy by a proud and successful nation is not worth making same sacrifices to maintain. The paper says that, whatever the purpose for which Mr. Olney has written, it has aroused feelings which cannot be dispersed by any mere calculation of electioneering chances. Public passions may force Mr. Cleveland to maintain his hostile attitude toward England. All sober people see that perseverance in the line adopted must lead to war.

The Graphic will suggest that it is possible to honorably settle the dispute by arbitration solely on the question as to whether the Monroe doctrine is applicable to the Venezuelan question.

The Daily News, basing its statement on its own reports from New-York will insist that there has been an entire revulsion of feeling there, owing to the panic in Wall Street. It contends that President Cleveland has inflicted a heavier injury on his own country than upon Great Britain by striking a blow at the public credit just as it was recovering from the effects of the collapse caused by the Sherman act. Continuing its argument, it says:

Mr. Cleveland will find no bond issues or withdrawal of notes so effectual as the assurance of peace. He must now be conscious of his mistake. He will be able to some extent to repair it by replying to Lord Salisbury in a tone more befitting the head of a great Nation, than that adopted in his unhappy message. He will find the British Government and people entirely disposed to forget his hot words, and to help him repair the damage they have done.

The Standard predicts that before many days there will be a striking revulsion of popular sentiment in the United States. The American mind, it says, is clear and logical, and Americans fully share with the British in what they both call love of fair play. It adds:

We feel confident that a vast majority of the Americans will soon be profoundly sorry for what Mr. Cleveland has done. He has travestied and damaged a principle that they hold dear, and has made the Republic which we have all honored on account of its supposed attachment to peace and non-intervention, figure in the eyes of Europe as a gratuitously aggressive and reckless champion of war. Englishmen are well aware of the difficulty many Americans must feel in reconciling patriotism with a frank disavowal of Mr. Cleveland's attitude, but we can join in all sincerity in the prayer offered by the Chaplain of the Senate.

The Times will say:

The President's second message is almost as remarkable in its own way as his first. With an air of the utmost innocence he takes note of a panic that he himself originated in precisely the tone that would be appropriate to the discussion of a calamity due to causes beyond human control.

We see, he says in effect, how urgent is the necessity for the financial reforms he has vainly advocated, when such a trifle as a threat of war against Great Britain suffices to have disorganized Wall Street.

It is doubtful from the terms of the message whether he now wishes it to be understood that his Venezuelan policy was designed simply to give an object lesson to finance, or whether he merely turns to account a catastrophe that he did not foresee.

Business men in the United States will not derive much consolation from this anxious appeal for a way to escape the natural consequences of the president's action, nor will the numerous opponents of his financial policy regard with anything but distrust and resentment the attempt to rush it under the cover of an artificial foreign complication.

The Chronicle will say:

Yesterday's message must induce the American people to think deeply over the needlessness of Tuesday's bolt from the blue. It must appear to the most alert American patriot that the sudden apprehension and timidity of business circles was due to the inevitable alarm into which the whole commercial world was suddenly thrown by the new foreign policy of the United States. The second message is virtually a counterblast, for it appeals to facts, not prejudices, and presents real, not imaginary, perils.

In its issue to-morrow The Standard will mention a rumor that the Rothschilds will immediately withdraw £5,000,000 from the United States.

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#### PASSAGE OF THE BILL

#### The Senate Unanimous for the Appointment of a Commission

WASHINGTON. Dec. 20.—The first words on the Venezuelan question in the Senate to-day were spoken by Mr. Milburn, the blind Chaplain who prayed:

As the time draws near the period of Christmas, inaugurated by the angels singing "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace to men of good will," we pray that the spirit of the season may enter in our hearts and minds and may keep us in the knowledge and love of God and of His son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

Forbid that the two foremost nations of the world which bear the name of Christian, with one language, one faith, one baptism, one Lord, shall be embroiled in war with all its horrors and barbarianisms.

Grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be saved from imbruing our hands in each others blood. Let the spirit of justice and magnanimity prevail among the rulers of both nations and among the people, the kindred people, of the two lands, so that all differences and difficulties may be amicably and righteously settled, and that God's name may be glorified in the establishment of concord, amity and brotherly kindness.

May this become an august and memorable Christmas in the history of the English-speaking world and of the whole earth.

Let health, brotherly kindness, and charity pervade all our land and our motherland.

And may God be glorified and the reign of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, be established, we humbly pray Thee, in His sacred name. Amen.

#### Ordered the Prayer Printed

At the suggestion of Mr. Mitchell, (Rep., Oregon,) unanimous consent was given to the printing in The Record of this invocation by the Chaplain.

After the introduction and reference of numerous bills, Mr. Mitchell (Rep., Oregon,) offered a resolution instructing the Finance Committee to incorporate into any revenue bill that may come to that committee from the House of Representatives, a provision imposing duties on wool – in three several classes. The resolution was laid on the table, as Mr. Mitchell gave notice of his desire to address the Senate on the subject.

Mr. Chandler (Rep., N.H.,) offered a resolution, which was agreed, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement showing, during each of the last five years and for the whole period, the

gross amount of imports from and exports to, ports of Great Britain, her colonies, and dependencies, with the number of entries of British vessels into American ports and their gross tonnage.

### Allen Harangues the Senate

The resolution offered yesterday by Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.) directing the Finance Committee to inquire into the advisability of opening our mints to the free coinage of silver and the issue of Treasury notes to provide for the contingency of war between the British Empire and the United States of America, was taken up, and Mr. Allen proceeded to deliver what he evidently considered some very caustic remarks at the expense of the President and his supporters on both sides of the Chamber. He said that he could conceive of no sufficient cause for the delivery of the President's message. There did not seem to be any demand for it.

It occurred to him that the President, having lost the confidence of the people, to some extent, during the administration of the last two years and nine months, was seeking to restore himself and his party to that confidence, and thus induce the people to forget the business conditions of the country.

Mr. Allen referred to the bill recently introduced by Mr. Hill, (Dem., N.Y.,) to enable ex-Confederate officers to be commissioned as officers in the army or navy of the United States; the one introduced by Mr. Chandler (Rep., N.H.) for an appropriation of \$100,000,000 for rifles and cannon, and the two introduced by Mr. Hale, (Rep., Me.) for an increase of the navy and for a reconstruction of the United States ship Constitution, as so many proofs of the war spirit in the Senate.

He suggested that, on the Democratic side, there was an attempt to sustain the President for the splendid services of himself and his Secretary of the Treasury in the late political campaigns in New-York, Maryland, and Kentucky.

### Populists Must Take a Stand

It was necessary, Mr. Allen thought, for the Populist Party to take a stand in the matter. It would not do, he said, to permit the President of the United States and his distinguished associates in the Senate to carry off all the glory and honor. It would not do to permit the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in the Senate to take off all the glory and honor incident to the Monroe doctrine. It was necessary that the Populist Party should have a standing in the matter. Realizing that fact, the resolution had been prepared, as money was essential to war.

Mr. Platt (Rep., Conn.) moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance, and the motion was defeated – yeas 24, nays 36, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allison, Brice, Burrows, Caffery, Cameron, Chandler, Gallinger, Gorman, Hale, Hawley, Lodge, McMillan, Martin, Mills, Mitchell (Wis.) Morrill, Platt, Proctor, Quay, Sewell, Sherman, Smith, Thurston, and Wetmore – 24.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bacon, Baker, Bate, Berry, Blackburn, Butler, Call, Carter, Chilton, Clark, Cockrell, Dubois, Gibson, Harris, Jones (Ark.), Jones (Nev.), Kyle, Mantle, Mitchell (Oregon), Morgan, Nelson, Pasco, Peffer, Perkins, Pettigrew, Pritchard, Roach, Stewart, Tuller, Tillman, Vest, Voorhees, Walthall, Warren, and Wilson – 36.

The resolution was agreed to, Mr. Allen having withdrawn the preamble. It now reads:

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance do, and they are hereby directed and instructed to inquire, and report, by bill or otherwise, whether it would not be expedient and proper for the Government of the United States of America, at this time, to open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 16, and, in addition thereto, issue an adequate volume of full legal tender Treasury notes in the same manner such notes have heretofore been issued, and in the interest of National safety withdraw the issue power of National banks, and retire all bank currency.

### The Commission Bill Taken Up

The Vice President laid before the Senate the House bill appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of the commission to inquire and report on the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana, and it was read a second time.

Mr. Morgan, (Dem., Ala.), Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, asked and obtained unanimous consent to have the bill considered in the Senate immediately. The committee he said had had the matter under consideration, and had instructed him to report it back with amendments in the nature of a substitute.

The substitute was read, its principal difference from the House bill being that it fixed the number of Commissioners at three, and required that they should be appointed by and with the consent of the Senate.

Mr. Platt (Rep., Conn.) said he differed from the conclusions of the committee with great diffidence, and he rose to speak upon the subject with a good deal of embarrassment. His opinion was very decided that the Senate had better not amend the House bill, but pass it as it came over; and in that view he understood that the Chairman of the committee concurred.

### Better Not to Talk War

It was useless, he said, to deny that this was a very grave and important subject; but in its consideration Senators ought not to talk about war. Senators did not invite war. They deprecated it. There was no reason, at present, to suppose that war was to be precipitated. The American people would not shun it, however, if it became inevitable.

All Senators, he thought, concurred with the President. There might be something in the message which he would have preferred to have otherwise; but as far as it was a statement of the position and determination of the American people on the great subject, there was no difference of opinion. No matter whether the Monroe doctrine were called a doctrine or a canon of international law, the American people were determined to sustain it.

It was admitted, Mr. Platt continued, that Senators were not in possession of the facts involved in the controversy. Therefore the proposed commission was to be appointed. Any amendment of the House bill would be considered in England as a hesitation on the part of the Senate to sustain the President in his position. And, therefore, unless it became absolutely necessary to amend the bill, the Senate should refrain from doing so in order that the attitude of the Senate might not be misunderstood in England.

There seemed to be an opinion on the other side of the water that this assertion of American rights and of the American determination to sustain those rights, was a campaign idea, and that it was put forth at this time for political effect.

“England,” said Mr. Platt, emphatically, “must be disabused of any such opinion or belief as that. The American people were never more in earnest, from the breaking out of the Revolution to this

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day than in the determination to assert and maintain what they believe to be essential to the safety of the Republic. The Senate must be careful, then, to do nothing here that would give plausibility to the already prevalent idea in England that the United States was not united and in earnest about this matter.

### The Money Consideration

Mr. Mills (Dem., Texas) said that it appeared to him that the most important consideration connected with the whole subject had been utterly overlooked in both houses and that was the money consideration. Where were the revenues to be obtained?

How was the Government to get money enough to carry on the war and to carry it on successfully? A conflict with Great Britain would be no child's play, and the mistake of underrating it should not be committed. It might be, as the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Sherman, thought, there would be no war. Mr. Mills's own voice was for peace, but for peace honorable and consistent with the safety and dignity of the people of the United States.

"But," Mr. Mills continued, "the American Government and the British Government have arrived at a point, after a long discussion, where both say that they will not yield, and the President says that we ought to resist with all the means in our power.

"Certainly, then, we are standing face to face on the very edge of battle, and prudence and safety demand that we should look to our treasure box and see where we are to obtain the money to carry on this great struggle."

In developing this idea Mr. Mills argued that the first course to be taken was an amendment of the Constitution legalizing an income tax, and he suggested that a joint resolution proposing such an amendment should be passed and sent to the State Legislatures.

### Not an Electioneering Dodge

Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) said that yesterday he had given notice of amendments, but he should not offer them to-day, because he thought it of the utmost importance that there should be absolutely no division whatever in the Senate on any question involving the support of the President in the position he had taken. As to the English idea that the whole thing was an electioneering business, he wanted to see that idea done away with. He wanted to make it understood that there was no division of sentiment among the American people.

And he wanted, by the action of the Senate to-day, to say plainly to those people in London who were undertaking to make a scare in this country by selling stocks and calling loans in the American market, that the American people were united on this question, that they purposed to stand by it, and that the attempt to create a panic in Wall Street by calling loans and draining gold was not the road to honorable and peaceful settlement. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. Stewart (Pop., Nev.) said the sentiment in the United States in favor of the Monroe doctrine was practically unanimous.

He accused England of various attempts to irritate the United States in the matter of Alaska, of slaughtering seals, and of the seizure of Corinto, in Nicaragua. And he declared that it was this English arrogance which had aroused the feelings of the American people.

"Great Britain," he exclaimed, vehemently, "can put an end to it by being honest and reasonable." [Renewed applause in the galleries which was promptly suppressed by the Vice President.]

### Not a Very Large War Cloud

Mr. White (Dem., Cal.) said he could not bring himself to believe that there was the serious menace to peace which Senators supposed. He concurred in everything that had been said as to the necessity of firmly and rigidly and at all times enforcing the Monroe doctrine. But he was persuaded that if on a careful and judicial investigation the facts were made patent to the world there would be no difficulty as to an honorable solution. He could not understand that there was reason to apprehend immediate difficulty. The war cloud did not seem to him to be very large.

Mr. Mitchell (Rep., Oregon,) asked Mr. White to give his construction at the Monroe doctrine; and he put the case of Venezuela ceding the disputed territory to Great Britain, and asked whether such cession would be in conflict with the Monroe doctrine.

Mr. White declined to discuss that point as not being involved in the controversy.

Mr. Mitchell answered his own question by stating that the true construction of the Monroe doctrine to be that no European power shall be permitted either by force or treaty to acquire one foot of soil which it does not now own on the Western hemisphere.

### Caffery Urges Caution

Mr. Caffery (Dem., La.) said that he heartily concurred in Senator Sherman's opinion that the Senate should pursue a conservative course of action. If war should ensue between the United States and Great Britain out of this controversy, the responsibility for it would rest on the Senate and House of Representatives. The President might precipitate War, but Congress was the war-making power, and, therefore, he argued that the Senate should supervise the appointment of the commission. Continuing, he said:

What need is there of haste? Is our honor suffering? Is our frontier invaded? Are not our ships permitted to plow the ocean unmolested? Wherein are we assailed? The very appointment of this commission is a warlike step. It is a very extreme application of the Monroe doctrine. But even that step—which, in my opinion, is a forecast of war—may not lead to the dire conclusion of war, if temperate and wise counsels are followed afterward.

I know something of the horrors and devastation of war; but if the occasion demands war, if the honor or the interests of the United States are so insulted or infringed upon as to make a call to arms necessary, I would not hesitate, on account of the financial condition of the United States, to enter into war, and I believe that the people would respond to the call of patriotism.

It occurs to me, however, knowing the terrors of war, knowing the upheaval that will follow from a conflict between these two vast powers, that we ought not to be precipitate or hasty. Let us give a breathing time. The people of the United States are excited, and members of Congress are excited on this question. Taking counsel of my prudence, I consider it wise and just that the House bill shall be amended as suggested by the Senator from Ohio.

### Chandler Wants Prompt Action

Mr. Chandler (Rep., N.H.) said that he had yesterday thought it wise to have the bill amended, but to-day he did not think so. He believed that it was of the highest National importance that the bill should pass the Senate to-day exactly as it came from the House of Representatives. The President of the United States had risen above party and had shown himself to be patriotic and an American. Inspired by the genius of Massachusetts which pervaded the State Department, the President had taken American ground, from which America would never recede. He was in favor of

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meeting the President on that ground, and he asked whether there was a Democratic Senator or a Republican Senator in favor of doing anything in this matter in order to promote party interests. He did not believe there was.

The President had done his best to remove the question from the domain of American politics, and should not the people of the country, he asked, without distinction of party, respond to the President's effort and sustain his hand in every particular.

He understood that Wall Street and State Street were greatly agitated because a Democratic President, sustained by a Republican Congress, proposed to defend the National honor. It struck him, however, that if stocks had gone down they were stocks that ought to go down, irrespective of National complications.

And he undertook to say that no valuable American stock would be seriously affected because American honor had been preserved in this crisis of its affairs. He did not propose to be intimidated by any conspiracy of foreign capitalists to destroy American credit.

In this connection Mr. Chandler read from a London dispatch giving the facts of a meeting of English capitalists in London called for the purpose of considering the advisability of united action ("united action," he repeated, with emphasis), in calling off their American credits. He also repeated from the dispatch the sentence: "There were no defenders of the President present."

#### A Characteristic Fling

"Alas," said Mr. Chandler, "has it come to this? I ask the other side of the chamber to consider the fact that their President, who has done more for English interests than any President who ever sat in the White House, has now fallen so low that there are none to do him reverence.

"On the contrary," continued Mr. Chandler, quoting still further from the dispatch, "he was denounced unsparingly, and his conduct was described by several as insane."

Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.) wanted to know whether any of the Rothschilds were present at that meeting.

Mr. Chandler replied that there were no names mentioned.

"Does the Senator believe," Mr. Allen asked, "that if the application of the Monroe doctrine were not only to keep Great Britain out of the Venezuelan territory, but were also to result in the withdrawal of the British capital invested in the United States in the form of stocks and bonds, he would still sustain the Monroe doctrine?"

"I am willing," Mr. Chandler replied, laughingly, "with the Senator from Nebraska, to arrange American finances independently of England; but, one thing at a time."

#### Tillman Asks a Question

"If the Senate passes this bill," Mr. Tillman (Dem., S.C.) asked, "and if the result shall be that the gold reserve shall disappear, and that the country gets on the silver basis, as is threatened, would you still vote for the bill?"

"It is the tendency of our Populistic friends," Mr. Chandler replied, "to mix up questions."  
[Laughter.]

"I beg your pardon," Mr. Tillman said, "I want it understood that I am not a Populist. If I am not a Democrat, there is no Democrat here. [Laughter.] Will you answer my question?"

“I will vote,” Mr. Chandler exclaimed, “for any sacrifice, even for the resolution of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen]—which is a concrete absurdity—if necessary to protect the National honor.”

“Well. Sir, we join hands,” was Mr. Tillman’s rejoinder.

Mr. Turple (Dem., Ind.) made an impassioned speech in favor of the assertion of the Monroe doctrine, and exclaimed, in a remark as to the river Esequibo being one of the boundary lines of the disputed territory: “We now pass the Rubicon, and can never recede without dishonor.” He also said:

We did not assume guardianship over the South American republics. The guardianship has been cast on us by the force of political gravitation. Our primacy among the republics or the American hemisphere and among the Governments of the world has thrown upon us the guardianship of those republics. We cannot avoid it. We cannot evade it. It belongs to that class or duties comprised in the maxim “Noblesse oblige.”

Mr. Call (Dem, Fla.) gave it as his opinion that there was no possibility of war as the enlightened sentiment of nations of the world forbade war on the question.

#### What if the Stocks Go Down?

Mr. Teller (Rep., Col.) expressed his regret that the President had not settled the question of a commission, as he might have done, without sending it to Congress. He (Mr. Teller) was not frightened by the little financial disturbances in London and New York. Suppose stocks did fall. That was a matter which the American people did not care much about. He understood that railroad stocks had fallen 4 percent to-day. He did not care if they fell 50 percent. That would not effect the country generally—only a few speculators. But the English would not sell American stocks. That was a bluff on their part. Mr. Teller also read from the dispatch already quoted by Mr. Chandler, and paused the phrase “Its deluded Chief Magistrate.” He also read this question: “The meeting finally resolved to postpone any action until it became clear to what extent the President’s course represents the will of the American people.”

“And,” added Mr. Teller, “when they have gone through the files of the American press and listened to the voice of the American people, if sending back our securities depends upon the support we shall give to the President, they will send back these securities in a mass.”

#### Passage of the Bill

This closed the debate. On motion of Mr. Chandler, (Rep., N.H.) the proposed amendments to the House bill were laid on the table; and the bill was read a third time and progressed to the point where the question was on its passage.

An offer of amendment was made by Mr. Caffery, (Dem., La.) who was informed by the presiding officer (Mr. Harris. Dem., Tenn.) that the bill had gone beyond the point where any amendments could be offered.

The presiding officer then put the question, “Shall the bill pass?” and, as the votes (viva voce) were all “Aye,” and not one “No.” he declared that the House bill was passed, without amendment.

The Senate then, at 3:45, proceeded to executive business: and when the doors were opened, at 4:30, the presiding officer laid before the Senate the President’s message, asking that no recess be

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taken until after financial legislation necessary to preserve the credit of the Government had been enacted.

“I move that the Senate do now adjourn.” said Mr. Cockrell, (Dem., Mo.,) as soon as the reading of the message was concluded.

“Why,” said Mr. Hawley, (Rep., Conn.,) with real or affected surprise, “I expected that some serious consideration would be given to this most important message of the President by our Democratic friends.”

“We want time to consider it,” Mr. Cockrell bluntly rejoined.

The Senate adjourned until to-morrow.

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ENGLAND WARNED BEFORE  
Her Attitude Toward Venezuela Was Changed Seven Years Ago.  
THE ACTION THEN OF MR. CLEVELAND  
Called Forth a Letter of Praise from Fr. Antonio Silva—  
President Would Not Permit Its Being Used In Campaign

In an article printed in *The New-York Times* Oct. 21 last, it was demonstrated, from an examination of President Cleveland's previous record on the Venezuelan issue and also from an analysis of the merits of the controversy between Venezuela and England, that the country was probably on the eve of diplomatic developments which would easily prove “the most embarrassing that the State Department had had to deal with since the war.” Among the observations made by the writer, W. W. Spooner, was the following:

“As an instance of the President's earnest and recognized sentiments in the Venezuelan matter, it is known to some of his friends that there is in the possession of a gentleman in this city a letter of great significance written by the *Chargé d'Affaires* of Venezuela in the United States, in 1888, highly lauding him as the forceful and never yielding friend of Venezuela in her difficulty with Great Britain. At the time of the Sackville-West incident and the Presidential message of 1888, this letter was placed at the disposal of the Democratic National Committee, and Mr. Brice anxiously desired to publish it as a counter-active of the ferocious Anglophobic accusations against the tariff-reform hero. But Mr. Cleveland, when his consent was sought, took a lofty and conscientious attitude, and refused to be a party to such electioneering claptrap, even if his success at the polls depended on it. The publication of the letter, with the connecting circumstances, would present one of the most characteristic chapters in Mr. Cleveland's personal political history.”

The document thus alluded to was a personal letter dated New-York, Sept. 18, 1888, from Señor Fr. Antonio Silva, In charge of the Venezuelan Legation at Washington, to Col. George W. Gibbons, who was at that time a diplomatic agent of the Venezuelan Republic and is now a legal practitioner, with an office in the Stewart Building. The following is a copy of it:

Legation de Venezuela en Washington:  
NEW-YORK, Sept. 18, 1888.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

Col. George W. Gibbons [Diplomatic agent of the Republic of Venezuela]

My Dear Sir: In reply to your inquiry of this date permit me to say that as the representative of the Government of Venezuela in the United States, I thank you for your manly and patriotic efforts in behalf of my country. To the President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, my country is largely indebted for his sympathy and the notion taken by him toward the Government of Great Britain, in showing that Government that the United States of America was not indifferent to the unwarranted acts of encroachment by Great Britain on the territory of the Republic of Venezuela.

This timely interference on the part of President Cleveland has for the present stopped the English Government in her attempted acts of spoliation, encroachment, and appropriation to herself of very nearly one-third of our whole republic, and besides taking possession of the Orinoco River, which connects with the River Amazon and the Plate, the possession of which would have given to Great Britain the absolute control of the trade of the whole of South America. My Government and people feel that in President Cleveland they have a friend and protector, and that the power of Great Britain over this trade is at an end, and that closer commercial and friendly relations between the United States and my country are firmly established in the wishes of my countrymen and will be carried out by my Government.

President Cleveland's bold and manly course on the South American question will, no doubt, give your country the control of the trade of that portion of the continent, amounting to about \$900,000,000 a year, a result which, I trust, will come to pass. It is my opinion that the safety of republican institutions in South America depends largely on the establishment of closer commercial relations, on a basis that will prove very advantageous to the United States, and of such a character that it will be impossible for Europe to compete or interfere. The natural position of both sections of this continent makes it imperative that such should be the case, and I am satisfied that such will be the result of the deliberations of the representatives of all the South American countries at the proposed conference to be held in Washington in January 1889, and which was approved by President Cleveland on the 24th day of May, 1888.

With the assurance of my high consideration, I remain,

Yours truly,

FR. ANTONIO SILVA

For a suitable understanding of the Silva letter in its enthusiastic tribute to President Cleveland as Venezuela's friend, a remembrance of certain historical facts is necessary. Previous to 1888 there really existed no Venezuela question of which our State Department could take serious cognizance on the grounds of the Monroe doctrine. Up to that time England and Venezuela had been uniformly passing a course of diplomatic negotiations with a view to compromise of some kind. That course showed astonishing irregularities and frequent changes of base; but on the whole, it was a course manifesting a decided willingness for concessions on both sides.

Sir Robert Schomburgk, a British engineer in 1841 traced the arbitrary "Schomburgk line" beginning at the mouth of the Orinoco River, and intended to indicate the westward extent of British territorial claims. The Venezuelan Government made a vigorous protest, and accordingly Lord Aberdeen ordered the Schomburgk line obliterated and disavowed any design of peremptory conduct concerning the boundary question. In 1850 the British Government went even further, agreeing to a status quo whereby England pledged herself not to occupy or encroach upon any foot of the debated territory in consideration of a like pledge from Venezuela. In 1881 Señor Rojas, Venezuela's diplomatic representative in London, endeavored to come to an understanding with Lord Granville, British Foreign Secretary, about the long-standing difficulty. Señor Rojas and Earl Granville each proposed a summary compromise line, and it is worthy of particular recollection that the line suggested by Granville placed the extreme limit of England's claim very far to the east from the old repudiated Schomburgk line—leaving, in fact, the whole of the Orinoco mouth exclusively to Venezuela. Rojas and Granville could not agree, and matters dragged on for a while. Meantime

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President Guzman Blanco, as a means of bringing England to terms, persuaded the Venezuelan Congress to place a discriminating duty of 30 percent on all merchandise from the British colonies—which was a direct blow at British West Indian trade. In consequence of this the English Government invited Venezuela to appoint a diplomatic agent accredited with full powers to settle all pending issues. Guzman Blanco thereupon proceeded to London, and entered into negotiations with the Gladstone Cabinet—the upshot of which was that Lord Granville, on June 18, 1885, consented to a treaty whereby every matter of difference between the two countries which could not be adjusted in the ordinary diplomatic way should be submitted to the arbitration of a power or powers in amity with both nations.

This arbitration treaty was promptly repudiated by Lord Salisbury when he came into power soon afterward. Then, and not until then, the English Government began to develop its programme of not only claiming, but seizing, fortifying, and holding Venezuelan territory in utter defiance of every suggestion of arbitration or compromise.

The attention of the Cleveland Administration, early in January, 1888, was drawn by the Venezuelan Minister to extraordinary British aggressions. At that period diplomatic claims of a serious character were pending on the part of American citizens against the Venezuelan Government, and President Cleveland had taken occasion to use pretty strong language in urging their settlement. This should be remembered in forming a proper estimate of the significance of our Government's response to the Venezuelan Minister's appeal. That response was contained in a note communicated Feb. 17, 1888, by Secretary of State Bayard to Edward J. Phelps, United States Minister to England, in which he said:

I transmit herewith translation of a note received by me on the 15th inst., wherein the Venezuelan Minister sets forth the information lately supplied to him to the effect that the Legislature of Demerara has recently asserted a claim of British jurisdiction over the gold- mining districts of Caratal, on the headwaters of the Yuruari River, and that, by a decree of the Government of British Guiana, dated Dec. 31, 1887, formal denial is made of the validity of a grant by the Venezuelan Government for the construction of a railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati, a city in the Caratal district, on the ground that it passes in and over certain territories and lands within and forming part of the Colony of British Guiana. . .

The Government of the United States has hitherto taken an earnest and friendly interest in the question of boundaries so long in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, and so far as its disinterested counsels were admissible, has advocated an amicable, final and honorable settlement of the dispute. We have followed this course on the assumption that the issue was one of historical fact, eminently adaptable for admitting arbitration and that the territorial claims of each party had a fixed limit, the right of which would without difficulty be determined according to the evidence.

The claim now stated to have been put forth by the authority of British Guiana necessarily gives rise to grave disquietude, and creates an apprehension that the territorial claim does not follow historical traditions or evidence, but is apparently indefinite. At no time hitherto does it appear that the district of which Guacipati is the centre has been claimed as British territory or that such jurisdiction has ever been asserted over its inhabitants, and if the reported decree of the Government of British Guiana be indeed genuine it is not apparent how any line of railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati could enter or traverse territory within the control of Great Britain.

If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern. . .

It was this firm action of Secretary Bayard's, taken without hesitation immediately after the intervention of our Government was formally requested by Venezuela, and notwithstanding the diplomatic differences at that period existing between the United States and Venezuela which caused Señor Silva to write in such emphatic terms to Mr. Gibbons at a critical emergency of the campaign

of 1888. Recalling the circumstance in an interview had with him by a reporter for The New-York Times, Mr. Gibbons said:

“As a diplomatic agent of Venezuela I was much interested in everything affecting the trade and political relations of the United States with South American countries in general, and Venezuela in particular. I was a Democrat in American politics, and a great admirer of Grover Cleveland, as I still. I regard his tariff-reform and free-ships ideas as of vital importance to the development of our South American trade. It was estimated by The Dry Goods Chronicle that the foreign commerce of the South American republics amounted to \$1,000,000,000 annually, of which the United States had only 14 percent. Laws providing for free trade on a comprehensive scale and lower rates of duty in general, and, at the same time, for American registry of foreign-built ships, would have been immediately followed by a practical mastery of South American trade.

“Señor Silva perfectly well understood my views on these points, and, as a patriotic Venezuelan, he felt very grateful to Mr. Cleveland for the stand taken by the Administration early in 1888 against British territorial aggression. In the course of my correspondence with him during the Presidential campaign of 1888, I wrote to him respecting the general topic of the community of interests of the South American republics, and their common dependence upon the United States as their natural friend and protector. I wish you to understand that his reply, so highly complimenting Mr. Cleveland, was perfectly spontaneous—not at all the consequence of any prearranged understanding for campaign purposes. Señor Silva, who is now in Havana looking out for the interests of the estate of his son (who recently was the Venezuelan Consul General in that city, and was killed in the memorable explosion there about two years ago) is a very bright and high-minded man, and his letter to me was an entirely voluntary and disinterested tribute to President Cleveland.

“Feeling very strongly about the unjust Republican accusations against Mr. Cleveland, based on the Sackville matter, I took Señor Silva’s letter to C. S. Brice, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. This was with Señor Silva’s full consent. Mr. Brice recognized its importance, and felt that its publication would not only put an end to the Sackville business, but throw new light upon the merits of the President’s tariff-reform programme. But he told me that, as it was a confidential communication from a diplomatic representative of a foreign Government, he was unwilling to take the responsibility for making it public without the President’s consent.

“Thereupon, at Mr. Brice’s suggestion, I went to Washington to have an interview with the President, and, if possible, persuade him to agree to the publication of the letter. A telegram, announcing my coming, was sent from the National Democratic headquarters to the White House. I found Private Secretary Lamont waiting for me at the foot of the White House stairs, and I was ushered immediately into Mr. Cleveland’s presence. He read the document over attentively, reflected just a moment, and said:

“‘Mr. Gibbons, I agree with you that it would have a good political effect to print this at the present time. I know full well that my re-election is involved in much doubt, and that if the public could read the letter I hold in my hand our party would be helped materially. But since I am consulted, I tell you frankly that I cannot be a party to the matter; and, more than that, I forbid any use of the document, which I think I have a perfect right to do, as President. It is a letter from a member of the Diplomatic Corps, who is required by all considerations to have nothing to do in the home political concerns of this country; and while Señor Silva carefully avoids allusions to our party politics, the proposed publication for campaign ends would be tantamount to a breach of proprieties and I would have to take cognizance of it officially as such. In that event I should be obliged to immediately give Mr. Silva notice to go home’.

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“In consequence of President Cleveland’s conscientious and dignified attitude,” said Mr. Gibbons,” the Silva letter could not be used for the campaign of 1888. Its appearance in *The New-York Times* now, in view of the recent developments of the Venezuelan question, is very opportune, and will help to show the people that the momentous issue which their noble President now makes with England is no new one suddenly brought forward by him for effect or from any motives which small politicians and critics insultingly ascribe to him. On the contrary, the vigorous utterances in the Olney letter, and again in the President’s annual message, and finally in the special message of last Tuesday, are but the logical sequences, coming in the fullness of time, of the courageous and unqualified Venezuelan policy that was inaugurated nearly eight years ago—inaugurated deliberately, but without any blast of trumpets.

“The public will give President Cleveland all the more credit, both as a man and as the dignified head of the Nation, because he refused to consent to the publication of the Silva letter in the 1888 campaign. That refusal was no slight illustration of one of the most admirable characteristics of the man and the President as he is known to those who know him best and honor him most. A bitter clamor had been raised against him by his enemies upon the representation that England desired his re-election. That was done to prejudice Irish voters and also to distract attention from the results of the tariff-reform discussion. He had it in his power to thoroughly discomfit his accusers, and, besides, to introduce a new issue into the campaign—the issue of trade expansion with South American countries, whose commerce aggregated fully \$800,000,000; to say nothing of the issue of the Monroe doctrine. But in his mind, to take advantage or that opportunity would have involved a compromise of dignity of the Presidential office. He recognized no other consideration, and he preferred to sacrifice the temporary advantage.”

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UPHELD BY THE CONGRESS  
The President Given Full Power in the Venezuelan Matter  
NO DESIRE FOR PARTISAN ADVANTAGE  
Amendments to the Hitt Bill Withheld for Patriotic Reasons  
—The Appropriation Unanimously Voted  
AMERICA’S POSITION WELL FORTIFIED  
Mr. Cleveland’s Attitude Heartily Approved in Every Quarter  
—The Country United in Its Sentiment

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—The Senate acted patriotically and wisely to-day. With absolute unanimity, when it came to a vote, The Hitt bill providing for the appointment of a Venezuelan Boundary Commission was passed just as it came from the House.

The purpose in so passing the bill was precisely the one indicated in these dispatches last night as the one that should control, that any amendment which might be construed into an expression of doubt about the wisdom or the patriotism of the President, or as indicating a division of sentiment in the Congress or the country about the justice and soundness of the position he had taken in his

message, would weaken the impression which it was important to convey of National agreement with the President.

If the question had been one in which our relations with another country were not involved this would not have happened. That there was some question about the wisdom of leaving the whole matter in the President's discretion was apparent in the decision of the Foreign Relations Committee to amend the bill so as to provide that the three Commissioners to be named should be confirmed by the Senate. If the Senate had insisted upon that, its object would have been to assure our own people that the Senate agreed with the President and wished to sustain him by approving of the men he might select to report on the boundary question.

But, lest this limitation of the powers of the President should be misunderstood and unfavorably commented upon in England, as showing that the President and the Senate were pulling apart on the assertion of the Monroe doctrine, the bill was allowed to go through just as it was introduced and passed by the House.

### Some House Members Disappointed

This prompt disposition of the bill will cause deep disappointment among a very few members of the House. From New England have come protests against the sudden action of the House in passing the bill upon its introduction, and Capt. Boutelle, in a little way, has been justified for his inclination to stop the bill without objecting to it.

There was an opinion in the House, amounting almost to a conviction, that the Senate would not take the bill just as it received it, but that it would amend it in several particulars, naming the limit of time in which the commission must report, giving two or three members of the commission to the Senate and to the House and an equal number to the President, and thus constituting the commission with a majority of Republican members, who would see that no party advantage should be obtained for the Democrats.

All the waiting partisans who contemplated a deliberative session over the amended bill have missed their opportunity. The bill now only needs to be printed, as approved by the by the Speaker and the Vice President, and sent to the President for his approval.

### A Strong Position

As the study of the Venezuelan question is pursued here the strength of the position of the President and Secretary Olney is found to be greater than was supposed by those who have had only imperfect information about our acquaintance, officially, with the subject.

The United States is simply adhering to a continuous policy in resisting British aggression in Venezuela. The subject was brought to the attention of the Government in 1886 by Señor Colcano, then Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was fully discussed by Secretary Bayard in communications to Minister Phelps. Mr. Bayard, in spite of the dislike felt for him by the extreme jingo element, was only a shade less emphatic in his expressions of 1887 and 1888 than Mr. Olney has been this year.

Mr. Bayard declared in a letter to Mr. Phelps dated Feb. 17, 1888, after reviewing the situation, that "if, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of great concern."

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## English Claims Refuted

The claim now put forward by hasty English magazine writers that Great Britain has never admitted that she was making encroachments or that her claims were not well founded receives a curious commentary from the undisputed statement of facts submitted by Minister Colcano in 1886. He then said:

As early as 1841, the nation was alarmed by the arrival of an English Commissioner, who advanced as far as the mouths of the Orinoco, invading localities, setting outposts, and raising crowns and flats at Barima. It is but fair to admit that, in consequence of the complaints then made, Her Britannic Majesty ordered the removal of these marks. She also entered into negotiations at the instance of our representative for the conclusion of a treaty for the settlement of the boundary question. The discussion was commenced and proposals were made, but matters did not advance in consequence of certain unacceptable conditions which were added, and subsequently, in consequence of the death of our plenipotentiary.

The maps submitted at this time and subsequently, show the wide variance between the territory originally claimed by Venezuela, and the line now admitted to limit her possessions by Great Britain. The original contention, according to the Venezuelan claims, was over a mass of territory around the upper courses of the Esequibo.

Then appeared in 1841 the British Commissioner who drew the Schomburgk line—a line drawn without the consent of Venezuela, and including the territory around the upper courses of the Esequibo within its British possessions.

## Gold Territory Involved

The line was also so drawn as to take in an important piece of territory west of the Esequibo, which includes important gold mines. This line includes within British Guiana the territory which the British Government now refuses to submit to arbitration. It includes great stretches of territory, extending over from one to two degrees of west longitude and many degrees of latitude which previously prepared official British papers had never claimed to be within the British possessions.

The Governor of Demerara, in a dispatch on Sept. 1, 1836, said that the River Pomaron, just west of the mouths of the Esequibo, and an entire degree of longitude east of the Schomburgk line, might be taken as the limit of the English colony. An Englishman who had killed an Indian was arraigned in Demerara in September, 1840, and, the defendant having proved that the act was committed on the River Moroco, the tribunal of the colony declared itself without jurisdiction, because the crime was consummated in foreign territory. This river was away without the Schomburgk line.

Lord Aberdeen offered a boundary beginning at this River Moroco and leaving within the limits of Venezuela, much of the territory which Sir Robert Schomburgk had coolly endeavored to bring within British jurisdiction by drawing arbitrary lines on a map. The offer was rejected, because it was put in the terms of a cession by Great Britain, did not include the territory claimed by Venezuela, and was coupled with the conditions that the Government of Venezuela should not alienate any part of the territory to a foreign power.

Thus matters lay, with only brief discussion in 1876 and 1877, until 1881, when Señor Rojas, Venezuelan Minister at London, offered to make a settlement upon the basis of the Moroco. He was answered, after a long delay, that the British Government could not accept the mouth of the

Moroco as the limit on the coast. The British Government now talked of the mouths of the Orinoco, several hundred miles west of the Moroco, as the line up to which they had a right to make claims, apparently basing these claims upon the fact that British subjects had settled within the territory. During all these years, while a settlement was delayed, British subjects and British missions were making their way further and further to the west, establishing every year a stronger British claim, if such a claim can be based upon the occupation of foreign territory by British subjects. The Venezuelan Government has repeatedly challenged Great Britain to a comparison of evidence as to the historic rights to the territory in dispute, but has been answered by a constant advance of the British claims, and without that specific evidence which the Venezuelans have expressed themselves ready, on their side, to submit.

The mouths of the Barima, voluntarily relinquished in 1841, now constitute a part of the territory claimed by Great Britain and invaded by persons claiming allegiance to her and disputing the sovereignty of Venezuela.

### No Sudden Inspiration

The position taken by Secretary Olney is no sudden inspiration of jingoism, but has become a part of the settled foreign of the United States under successive Administrations. If the two Administrations of President Cleveland made the matter more prominent than did those of Mr. Arthur and Mr. Harrison, it is because other subjects of discussion with Great Britain, especially the Bering Sea matter, under President Harrison, have absorbed their time. But there was no disavowal under the Republican Administration of the position which Secretary Bayard assumed as the successor of Secretary Fish and Secretary Frelinghuysen. Secretary Olney has felt from the beginning that it was a matter demanding the most serious consideration of the United States, and that it could no longer play into the hands of Great Britain by permitting the gradual occupation of the territory of Venezuela as the basis of new British claims.

### The Schomburgk Line

The Schomburgk line, when it was adopted, according to the Venezuelan view, was an assertion of the extreme limit of British claims at that time. It was then assumed as a starting point for fresh aggressions, which have again been made the basis of new claims.

Those who attribute to President Cleveland a different policy from that which he pursued in the Corinto affair and a sudden disposition to court cheap applause by catering to the jingo element do not do justice, his friends declare, to the sober spirit in which he views the boundary controversy. He has said to those who have called upon him that he did not wish to court the applause of the noisy element which is eager for foreign war, and that he had been reluctant to take a position which seemed to invite an armed conflict.

He feels, however, that the United States cannot look with indifference upon the gradual destruction of Venezuela by the eating away of her territorial limits and their transfer to a foreign power. He believes he is right in this position, both as the Chief Executive of the United States, bound by its historic policy to arrest the extension of European power on this continent, and as an American, interested in preventing injustice to a comparatively weak American power. He is little likely to be swerved from his position, or to accept European interpretations of the Monroe doctrine, and its application to American affairs.

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THE SENATE DOES ITS DUTY  
Passes the Venezuela Commission Bill by Unanimous Vote  
TRUSTS ALL TO THE PRESIDENT  
A Debate That Was Marked by Great Patriotism—An Earnest and Deliberate Discussion

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—The spirit of patriotism was too deep in the Senate to-day to admit of quick action on the Venezuelan Commission bill. It seethed and bubbled, and fairly ran aver at times. Three hours were consumed in the consideration of the measure. The time was well spent.

It has been the assertion by the British press since the President's message was sent to Congress that Mr. Cleveland was actuated by political motives only, and that the American public would not sustain him in his course toward Great Britain. By this time it is known in England that the Congress, which speaks for the American people, has given the President the assurance of its hearty support. It ought to be doubly significant to the British Government that the Senate, which prides itself on its decorum and deliberate methods, has displayed infinitely more earnestness and enthusiasm in its consideration of the House measure than did the House itself.

All the authority he asked for has been given to the President. The bill when it left the Senate late this afternoon was exactly in the form in which it passed the House two days ago.

Scenes That Will Not Be Forgotten

The scenes in the Senate Chamber to-day will not soon be forgotten. If war with Great Britain already had been declared the speakers could not have been more determined in their declarations that the Monroe doctrine should be upheld at all hazards.

In anticipation of an exciting time hundreds of persons occupied the galleries before 12 o'clock. By the time the bill was reported every seat was taken, and the corridors outside contained an anxious throng waiting for an opportunity to witness the proceedings. There were not more than a dozen vacant seats on the floor of the Senate when the excitement began, and these were occupied speedily by members of the House who were interested in the fate of the Commission bill. Less fortunate Representatives had to stand. At one time in the course of the debate the space behind the rear row of seats was crowded with members and others having the privileges of the floor.

Great Interest Manifested

The report was circulated some time before the session opened that the Senate would not modify the House bill. It had become known that Mr. Lodge, who yesterday offered an amendment limiting the time in which the committee might report to April 1, had decided to withdraw it. Mr. Lodge said in explanation of his action that he had become convinced over-night that the position of this Government would be strengthened if the Senate should indorse the House bill in its entirety.

The news of his change of base intensified interest in the prospective report of the Committee on Foreign Relations. That committee, true to the promise made yesterday by Mr. Morgan, its Chairman, met early this morning and agreed upon a substitute bill, the principal change being that the commission should be limited to three members, to be appointed “by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.” That these proposed amendments would not be permitted to stand in the way of the sentiment of a majority of the Senate was made known by Mr. Morgan when the Commission bill came up for consideration. He acknowledged there was a difference of opinion in the committee regarding the propriety of amending the House bill in any way. Personally, he would prefer to see the bill passed in its original form.

All this was exceedingly gratifying to the advocates of prompt and decisive action in support of the President’s position.

### A Wave of Discontent

A wave of discontent rolled over the Chamber when Mr. Allen, the Nebraska Populist, tried to divert the Senate from the main issue by entering upon a rambling discourse, in which the present condition of the Treasury was declared to be so perilous that nothing short of the free and unlimited coinage of silver would avert disaster. He took up in succession the bills recently introduced providing for increasing the naval and military arms of the public service, and asserted that nothing could be done unless the populistic theory of supplying the Treasury with funds should be adopted.

His effort to be funny was painful and shallow, and everybody was glad when he took his seat.

The flow of oratory which followed was interesting, because, as it proceeded, the conviction became stronger that the Senate was disposed to take affirmative action before adjournment.

### A Few Discordant Notes

There were a few discordant notes. John Sherman was conservative. He counseled further delay. The Senate would not accept his advice to “hang up” the bill until after the holidays.

Mr. Platt struck the keynote of the matter when he declared that further delay or any amendments made by the Senate would be regarded in England as hesitancy on the part of the body to sustain the President. Mr. Platt recognized the necessity of disabusing the mind of Great Britain of the idea that the President’s message to Congress was written purely for political effect.

In succession Mr. Lodge, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Teller declared in favor of prompt action and no amendments. Mr. Chandler’s speech was the brightest of the day. There was keen appreciation of his statement that the threat of British financiers to unload their American securities was a gigantic “bluff.”

### The Amendment Tabled

Mr. Chandler’s motion that the committee amendment be laid upon the table was indorsed by Mr. Morgan as a reflection of his own views, and the Senate subscribed to the proposition with alacrity. On the final vote the bill went through without a dissenting voice.

Interest was added to the debate by the speech of Mr. Mills, who assumed that the country was on the verge of war and declared that the Constitutional mandate against taxation of real estate should be done away with in order that the Treasury might immediately be filled. Not the least

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interesting feature of the debate was the appearance of the white-haired Mr. Stewart making a speech in which “the crime of 1873” was not once referred to.

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### THE THING THAT MAKES FOR PEACE

It would be very foolish to draw conclusions as the outcome of the Venezuelan dispute from the events of the few days following the message of the President in the excitement of the moment things are said on both sides that will conveniently be forgotten. The men who frankly confess or loudly profess that they are spoiling for a fight, and that a lively war with Great Britain would delight the American people, who are at heart lovers of justice and of peace, and, who, though they will accept without flinching the duty that is presented to, will do so soberly and with a profound conception of the horrors of war. On the other hand, the men who are representing Mr. Cleveland as a jingo and his policy as a party “coup,” who are railing at the Secretary of State, and exhausting the vocabulary of abuse to discredit the honesty and fidelity of the responsible officers of the Government, are in their turn wholly unrepresentative of the American people. We are often inclined, in purely domestic matters, to think poorly enough of our rulers. It is a habit bred of our bitter partisan contests, but as a people we do not respect those who follow that habit when the eyes of the world are on our rulers.

But while the manifestations of the moment are some of them misleading and confusing, the essential features of the situation are, we think, clear and will be recognized. The most important of these is not the fact—though it clearly is the fact—that the great body of the American people back their Government, right or wrong, but that in this case the position of the Government is one that the world must ultimately acknowledge is unselfish and just. Mr. Cleveland seeks for his country not the slightest advantage at the expense of any other. He is not trying to extend our territorial limits. He does not claim to encroach upon the rights of any other nation. He does not pretend to decide what are the rights of either Great Britain or Venezuela. He simply asserts the duty of the United States to see that no essential wrong is done to any independent nation on this continent and invites Great Britain to consent to the only possible adequate method of determining what the rights of the two parties to the controversy are. And the American people, the longer they study his attitude, the more completely they understand it, are bound to be more and more firm in their support of their Government.

That, we believe, is the surest augury of peace. It is the best and only way to impress upon the Government and upon the people of Great Britain the real nature of the issue between the two Governments. Even so strong-willed and so self-confident a statesman as Lord Salisbury cannot face that issue with a light heart. The British people, with all their absorption in trade and their stubborn energy in pursuit of their interests, have a substratum of love of equity. When they are convinced that the choice is between submitting their claim to South American territory to arbitration, or else arriving at a peaceful settlement with Venezuela on the one hand, or, on the other, an aggressive war on Venezuela supported by the United States, we have no doubt what

choice they will insist upon. In the strictest and simplest sense, the way to secure peace is to make ready for war, and the chief element of readiness is the strong, calm, unflagging support of the sentiment of the people.

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SOUTH AMERICA WILL APPROVE  
Charles R. Flint Is Absolutely Certain of This Fact

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—Charles R. Flint of New-York, who is in this city, expresses great confidence in the unanimous approval by the South American republics of the President's message on Venezuela. "The reassertion, in so explicit and vigorous a manner, of the Monroe doctrine, cannot fail," he says, "to increase with these countries respect for the United States, and deeper sympathy with our institutions and interests."

Mr. Flint's business acquaintance with the South American republics, which is also a very large personal acquaintance, justifies him in making the prediction, with the greatest confidence, that when the South American republics speak, they will have but one opinion, and that will be favorable to the utterances of the President.

When they have had opportunity to speak officially, he has not the slightest doubt that they will approve our position, first, because we have asserted it, and next, for the reason that the assurance it gives to Venezuela of fraternal interest will appeal to all republics that might be subjected to aggressions like that suffered by Venezuela.

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"WE SHALL NOT YIELD AN INCH"  
Mr. Vanderbilt Says the President Was Ready to Face Any Situation

BRUSSELS, Dec. 20.—The *Soir* publishes an interview with Mr. Vanderbilt\*, who, according to that paper, said:

"We shall not yield an inch. We shall begin by closing our ports against England. I have private telegrams announcing the convocation of a congress of delegates from all the American republics. This congress will effect the late Mr. Blaine's project for a customs union."

Referring to England's navy, Mr. Vanderbilt exposed the palm of his hand and said:

"In a month from the declaration of war the entire ocean will be as clean as this of British ships."

President Cleveland, he added, would never have thrown the gauntlet down unless he had been prepared for every eventuality.

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“Hands off” he concluded “is America’s cry to Great Britain.”

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\*The American multi-millionaire, Cornelius Vanderbilt

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HAS NO FAITH IN UNITED STATES  
The Venezuelans Will Never Rely on the Americans

TORONTO, Ontario. Dec. 21.—Mr. B. Lawrence, the only accredited representative of Venezuela in Canada, is a resident of this city. In an interview with *The United Press* respecting the boundary difficulty, Mr. Lawrence said:

“There is only one way in which the real frontier can possibly be found, and that is by searching the archives of Madrid and The Hague. There is nothing in Venezuela that will throw any light upon the subject. They have nothing down there but a few antiquated maps, which may be interesting enough as relics, but which, as helps in ascertaining boundary lines, would be almost valueless. If President Cleveland really wants to get the facts of the case, a friendly request to the Government at Madrid for permission to search the archives would do more toward getting at the information required than anything else he can possibly do.”

“What do you think will be the outcome of the present entanglement?”

“One thing is very certain—the interference of the United States Government will not result in any good to Venezuela. The Venezuelans will never rely on the Americans. They look upon them as a people who would maintain the bluff until they (the Venezuelans) got into the lurch, and would then desert them and leave them more defenseless than ever. The people themselves have no quarrel with England. They like the English people, and the word of an Englishman is the most solemn asseveration you will hear even among the natives. They have no very exalted idea of the hospitality of the people of the United States, and have not much confidence in their promises.”

Mr. Lawrence says Venezuelan soldiers are brave and wiry, and will fight like wildcats. Their whole boundary line is defenseless. The disputed territory covers 25,000 square miles, and is rich in gold and mines.

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GERMANY AGAINST THE PRESIDENT  
His Message Denounced by an Organ of the Government

BERLIN, Dec. 21.—When President Cleveland’s Venezuelan message to the United States Congress burst upon Europe, the semi-official press of Berlin and the other German centres

generally touched upon the subject with extreme caution. The Cologne Gazette certainly did bristle up a little against Mr. Cleveland, but the Berlin newspapers, which were awaiting instructions from the Ministers as to their treatment of the document, refrained from committing themselves to an expression of opinion absolutely adverse to the United States Government.

The Ministerial inspiration seems to have been finally given, and in pursuance of instructions the North German Gazette makes a vicious attack upon the message. The article which the Gazette devotes to the message declares that Mr. Cleveland has arrogated for the United States the supreme judgeship of all questions affecting the other States in the western hemisphere. “No European Government,” the article says, “disputes the high position or the form of Government of the United States, but this new phase of spread-eagleism requires the attention of the European nations. The new and strained interpretation of international law necessary to support the so-called Monroe doctrine demands the serious consideration of other Governments besides England.”

Since this article appeared, the report has been circulated in the Ministerial circle that the Kaiser had told Prince Hohenlohe that he was determined to throw the influence of Germany upon the side of England. No authentic information in regard to the Emperor’s opinion can be obtained, of course, but the tone of the North German Gazette’s article, combined with the official resentment of the threatened commercial retaliations, clearly indicates the probable attitude of the German Government.

The American colony here receive the adverse German opinion with equanimity, and are confident that it will not in any way affect the issues between England and the United States, as Germany cannot risk any form of active intervention, not do the utterances of the semi-official press represent the unanimous German sentiment.

The Freisinnige newspapers take an impartial line, regretting chiefly the possibility of a conflict between sister peoples having free institutions and standing in the forefront of the civilized world. Some of the Bismarckian organs, notably the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, while condemning the message or Mr. Cleveland as an arbitrary assertion of supremacy on the part of the United States, express satisfaction at seeing a strong power administer a severe check to the world-wide arrogance of England.

The *Lokal Anzeiger* publishes a report of an interview with Sir Frank Lascelles, British Ambassador to Germany, in which that diplomat says that he does not expect any grave complications as a sequel to the message in regard to Venezuela sent to the American Congress by President Cleveland.

Lord Salisbury, he said, had the confidence of the British Parliament and the friendly powers, and a speedy return of good relations between Great Britain and the United States ought to be looked forward to.

Mr. Hahn Echenagucia, the Venezuelan Consul here, said to a United Press reporter to-day that Venezuela would offer resistance to England to the bitter end. A pacific settlement of the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, he said, was out of the question, and the appointment of an American Boundary Commission would increase the breach.

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ITALY OFFERS HER SERVICES  
Willing to Act as Arbitrator Between This Country and Great Britain

PARIS, Dec. 21.—The Temps publishes a dispatch from Rome saying that Italy has offered to act as arbitrator of the difficulty between Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain, the dispatch adds, has not replied to the offer.

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“FINANCIAL KINGS” DON’T WANT WAR

LONDON, Dec. 21.—The Globe says:

“The financial kings of the Old World are firmly resolved that such a horror as war between England and the United States shall not occur, and they will not hesitate to employ any means to prevent it. Our great banks are insisting upon the immediate repayment of advances made to American houses, at the same time intimating that they will suspend financial accommodation so long as the menace of an American commission to locate the boundary of British Guiana hangs in the air.”

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ENGLAND IS NOT EXCITED  
Venezuelan Affairs Receive But Little Public Attention  
NO CABINET MEETING TILL JANUARY  
The Queen Much Interested in the Subject—President Cleveland’s Second  
Message Favorably Received

LONDON, Dec. 21.—No one in the thick of events here and in a position to judge of public feeling can honestly affirm that the country is in the state of excitement over the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute that some of the newspapers represent. Official and diplomatic circles have never shared in the extreme alarmist views that have found expression in the press.

It is expected that no Cabinet meeting will be held until the views of the American Government, embodied in a dispatch that Mr. Olney, the American Secretary of State, is understood to be about to send in reply to Lord Salisbury’s note, have reached the Foreign Office. Upon making inquiries as to when this reply was likely to be received, the representative of The United Press learned that it was

expected to reach here early in January. It depends upon the nature and tone of Mr. Olney's communication whether the situation will become really critical.

The ignorance of the English masses in regard to the real issue between the Governments must ere long operate to restrain Lord Salisbury from following an active policy of sheer defiance of America. The Monroe doctrine breaks upon the bulk of the populace like the enigma of the Sphinx. The locality of the dispute is to them a geographical mystery. Even *The Westminster Gazette*, which is an organ of the educated classes, thinks it necessary to inform its readers that neither British Guiana nor Demerara is an island, as is generally supposed in England. Before the Government dares to commit the country, the people will want to know what the trouble is about.

The Queen is showing the keenest anxiety in the matter. Lord Salisbury was closeted yesterday at the Foreign Office, not seeing even the diplomats. In the evening he sent a long dispatch to her Majesty at Osborne House, on the Isle of Wight, where she is at present sojourning. The Queen's remembrance of the fact that the last official act of the Prince Consort was the preparing of a memorandum counseling a peaceful settlement of the Trent affair will incline her to interfere to prevent a rupture between the two countries.

*The Westminster Gazette* says that President Cleveland's second special message to the Congress of the United States greatly improves the situation. "The President's enemies," *The Gazette* says, "though stalwart for the application of the Monroe doctrine, will not scruple to attack his currency policy. We hope that our Government will seize this occasion to make it clear that we do not intend to challenge the Monroe doctrine or to raise that issue."

*The Pall Mall Gazette* says: "Even if Venezuela were ten thousand times right it would be impossible for Great Britain to recognize her rights or even make the slightest concessions to her until President Cleveland withdraws from his menacing attitude. The sole service which his message has done to the Monroe doctrine is to call forth a chorus of disavowal and ridicule from the whole of Europe."

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THE AMERICAN PLAN CONDEMNED  
A Paris Journal's Opinion of the President's Message

PARIS, Dec. 21.—*The Journal des Débats*, discussing the British-American situation, says:

Perhaps Great Britain might have accepted the proposal to submit the Venezuelan question to arbitration, but what is most significant is the fact that in the face of the refusal of Great Britain to entertain the suggestion of arbitration, the United States declared themselves arbitrators and decided to send a commission of inquiry in regard to the disputed boundary line, whose conclusion should be binding upon all concerned.

*The Débats* describes Secretary Olney's dispatch to Lord Salisbury as a mixture of practical spirit and prejudice which must produce the very worst effect in London. The paper commends the reply of Lord Salisbury to Secretary Olney's note, which, it says, does not contest the principle of the Monroe doctrine, but declares that that idea does not apply to the Venezuelan matter.

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SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT  
The Venezuela Commission Bill Has Become a Law

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—The President this afternoon approved the bill authorizing the appointment of the Venezuelan Commission and appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of the commission while it shall be engaged in inquiring into the Venezuelan boundary matter.

The Executive approval was given to the measure as soon as the official copy reached the President.

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PROF. McVANE ON THE MESSAGE  
He Says that This Government Is Doing a Very Rash Thing

BOSTON, Dec. 21—Prof. McVane of the government and law department of Harvard University gave out his opinions on the Venezuelan trouble this morning in his course, government and law. He said:

“The Government of the United States is doing a very rash thing in taking its present action. The people of British Guiana are as much entitled to the United States’ consideration as are the people of Venezuela. The inhabitants of Guiana are at all American born, which is not at all true of the people of Venezuela. As to the settlement of the question of boundary in 1791, there was none. All that Great Britain claimed was that all the unsettled territory the ownership of which was undecided should belong to her as it was settled by her people. The question is not a fit one for arbitration. England’s position is a tenable one. She has adopted the policy which the United States adopted during the first part of its life, and her policy is exactly that which the United States would have adopted if she had been in Great Britain’s place under like circumstances.

“The United States had better consider what she is doing. In case of war, the conflict would be a hospital one. The climate of British Guiana is such that the hospital service would become the most important part of the army. As to the threats to shoot at the Canadians on account of trouble between England and Venezuela, that would be infamous.”

An article in *The Harvard Crimson* this morning, signed by Profs. A. B. Hart, J. B. Ames, W. E. Hutton, Fletcher Dobbins, and others, says that war between England and the United States would be a calamity especially felt at the university, and urges the student to write to the Senators of their respective States urging them to use every influence in their power to prevent a declaration of hostilities.

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THE TALK ABOUT WAR

Editorial - The New-York Times

Those who are making haste to sell American stocks and bonds from fear that there will be a war between the United States and Great Britain would do well to examine carefully the grounds of that fear. As we have sustained the Government of the United States in the action it has taken, and as the great body of the people have done the same, we are, perhaps, in a better situation to aid in such an examination than are the few who have declared that the course of the Government has made war inevitable, and have denounced it accordingly.

What, then, are the conditions which must necessarily precede any hostilities? In the first place, there must fail to be “any adjustment of the boundary which Venezuela may deem for her advantage, and may enter into of her own free will.” This, our Government has expressly declared, “cannot, of course, be objected to by the United States.”

On this point Lord Salisbury declares that “Her Majesty’s Government are sincerely desirous of being on friendly relations with Venezuela” and “have not abandoned the hope that an understanding may be reached. This declaration is made in the conclusion of Lord Salisbury’s reply to Mr. Olney, and is accompanied by the assurance that “Her Majesty’s Government have no design to seize territory that properly belongs to Venezuela, or forcibly to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population.”

It is not at all impossible, or even improbable, that Venezuela and Great Britain may reach a settlement that will relieve the United States of all responsibility and deprive it of any interest in the controversy.

In the second place, the commission to be appointed by the President may find that the respective rights of Great Britain and Venezuela are such as do not call for the intervention of the United States. Our Government has not been, and is not now, definitely informed on that point. The commission is to be created to secure that information. Judgment on the merits of the case is frankly and candidly suspended until such information is obtained. When it shall have been obtained, but not before, a decision will be made. Our Government has been scrupulously careful to avoid any prejudgment. Its desire was not to be forced to any judgment whatever, but to leave the matter wholly to impartial arbitrators. It remains, and must remain, anxious that any judgment it shall reach, with the confessedly imperfect means now open to it, shall be as impartial as it can possibly be made. It is entirely premature to infer that the decision will be unfavorable to the claims of Great Britain.

In the third place, if we assume that Venezuela and Great Britain shall not agree, and that the commission shall find that Great Britain is in the wrong, it does not follow that war must ensue. We shall then have, in the language of the President, a case “of willful aggression,” which it will “be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power.” But even this does not necessarily involve war. It presents to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States a difference, which, if not adjusted, must lead to war, but the very certainty of that possible termination makes adjustment the more desirable and imperative, and the calm opinion of both peoples will be directed to securing it.

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We have defined the conditions that must precede war. It is possible that they may all be fulfilled. It is extremely improbable. And before they can be determined a long time will elapse, which can more profitably be employed than in panicky discussions.

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LONDON AND VENEZUELA  
Downing Street, Britons Think, Needed Cleveland's Rousing Protest

By Commercial Cable from Our Own Correspondent

LONDON, Dec. 21.—It would need a big tool adequately to depict the state of mind of London and of England at large since Wednesday morning. It would begin by the description of a moral earthquake, followed immediately by the blackest and densest sort of mental fog. The shock of the former is still rocking these islands, but the latter, by slow degrees, is clearing off. Englishmen still find their perturbed nerves quivering automatically, but their minds are coming under better control and they are already revising or trying to forget some of the hasty things which they said in the first stages of their confusion. To give merely one illustration, I hear men who Thursday were all for shelling New-York within a fortnight saying to-night that, after all, England has undeniably got into bad habits in dealing with smaller peoples, and perhaps some such vigorous rousing protest as President Cleveland's was needed to waken Downing Street to the consciousness of the fact. From this attitude it will be a short step to a general popular request for a statement of how England, without undue loss of dignity, can meet America's wishes on this Venezuelan matter, which nobody here cares a button about. This, I believe unreservedly, will be Englishmen's real feeling a week hence, although hot words on both sides may obscure its expression or even silence it altogether.

Unfortunately, all England started Wednesday morning with a profound misapprehension of what was really involved, and, for once, special correspondents in New-York helped to strengthen this delusion. Englishmen have formed the rather contemptuous habit of supposing that everything in America displeasing to them originates in the desire of our politicians to pander to the Irish vote, and they would have naturally jumped to this explanation of the President's message had the President been anybody but Cleveland. In the present case their respect for his character would have made them hesitate; but, unhappily, they were told from all sides in New-York that this must not be taken into account and that the whole episode was strictly referable to the exigencies of American politics. Upon this point there is a quaint thing to record. Somehow the City men got the idea that the Presidential election came next March, and the theory based on this that the whole flurry would be over within three months was so general Wednesday that the markets were scarcely affected that day. The change on Thursday came when the word was passed round that the elections were not to occur till November.

As Englishmen in general have had to unlearn things and to comprehend that their easy-going, half-informed notion about American politicians twisting the lion's tail did not fit this particular case at all, it has dawned on them here that the matter is one in which the American people are so

profoundly in earnest that everybody, if necessary, will shoulder a musket to defend it. They have come to consider the issue respectfully and ask to be shown an honorable way out of the complication. There is no element of cowardice in this attitude, bear in mind. They would fight any European nation without any searchings of conscience at all, whether they were right or wrong, but they do recognize that if the whole American people stand out on a matter of principle Englishmen must act on an equally high level.

Curiously enough, the news from the Continent that the foreign press is pretty generally denouncing the Monroe doctrine has an actual tendency to dispose Englishmen to think that it must be a better doctrine than they had supposed. This seeming paradox is very illustrative of the Briton's general state of mind. The very idea that Frenchmen or Germans applaud and egg him on in a quarrel with Americans suggests to him that he is an ass to be engaged in any such quarrel.

These Continental press opinions may not express in the least the attitude of the Continental Foreign Offices. Perhaps in Paris journalism is closest in contact with diplomacy, or, rather, exerts the largest influence on it, but there, as elsewhere, they do not mind saying contradictory things for the sake or fun and to disclose sportive enjoyment at an Anglo-American squabble rather than for a serious policy. It is said here that the Marquis of Salisbury has secured general European assent to the repudiation of the Monroe doctrine, and, as theoretical expressions of opinion, there is nothing improbable in this, but in practice it is of little value. If the Continental powers saw a profit to themselves in any emergency of England's, they would not be restrained for a moment by any such consideration, and, on the other hand, the knowledge that Salisbury had committed England to a European league against the charter of immunity to the New World from the militarism of the Old, which Canning helped Adams and Monroe to formulate, would raise an overwhelming popular demonstration of wrath all over England. Nothing can be gathered from the Russian papers as to Russia's intentions, but the French politicians assume with certainty that she will act in entire accord with France.

I spent yesterday in the City among the bankers and brokers, who were getting bulletins minute by minute of the slaughter in American prices. I verified the fact that the mischief began by cabled selling orders from the New-York bears, but the heaviest share of the decline is ascribed to the throwing over of long stock. Ordinarily calm investors piled in their securities amid the general fright until no buyers could be round for anything. The talk among these men was not of a physical war, which everybody scouted as impossible, but of a financial war, which nothing now, in one way or the other, would check for weeks to come. Everybody repeated the rumor for a fact that people were betting that gold would be at a premium in New-York before the new year, but no one knew of a particular instance in which the wager was made here or there. Long-sighted men held the opinion that the ultimate result would be to put American finance on a better footing and so benefit everybody, but the popular view was that America would be drained of gold at once, forced into the hands of the silver crowd, and would lapse into a financial disorder which, even at best, it would take years to recover from. On all sides there was a general indignation at Moreton Frewen's suggestion in *The Times* that America would begin hostilities, if the worst came to the worst, by confiscating five billions of British capital invested in America. . .

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WHAT ENGLAND MIGHT LOSE BY WAR  
Ex-Gov. Campbell Says Only Scotland Would Be Left to Her

Ex-Gov. James E. Campbell of Ohio was in the city yesterday. He was enthusiastic over President Cleveland's Venezuelan message.

"I have talked with some men since I came to New-York who say they do not like the message, but let them get off Manhattan Island and hear how the people are talking. The men I talked with at home were all in favor of it, and I believe that 90 percent of the people of this city are in favor of it, and that only those who think more of the dollar than they do of patriotism are not in favor of it. I am heartily in favor of everything President Cleveland has said in this matter!"

Ex-Gov. Campbell was of the opinion, if England should go to war with the United States, an event which he sincerely hoped would be averted with honor, that after the war was over the British possessions would consist of England and Scotland. He left Ireland out.

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VIEWS OF ENGLISH CLUBMEN  
Salisbury's Stand Meets the Approval of Most of His Countrymen

LONDON, Dec. 21.—In seeking to gauge the currents of public opinion, the representative of The United Press tried to ascertain what ideas prevailed at the leading clubs. The clubhouses are now comparatively empty, it being the recess time of Parliament and the eve of the Christmas holidays, but quite a number of town members were found. Getting in touch with several members of the Carlton, the great Conservative club, it was not surprising to find them concurring in the hope that Lord Salisbury would maintain his policy of no compromise, whatever might be the risk of war. The Tory land owners, inheriting the traditions of the party and personally interested in enhanced values for home-grown grain, are naturally the war party. Their dislike of the democratic institutions of the United States adds to the equanimity with which they regard a breach between the British and American peoples.

At the Constitution club, a less exclusive organization than the Carlton, the opinions expressed were much the same.

It was from the Reform Club, where Whigism still lingers with some strength, that The Speaker, whose comment was cabled yesterday to The United Press, got its inspiration. Sir I. W. Reid, the editor of that paper, is the centre of a clique belonging to this club which meets almost daily. The clique includes among its number some members of old Liberal Ministries, who still think themselves able to judge and guide public tendencies and who are still aiming to keep the party strings in their own hands. Within this circle President Cleveland's message is resented as a diverting blow. The Liberals hoped to deal with Lord Salisbury's policy in Turkey, while the message is certain to unite the nation in support of the Government in a moderate policy of resistance to the American claims. Chagrin

over their lost game has helped to make the Reform Club members Jingoish. Their respect for the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Rosebery's Cabinet, guides their approval of Lord Salisbury's adherence to the Earl of Kimberley's line of action.

At the National Liberal Club the dominant tone was one of regret that the quarrel would tend to alienate the peoples of the two countries, and lessen the influence of the United States here, and so lessen democratic progress in Great Britain. The National Liberal Club has more than 6,000 members, and among them radicalism, merging with republicanism, prevails. The closest affiliation with the American people and with American ideas is their sincerest aspiration. There is no wonder, therefore, that intense disappointment has been caused by the message, which has occasioned an outburst of national antipathies that were supposed to have been long ago assuaged.

The editorials published by *The Chronicle* which have been cabled day by day to *The United Press*, fairly represent the opinion prevailing at the National Liberal Club that a war between the two nations is impossible. The Radicals, despite the statement contained in *The Speaker*, credit Mr. Cleveland with being conscientious and honest, and believe that he is not influenced by party motives. They, however, consider his message as showing aberration of judgment.

The representative of *The United Press* has essayed to ascertain the feeling in the workingmen's political clubs, on which feeling the politicians here rely when organizing popular demonstrations. These clubs, though numbering their members by the tens if thousands, remain concealed from public view until there are periods of agitation, when party wire-pullers, finding it advisable to foment excitement, supply funds to call out the masses. Funds alone, however, would not evoke processions in Hyde Park, nor enthusiastic crowds in the great halls. The workingmen's clubs can only be manipulated on the lines of their own tendencies.

Selecting four of the most notable of these clubs, the inquiries of *The United Press* representative revealed the fact that there was an entire absence of excitement, and only a mild interest in the situation. While keenly alive to home politics, the average intelligence of the workingmen who are members of these clubs does not extend to Great Britain's foreign relations. The Monroe doctrine, especially, is a hieroglyph to them, but they are sympathizers with America, and their belief in the justice of the American Government is profound.

To sum up the result of the conversations had with several of the best-informed members of the clubs, it may be said that the opinion is that the men must learn more about the causes of the quarrel before there will be the smallest chance of their responding to party appeals for a demonstration for or against the Government.

The recognition of the primary necessity for the spread of information on the subject has led the London weekly papers, which have a purely popular circulation, to set themselves in their issues of to-day to enlighten their readers. One of these papers, having a weekly issue of 700,000 copies, precludes its article with the admission that many Englishmen will learn for the first time through President Cleveland's message that Great Britain has a boundary dispute with Venezuela, which it then proceeds to explain. The article concludes with an attack on Mr. Cleveland's action as calculated to bring the principle of arbitration into contempt.

Another of these papers, which has an enormous circle of readers in the operative and manufacturing centres, likewise expounds the Monroe doctrine, and then upholds President Cleveland as being in the right in insisting upon arbitration. It, however, denounces the "arrogant pretensions of the United States that in no part of America shall any one set foot except with the permission of the curious gang of corrupt politicians in Washington."

The paper adds: "Grant Ireland home rule, and we shall hear little of the Monroe doctrine."

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Another Radical workingmen's paper holds that it is impossible for the public to support a war on the question of the boundary of British Guiana or of teaching Uncle Sam better manners. It recalls how Lord Palmerston played the "Civis Romanus Sum" doctrine to get well with the crowd. Mr. Cleveland, it says, is using the Monroe doctrine in a similar manner as the last dodge of the beaten party.

The most notable feature of the articles in these and other papers of the same class—Conservative, Liberal, and Radical alike—is the consensus of opinion that Great Britain cannot submit to the humiliation of accepting President Cleveland's demands.

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AID THE SMALL REPUBLICS  
Duty of the United States in the Venezuelan Dispute  
BRITAIN'S ACTION A MENACE TO US  
No Place for Monarchical Aggression on the Western Hemisphere—  
A Suggestion to the English

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

It would be a pity if the Chamber of Commerce should be able to see nothing more in President Cleveland's message than an injury to trade, a disturbance of the finances, or a senseless quarrel with a friendly nation and people of the same race and language. The Monroe doctrine had relation to two different systems of government as wide as the poles assunder in their effect on the security, happiness, and progress a mankind—the Republican or Democratic, system on the one hand, and the monarchical, or aristocratical, on the other. No greater boon (unless it be the advent of our Saviour) was ever conferred upon the human race than the successful establishment and working of the American Republic, for its service is not confined to the inhabitants and their descendants within its boundaries, but its example and power make thrones and tyrants tremble in the uttermost parts of the earth, and give hope and encouragement to the enslaved and downcast the wide world over..

The men who established this Government took no thought of their own merely selfish interests in entering upon and carrying through the struggle. If they had had regard only for these, the English monarchical system were good enough for purposes of mere personal ease and profit. So, with those who in Mexico and Central and South America have thrown off the yoke of Spain and Portugal and established republics in imitation at our own. In this work of removing the shackles from the minds and limbs of men, they are our brothers—our cause (the cause of mankind)—is a common one, and any menace or wrong to them is as well a menace and wrong to us. That in establishing these institutions of self-government, freedom, security, and progress on a solid foundation they have met with greater obstacles than we; that the proportion of the ignorant and grovelling of those seeking only their own ease and profit, and who have no care for their posterity or the advancement of civilization in the world, has been greater than with us, and, consequently,

their progress, slower and sometimes halting, is no cause for surrender by them or by us of the principles for which we and they have nobly and cheerfully suffered and died, but rather a greater reason why we, the stronger, should succor them, the weaker, in any time of trial and trouble—on any occasion when the monarchical system shall be attempted to be extended or reimposed upon them accompanied with injustice and wrong, by a European Government whose greed and oppression of weaker peoples for its commercial and national gain, we, ourselves, have had an experience of, and which has in more recent years made itself hated and feared by every weak and struggling people In the world.

The President's message and the action of Congress thereon is, as it were, the service of notice on all European monarchical powers that their systems of government, so far as they exist on this continent, are barely tolerated, and that the peoples who have thrown off their yoke do not intend that a false, worn-out and wicked theory and system of government shall in this age of progress have any, the very least, toleration and encouragement from them, and that foreign Governments desiring to possess American soil can have no subjects here but free citizens only. With this condition an English, French, Spanish, or German European republic may have as many colonies, and rule as many people in the Western Hemisphere as they choose, with, of course, the consent of the people they govern, and the United States would have only congratulations to offer.

As for England, let her make of Scotland two States, of Ireland two States, of Wales one State, of England two States, and locate the capital of this Republic, formed on the lines of the United States Constitution, in a portion of the interior of England set apart for this purpose in analogy to our District of Columbia, and then with a President, (perhaps the Prince of Wales) elected once in four or six years, it could keep forever its colonies on this side of the water and in perpetual friendship with the United States. The whole world, by these two great Republics, could, in a reasonable time, by their example, influence, and aid, be so completely transformed, compared with what it is to-day, as to be a heaven upon earth.

SIGMA.

New-York, Dec. 21, 1895.

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CESSATION OF WAR TALK  
Venezuelan Question to be Settled Without Resort to Arms  
COMMISSIONERS NOT YET CHOSEN  
President Will Not Act Hastily, but Is Determined to Carry Out His Policy  
MORE TROUBLE MAY COME OVER ALASKA  
Firm Action Now Will Have a Good Effect on Great Britain in  
Any Future Controversy

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—Sunday has brought to the people in Washington who a day or two ago were talking excitedly and prematurely of war an opportunity for rest and a lack of material upon which to feed their appetites. Assuming that matters growing out of the message of the

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President and the Venezuelan question were to be hurried to immediate conclusions, and that Executive approval of the Commission bill meant the prompt selection of the Commissioners and speedy consideration of the boundary dispute, there has been some curiosity concerning the choice of men to be made by the President.

Lists of prominent persons have been published as having been preferred by the President. It is learned that there is no basis for announcing these names, except perhaps, the prominence of the men in public or political life. A man well qualified to speak of the matter said this afternoon that the President had not yet decided upon the Commissioners. He did not even have a list of those men from whom he would eventually select the Commissioners. It was not his intention to announce the commission to-morrow, and it might be several days before it will be announced. While the matter would be disposed of with promptness, it would not be hurried. The determination of the people and the Congress to resist aggressions by foreign nations upon the territory of American republics having been made known by the quick and unanimous action of the Congress, the Administration had been assured of public approval of its course, and that course would be pursued with due regard for justice and right.

### Republicans Not So Eager

The Republicans, now that they have committed themselves to the President's support, and have since been confronted with the necessity of doing something to check the tide of speculation against American securities that has arisen abroad, are qualifying the patriotism that inspired them on Wednesday. Then they were all on fire for war. They could not say too much in approval of the entire message. Something of regret was discovered when it was predicted that the Senate would so provide for the selection on the boundary commission that it would be kept within the control of the dominant party in the House. The Senate was not so willing as had been expected to humor the Republican notion.

Since the passage of the House bill in the Senate without a change flaws have been found in the President's communication. New-England, oddly enough, suggests that it was too jingoish. Mr. Dingley, who is a discerning man, but who did not earlier discover that there was anything in the message that he disliked, now finds that there was.

"It would have been disagreeable and would have created a bad impression," he says, "to have objected to it at first. Our friends abroad might have obtained the impression that we were divided as a Nation on the Monroe doctrine if criticism had led to opposition to granting the request of the President for a commission of inquiry. Our patriotism would have been challenged. But the last two paragraphs of the Venezuelan message, talking of war, were bound to make trouble; they were not necessary; they have caused all the panicky feelings, and they have not added to the strength of our argument."

### The Last Paragraphs Important

Without the last paragraphs—the lines which at once aroused the patriotism of the country—the ultimate possible outcome at the controversy, in case Great Britain has determined to force it to a breach, would have been left to inference, and the men who are now beginning to remonstrate against too vigorous language from the President would have been prompt to accuse him of hesitation or with averting his face from a contingency that all would have been compelled to admit

might arise. The result would undoubtedly have been a partisan demand that the President should speak out more plainly and say precisely what everybody felt.

There is no expectation on the part of the Administration that the voice of the Americans who support Lord Salisbury rather than the President in this emergency will be so loud or impressive in England as to lead to the belief that it will justify the assumption that the English side will be taken by this Government, or that the American doctrine of self-preservation will be abandoned. Lord Salisbury, in his answer to Secretary Olney, has indicated the Ministerial belief that England might pursue a course which would not be obnoxious to that doctrine.

Without regard to the war talk that has been an incident of the week, there is no doubt among the supporters of the President who accept his message as good in whole, as well as those who are now beginning to peep their criticisms, that the effect produced upon the people by his strongest utterances, certainly will not lead the English Ministers to consider our traditional policy as less lightly held than they did when it was not expected that a reassertion of it with spirit would convulse the Nation.

### Good Reasons for Strong Words

Those friends of the President who are more anxious to find justification for him than for Lord Salisbury, are confident that there will be abundant reason shown for the strongest words of his Venezuelan message. They believe that, with a less vigorous answer to Lord Salisbury, the British aggressions in Venezuela—extended against Venezuelan protest and our suggestions for arbitration—would have been insisted upon, and advanced in consequence of our complaisance and the opportunity for encroachment offered by diplomatic delicacy and delay, and that eventually we should have been compelled to assert the determination expressed by President Cleveland when the Venezuelans would have been deprived, by “occupation,” of more acres, which they may yet be able to hold because the British flag has not been unfurled over them.

Several references have been made to the question of our Alaskan boundary, and the British occupation of lands supposed to be within the lines ceded to us when the Territory was purchased from Russia. The Government of the United States has been disposed to regard too lightly, it is now felt, the offers of Canadian authorities to perform police duty in the absence from our Alaskan property of American police prepared to protect the settlers who have gone into the Territory to seek gold. There are few Americans there. The British flag is there supported by armed Britons.

The assumption has been, evidently, that when we care to ask the British to move out they will go, thankful for our kindness in having permitted them to work our gold mines so long. But if we acknowledge that occupation of Venezuelan territory by the British without the consent of Venezuela creates a title to the land, we shall have no case against Great Britain when we conclude that we want the Alaska territory the citizens of the Empire are now occupying.

The dispute about the correct boundary line may not be in shape yet, but that is a mere matter of detail, about which the British will not concern themselves until they come to consider it. Then the delays of diplomacy will be invoked to enable the British still further to strengthen their claim, and the task of ousting the invaders will be indefinitely postponed. At all events the degree of respect to be looked for from Great Britain in treating upon that question will be to a greater or less extent affected by the manner in which we deal with the Venezuela question.

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A WARNING TO ENGLAND  
One of Her Sons Discusses the Monroe Doctrine in a Distinctly  
Reasonable Sort of Way

Godwin Smith in *The Saturday Review*

The Monroe doctrine seems to have been of late the theme of active discussion in the British press, and to have been treated by different journals in different ways. Some journals seem to have treated it as an aggression, others as a fanfaronade, and others again as a hypothesis which they might safely concede in dealing with the Venezuelan question. By this time Englishmen must all know pretty well what the Monroe doctrine really is. They must be aware that there are, in fact, two doctrines comprised in the same message of President Monroe, cognate, yet distinct from each other, and directed as warnings to different powers.

To Russia is directed the warning that the American continent is no longer to be regarded as a field for European colonization. To the Holy Alliance, which was inclined to meddle with the new-born republicanism of South America, is directed the warning that no European power can be allowed to interfere with the political self-development of American communities. In intimating that interference with the political freedom of the South American Republics will be regarded as an unfriendly act by the United States, Monroe manifestly claimed for his Republic a tutelary power. On the other hand, there is nothing in the message that can be construed as a pretension to territorial aggrandizement on the part of the United States.

Whether the Monroe doctrine thus stated is a part of international law seems not a very practical question. International law is a law without a legislature, without a policeman, and without a Judge. Its highest court of appeal is the cannon. The Monroe doctrine will be law if America is strong enough to enforce it. Louis Napoleon did not regard it as law, but he nevertheless had to accept it and retire from Mexico. In this respect it seems to stand on much the same footing as the European protectorate of Turkey, the guaranteed independence of Belgium, and other understandings respected in diplomacy, which rest, not on universal law, but on the readiness of the parties interested to fight for their enforcement.

It is, however, not with the Monroe doctrine as formulated in the famous message that Englishmen are now in contact, and, if Mr. Chamberlain pursues his dream of imperial confederation, may be one day brought into collision, so much as with the Monroe sentiment. The Monroe sentiment imports that the New World shall be free from interference on the part of the Old World; that it shall be allowed to follow its own destinies, and to work out its own civilization; that it shall not be made the field or the highway of European war; but shall be left without molestation to dedicate itself to peaceful industry and the improvement of the human lot. There is in this, at all events, nothing of vulgar ambition or rapacity.

Of mere territorial aggrandizement I have never in thirty years of intercourse detected the slightest desire in the American breast. The Americans refused San Domingo, they refused St. Thomas, and they would very likely have refused Alaska, if they could have done it without offending Russia, who had been their friend in the civil war. The land hunger, economical or political, fled with slavery. But the Monroe sentiment as to the independence of the continent has

always seemed to me to be strong, and strong I believe it would be found by any one who should venture to defy it.

It showed its force in the fixed resolution to eject Louis Napoleon and his Latin Empire from Mexico, while the Americans have never betrayed any disposition to annex Mexico themselves, easy as the acquisition would probably be. Nothing seems to be more certain than that Canada, if she were independent and chose so to remain, might rest in perfect security by the side of her mighty neighbor. Opinion in the United States is even divided as to the expediency of admitting her to the Union. If she is the object of any hostile feeling on the part of the Americans, it is not as an independent territory, but as the outpost and the entering wedge of European interference with the American continent. In that aspect she is always being presented to the Americans by the strongly British party here.

Your military roads and the military harbor which Englishmen are constructing at Esquimaux threaten the territory of the United States, though they are not constructed with that object. Esquimaux threatens the whole Pacific coast, which at present is defenseless. The bombardment of the seaboard cities of the United States by English ironclads is a familiar subject of speculation. Hence naturally arises a desire on the part of the Americans to create a war navy; and that navy is, of course, directed against the only power from which they have anything to fear. People in England do not realize all this, nor do they hear the language which Canadian loyalty holds, or see the demonstrations to which it indulges on their behalf.

Whether in case of war a sea power could well avail itself of a land route, and, in particular, whether the Canadian Pacific Railway, with the accidents to which a mountainous and sub-arctic line is exposed, could be trusted for the sure and rapid transmission of troops, are questions for the War Office to decide.

What seems to me certain is that any attempt on the part of Great Britain to use the American Continent as a base or highway of war against a nation with which the United States were at peace would be apt to call the Monroe sentiment into active play. Englishmen have to consider, then, what would be the safety and value of a military road, exposed as the Canada Pacific Railway is, through a great part of its course, to the emissaries of any hostile power, against whose machinations it could be protected only by the most zealous vigilance on the part of the adjoining States.

Some sidelights have recently been thrown upon these questions. The Canadian Commissioner says that the English is the only nation that treats its colonies commercially as foreign countries. Are not the English the only colonies which treat their mother country as a commercial enemy, laying protective duties on her goods? Englishmen have been given by a Canadian Minister to understand, in effect, that the imperial veto on colonial legislation is a practical nullity, however injurious to imperial interests that legislation may be, and that Canada will legislate for herself in commercial matters, with little regard to British expostulations.

Even on such a question as copyright it is found that imperial unity does not exist. The refusal of the colonies to contribute to imperial armaments appears to be definitive. According to the colonial theories which have been broached in connection with the copyright question, the British Parliament is, in fact, only one of a number of local legislatures, all independent of each other, nothing being imperial except the nominal power of the Crown, the only prerogative of Great Britain being her sole responsibility for the general defense. If Mr. Chamberlain's "dream" is, as he says, tending to become a reality, its approach is masked with great skill.

These opinions, I fear, are not popular; but I know that they are those of an Englishman loyal to the interests and honor of his country.

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SERMONS ON VENEZUELA  
Ministers Deprecate the Talk About Prospective War  
ENGLISH CLOSER THAN SPANISH  
It Would Be Civil War, Dr. Huntington Says—Dr. Parkhurst's Position  
—A Horrible Crime, Dr. Eaton Declares  
WAR NOT A TEST OF PATRIOTISM  
President Cleveland Declared to be In Favor of Peace—Commended by  
Dr. Chadwick and Others

The leading preachers of this city and Brooklyn, as a rule, alluded to the Venezuelan question yesterday. Several took the question as a theme for their sermons.

While some dwelt upon the horrors that must result from a war between the United States and England, none appeared to regard a resort to arms as among the probabilities.

The duty of good citizens during the prevailing excitement was clearly pointed out and advice was volunteered by the clergymen, with a view to preventing disastrous financial results from the ill-considered war talk.

IT WOULD BE A WAR OF BRETHREN  
Dr. Huntington Says the English Are Closer to Us Than the Spanish

The Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington, rector of Grace Church, took for his text yesterday morning, Acts vii, 26: "Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong to one another?"

"These are the words," he said, "of an acknowledged leader of men—no weakling, no sentimentalist, no timid peace-at-any-price-time-server, but a duly authenticated hero, monarch, if ever there was one—Moses, Adam's son.

And what is this that we hear Moses singing? It is nothing else than a solemn and pathetic protest against civil war. He has come down into Egypt fired with the zeal of a deliverer. His whole soul is bent upon the high task of breaking Pharaoh's rod and leading his burdened countrymen out of their house of bondage.

"To his dismay, to his disgust, he finds the people whom it has been his dream and prayer that he may help hopelessly at strife among themselves, ready for battle, not against the common foe, the task-master, but against each other.

"He would have sanctioned, yes, patriot that he was, he would have led a war of Israel against Egypt—but war of Israel against Israel, war of brother against brother, that broke his heart. "Then fled Moses at this saying, and was a stranger in the land of Midian."

"We, to-day, are threatened, vaguely indeed, but really threatened by the spectre of civil war, of all the calamities that can befall mankind the worst. If ever the Church of Christ had clearly laid upon her the duty of sounding out in her most persuasive tones, words of protest and remonstrance, it is to-day.

“There is no time for half-hearted smoothnesses or non-committal common-places. Let the preacher speak his honest thought or hold his tongue. Let the world know where the Church stands, in so far as the pulpit has the power to state the fact.

“‘Sirs, Ye are brethren.’ I have called this menace that is in the air a menace of civil war. I have done so from the conviction that any war waged between the two great branches of the English-speaking race would deserve that name, and could be correctly characterized by none other.

“Brethren we are by blood, by language, by tradition, and any quarrel into which we suffer ourselves to be either enticed or dragged as mutual antagonists is, and from the the necessity of things must be, family quarrel.

“I am quite aware that language of this sort is apt to call forth earnest protest from those who like to think that we have a civilization wholly of our own making, a civilization which dates from Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and in which Europe has neither lot nor part.

“But we cannot thus airily snip the threads of continuity. Say what we will, do what we may, the history of America is a continuation of the history of Europe, and the history of the United States is especially a continuation of the history of England.

“On Old World Battlefields New World issues were decided, and our National civilization is what it is, has the tone and color that it has, because in her eighteenth century wars against the great powers of the Continent, England came out victorious.

“In those conflicts our fathers of the Colonies played their honorable part, and when it came to be a question of the un-English overriding of their own liberties, they were able to show that they had not been taught the arts of war in vain.

“The National life of which we are so justly proud owes its being to the expansion of ideas which, in the closer atmosphere of the Old World, could not expand without explosion. Here there was more space, and what were only dreams in Europe found freedom to become facts in America.

“Nevertheless, as concerns England and ourselves, the family heirlooms are the same. Law, language, and religion—where men have these in common they are of kin, and can no more get rid of their relationship by quarreling than brothers can shake off brotherhood by blows.

“What have the Latin races in common with ourselves that can compare for a moment with the treasure in which the United States and England possess an undivided and indivisible inheritance?

“Do you ask, How is it possible that monarchy and republic should be so close of kin? The answer lies in that appeal to fact which always overrides appeal to theory.

“Is it not true that Tennyson and Lowell in their patriotic lyrics strike precisely the same note, and expect the same response? Is it a note which any French or Spanish poet could strike if he tried, or to which Frenchmen or Spaniards would respond were they to hear it struck? This is not said in disparagement of the ideals of the Latin races. Those ideals have a dignity and a sacredness of their own.

“They may conceivably be better, even, than the ideals of the English-speaking peoples, but they are not the same. With the United States and Great Britain the ideals are the same. Our political estimates, our ethical standards, our legal maxims correspond; the thoughts of Washington are as the thoughts of Alfred; the judgments of Marshall are as the judgments of Mansfield; Prescott and Motley, Irving and Parkman, speak as do Hallam and Freeman, Gardiner and Froude; and although our national hymns have each a wording of its own, we sing them to the same air.

“Yes, strife between the United States and England must of necessity be fratricidal strife; war must be civil war. Is it worth while? Ought such a contest to be seriously thought of for a moment? Ought it to be even so much as named among us, or counted among possible contingencies?”

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Dr. Huntington said it would be inappropriate to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the political question at issue. He said, however, that where a “doctrine” was involved, nothing was more important than that we should distinguish the shell and the substance of the doctrine. We should endeavor to determine what the framers or the doctrine meant.

NO WAR, DR. PARKHURST SAYS  
England and the United States Should Rescue the Armenians

The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in his sermon at the Madison Square Presbyterian Church yesterday, alluded to the Venezuela question, and denounced the idea of war between the United States and Great Britain.

Dr. Parkhurst dealt with the nativity of Christ, which, he said, came with great abruptness on the world. The pages of history showed that great events came sometimes very suddenly, and that we are liable at any moment to be on the edge of a great surprise.

“And it always seems as though there were a Providence,” he continued, “in the way in which the Christmas days synchronize this year with events that are just now filling our hearts with disturbance and throwing an uncomfortable shadow around the track of the near future.

“We do not care to beat about the bush in this matter, but prefer to go straight to the mark by saying that, if Christendom wants to make the religion of Jesus, with its Bethlehem, its angelic choir, and its anthem of peace on earth, a laughing stock to the ungodly and a contempt to the heathen, the best thing it can do will be to set the two foremost Christian nations of the earth to work blowing up one another’s cities and blowing out one another’s brains.

“Unless we utterly misconceive the sentiment of the Christianized masses, both here and on the other side of the water—I say unless we utterly misconceive that sentiment as it seems to be asserting itself in soberer second thought, such an issue will be morally impossible. But the Church must now move to the front.

“There will be no conflict that will go beyond the point of messages and pronouncements on either side if the Church of the Bethlehem Christ comes and record its veto. Christianity, both here and in England, is too thoroughly a part of the national life for armies and navies to clash in warfare at the same moment that the churches of the two countries are thundering for peace.

“We are not here to discuss the international technicalities of the case. This is not the place to enter into a philosophical or historic exposition of the Monroe doctrine: only it is safe to say that this Nation is not going to be drawn into an international conflict of arms, to the dishonor of Christianity, the discouragement of civilization, the destruction of life and treasure, and the demoralization of our entire organic life, in behalf of a doctrine such as probably 90 percent of a congregations well-informed as this would not be able to state intelligibly, and the other 10 percent, who can state it, disagreeing among themselves as to whether the doctrine is applicable to the present situation.

“We are not speaking in disparagement of loyalty to country or of patriotic regard for our country’s rights.

“Patriotic passions are intense, and can easily be fired to the point where righteousness is ignored and reason and balanced consideration tabooed, and that is the mischief of inflammatory sheets, that make a paying newspaper business of fanning the flames of international animosity. I wish, for two weeks, that it could be a State offense to print newspaper headlines with anything larger than small caps.

“If the nations would take up first the business that belongs to them, and if England and the United States join hands in the rather more Gospel enterprise of rescuing pillaged and outraged Armenia from the dirty, bloody grip of the Turk, these two brothered nations would then find themselves in good Christian condition of spirit, probably to settle that little question of civil engineering down in Venezuela in a way that would save both parties not only their pride and their heads, but their Christian repute.

“It two Christian men were to commence punching one another’s heads and tearing one another’s eyes with no clearer idea of what it was all about than the American people would have in plunging into war over the Venezuela boundary, unless with a better understanding of the matter in dispute and with further efforts at adjustment, we should call it an ignominious row, a disgrace both to intellect and decency, let alone professions of Christianity.

“We have not in this discussed the international merits of the question, but the point is where the question is between two Christian peoples—that fact will itself, if passion is ruled out, determine the quality of handling that will be given to the question, and will either show the point in disagreement to be so small as not to be worth fighting about or so two-sided as to admit of a settlement that will be reasonably satisfactory to both parties.

“May, then, these Christian days and all their holy memories and suggestions be blessed to the President of the United States and those associated with him in authority, and to the Premier of Great Britain and those associated with him in authority, and the solid sense and Christian consideration of the two peoples, respectively, that are back of them rise to dignity of the occasion, shape themselves to the world-wide situation and the eternal spirit of peace on earth and good will toward men, achieve its own sweet and bloodless victory to the promotion of national prosperity, to the strengthening of international bonds of amity, and to the honor and glory of Christ, who was born once in Bethlehem, that He might make the whole earth His own forever.”

### CONSIDERS WAR A HORRIBLE CRIME The Rev. Dr. Eaton Says It Should Be the Last Resort

The Rev. Dr. Charles Eaton of the Church of the Divine Paternity preached yesterday on ‘Christianity and War.’ “Peace an earth and good-will to men,’ he said, would be the inspiration for his sermon.

“As the birthday of the Prince of men approaches,” he said, “there is great activity among our statesmen, and the mutterings of war are heard throughout the land. There is talk of increasing the size of our army and strengthening our fortification; and it is threatened that, unless there is a satisfactory answer to our contention, a serious breach in the peace of the world will ensue. The breach is all the more significant because of the two great nations involved.

“Attempts have been made to substitute arbitration for war as a means of settling disputes between nations. Our own Chief Magistrate was requested to participate in the peaceful scheme of adjudicating momentous questions between different countries, and gave his consent at the time the matter was brought up.

“It is not for me to decide whether the underlying principles on which our Government rests have been assailed. Whether the present attitude of Great Britain is to violate the principles of our Government is for our statesmen to answer, not only to their constituents, but to God. But a minister has a duty to perform. He has duties as a teacher of the Gospel, and may say there is no higher authority than the principles of Christianity.

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“It is contended that a minister may only deal with the academic phase of the matter; it is then time to relegate Christianity to the shelf. The Church is in a measure responsible for the principles of men.

“As a minister of the Gospel, I desire to enter my earnest protest against war being the way of settling the momentous question now being discussed, and I speak according to the grand principles that govern alike the American and English peoples.

“I believe there have been certain wars in the history of this country that were inevitable and unavoidable. I hold that the War of the Revolution and the civil war were justified.

“Every act by which a nation is precipitated into a fratricidal slaughter, where a declaration of war is made without exhausting every other possible measure of adjusting the difficulty, is contrary to the teaching of Christianity.

“I beg you to remember that war, despite every refinement of the nineteenth century, is horribly cruel. Our noble Washington said that so many atrocities were committed on both sides during the Revolution that he could not and would not write the history. Cannot the destruction of so many lives and so much property be avoided?

“Let us not forget that the Revolutionary War was not declared until every possible way was tried to avoid paying the iniquitous taxation imposed by Great Britain. Let us remember the evil following a call to arms. You and I can remember how long the Nation waited before striking the blow to preserve the Union. Not until Sumter was fired on and the Stars and Stripes were trampled upon, did the Government go to war.

“The American people will never support their representatives in measures of war until every possible way of adjusting the dispute has been utilized. There is a terrible waste, a terrible degradation in war. Did you ever calculate the loss caused by war in this century?

“There have been 4,250,000 lives sacrificed by war during the nineteenth century. That is more than eight times the population of Venezuela blotted out by war. It cost our Nation \$40,000,000 to fight Indians in Florida, and it cost us \$50,000,000 for the war of 1812.

“It cost \$3,471,000,000 for our civil war, and more hundreds of millions for interest on the debt and in pensions for the war. That money would have bought all the lands in the world, and would have built schools and churches to educate and Christianize all the people of the world. We do not take prudential action unless we heed the advice of Christian doctrine.

“I heed with interest the statement of Benjamin Franklin, when he said that, if statesmen were more inclined to calculate the results of warfare they would hesitate before declaring war against another country. I believe that war is a most horrible crime, and I would cry from the housetops: ‘Peace! Peace! Peace!’

“Had you conceived what war means when you cried out that we should not tolerate the pretensions or claims of England? Have you forgotten the information furnished by our penal institutions that, since our last war, there has been an immense increase of crime in consequence, and crime of a violent kind?

“Have you forgotten the increase of sin accompanying the increase of luxury, extravagance, and disorder in the industrial world, which the war was largely responsible for? To make war is to open the gates of hell and our on us a storm of iniquity and wrath.

“Oh, men! I hear you in public places cry out: ‘Let us be patriotic!’ but true patriotism does not consist in plunging a country into an inconsiderate war.

“God forbid that we should sacrifice our character through pusillanimity; that we should sacrifice love of country for gain of stocks and bonds; but God forbid that we should try war until

we have exhausted every honorable means of settling the difficulty! We are not willing to sacrifice our commerce, our sons, and daughters to maintain a point in controversy. War is a cruelty against the mind, soul, and body of humanity.”

The speaker said it was unjustifiable for a man meeting another on the street to knock him down, and when the fallen man has arisen to take him by the hand and express a willingness to argue the matter in dispute.

“It is our duty,” he continued, “to cry to every statesman never to make a menace to a foreign nation, until he knows what war is, and has made every argument to avoid it, and he can say, ‘I am sorry for this, but I believe war is necessary for the country’s honor.’”

“The supposed haughtiness and arrogance of England should not be pretexts for war. When the merits of the dispute have not been clearly explained, and approved by just men, a warlike attitude is not justifiable. The sword is not the final and most effective argument of international disputes, but the love of brotherhood and humanity should be the predominating influence.”

### WAR NOT A TEST OF PATRIOTISM The Rev. Dr. Ramsay Pleads for Peace and Prosperity

The Rev. James S. Ramsay, pastor of the Harlem Presbyterian Church, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and Madison Avenue, in the course of his sermon yesterday morning, said, concerning the Venezuelan dispute:

“It is needless to say that the message of our worthy President has startled this country and stirred it as nothing else has done since the firing on Fort Sumter. It has evoked a burst of patriotism from every quarter of our land, patriotism glorious in its universality, its spontaneity, its promptness, its marvelous unifying force.

“But is this magnificent torrent of National enthusiasm only to be used to sweep us on to an awful war? Must we forget whether the cause be great or trivial, merely to show our patriotism and courage?

“Patriotism is love of country, and should not that love, true to its nature, seek to gain the best for its land? And if the best can be gained by peaceful diplomacy, without the death and desolation produced by war is not that the proper course, as well as the wisest policy? The most costly price any country can pay for any desired object is war, and it should see to it that the object is worthy of the outlay, since even victory gained in the interest of an ignoble cause is clouded for all time.

“Our country has had four great wars, excluding those with Indians, and, measured by the standard that the object and gains must be worthy the sacrifice, and that no peaceful method could accomplish the desired result, only two of them stand the test, the war of the Revolution and the late civil war; the first for our country’s creation, the second for its preservation. But posterity has stubbornly refused to indorse fully the Mexican war, while in the second conflict with Great Britain we gained some glory, but more graves; and after all peaceful methods were used to gain the few results after the war in the appointment of Commissioners to adjust the claims.

“In the light of past history we must now ask, Have all justifiable measures for peace been used in this issue? Is the object that looms before us as the prize worth the collision and bloody battle of the two foremost Christian nations of the earth, which may lead to the convulsion of the civilized world?

“We venture to assert that even with the seeming rebuff of England, diplomacy might have continued its efforts rather than give up at once and force a crisis with unseemly haste. And, then,

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again, is the definite object one that should of itself make us willing and eager to appeal to arms? Are we ready to sacrifice the best blood and treasure of this country to secure a strip of land to a petty Spanish republic of little better than mediaeval civilization and subject to periodical revolutions?

“Admitting the importance of the political doctrine supposed to be involved, may we not concede that there may be honest doubts on both sides of the Atlantic regarding its scope and applicability, and continue peaceful negotiations? If it took us more than fifteen years to settle our own boundary question, by persistent negotiations, why rush at once to the edge of war to adjust the boundary line of another country 1,200 miles from our nearest point?

“Let us be ready for the direst necessities and true to our country’s highest interest, but let us, at the same time, pray and hope and believe that American statesmanship may be equal to American patriotism, and that Providence will guide it to a peaceful settlement on these questions that now perplex our country and presage the shedding of costly blood.”

#### PRESIDENT CLEVELAND COMMENDED The Rev. Lyman Ward Says He Has Asked for Peace, Not War

The Rev. Lyman Ward, pastor of the Second Universalist Society of Harlem, which meets at 82 West One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street, preached yesterday from the theme, “Ring in the Valiant Man and Free.” In the course of his sermon he said:

“There will be no war with England. Mark that. The United States does not want war. Great Britain does not want war, least of all with us. The memory of 1776 and 1812 is still with those two great nations.

“President Cleveland has not asked for war. He has asked for peace. In the dignified yet courteous message to Congress by the President he asks for the privilege of appointing a commission to inquire into the difficulty existing between England and Venezuela. That is what he asks for. Who can object to it?

“The ‘Monroe doctrine’ must be upheld. Mr. Cleveland has simply demonstrated to the world that, as Chief Executive of our Republic, he desires to see justice done to a sister republic.

“Our President has taken a noble stand. He will be supported by every loyal citizen of every party. Congress, with conspicuous unanimity, approves the message and makes a generous appropriation for the use of the Venezuelan commission.

“The disputed territory is rich in minerals. It is a strategic point in South America and has been long in dispute. Were Venezuela to pay the indemnity that Great Britain demands it would be a tacit affirmation of Britain’s boundary line. She therefore, refuses. The Monroe doctrine of seventy years’ standing is attacked. We defend it—that is all.

“We want peace to ourselves and to our neighbors. We stand by the Monroe doctrine. If it can be had by peace Commissioners well and good; if not—well, we stand by the President and Congress and the Monroe doctrine. The greatest Christian Republic that the world has ever known believes in the Golden Rule.”

#### DR. ABBOT PRAISES ENGLAND

A congregation that entirely filled Plymouth Church assembled last evening to hear what the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott would say in connection with the excitement incidental to the President’s message on the Venezuelan question.

In his prayer Dr. Abbott asked that all might be led to seek that which is just and right and that, if it is possible, this people live at peace with all men—it a peace with honor, with purity, and with righteousness—and that self-control and moderation be given to all in the present crisis.

He then announced that Plymouth Church will consider the situation, and, after a public hearing on it on Friday evening, will pass such resolutions as the church members may favor.

Dr. Abbot expects to speak tonight in Cooper Union on the Venezuelan question.

Dr. Abbott, in his sermon last night, spoke of the commercial depression from which the country is recovering, and mentioned the excitement that the message produced last week. After telling how deeply and strongly he felt on the subject of war, he said: "We need more light, but not with a combative spirit."

Venezuela, he said, had never been a republic in more than name. It is ruled, he declared, by a Church of old-time barbarism and of a reactionary character. England is a republic in everything but name that spread enlightenment wherever it went, even though it often ruthlessly took possession of foreign lands.

The land in dispute, he said, was for the most part a barren wilderness, and the probability of war was but a shadow of a shadow.

England, he declared, should arbitrate, and does wrong in refusing—even though she consents to arbitrate up to a certain point.

Dr. Abbott read from the President's message, and by way of comment said: "This country proposes to say hereafter: 'We will assume the functions of an international court in regard to South American affairs'."

He read from Secretary Olney's message, and said it was "a bugaboo to frighten children with." He made light of it, spoke of the country's unprotected condition, and said: "In another hundred years we will make the American people the greatest, most potent empire in the world."

He expressed a wish that England might absorb all the Spanish-American republics except Brazil, as it would be a means of advancing civilization if it were to do so,

He said he did not believe our National peace, prosperity, or honor depended upon the course that Mr. Cleveland has pursued, and that it is not probable that England is entirely right or wholly wrong.

"The question is," he said, "Are we appointed to make her do what is right? Should we police the whole of South America?"

He read from Webster and others on the Monroe doctrine and declared that although it was suggested by England's Minister, Mr. Canning, it had no legal or Constitutional binding power, had drifted into the past, and had no bearing on a question between a republic only in name and a nation that is a republic in all but name. Then he said that if a great wrong was being done it would be the duty of this country to intervene.

The hostility toward England, the mother country, he said, was not entirely without reason. He instanced the war between England and this country, and said that all this country is England made it. Supporting this statement he mentioned Magna Charta and the House of Commons, after which and upon which this country's great institutions are founded. He eulogized England and said:

"Together England and America may wrap the world round with liberty and fill it with peace."

He pictured the horrors of war, and said:

"Our glory is a glory of peace, and our prosperity is due to almost 100 years of peace, and we will not sacrifice peace if peace can be maintained with honor."

Dr. Abbott was frequently applauded, and received much applause when he ceased speaking.

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DOES THE MONROE DOCTRINE APPLY  
Mr. Cadman Says South America May Resent an Interference

The Rev. S. Parks Cadman, in the Central Metropolitan Methodist Church, Seventh Avenue between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, last evening spoke on "Peace or War with England."

"I wish it were possible," he said, "to admit that this question of peace or war is lifted above the contending factions, national and international. All ambitions for ascendancy, sobriety, and soundness of judgment are largely absent from the discussion of the Venezuelan question. Some of the hysterical shriekings of the daily press are an outrage upon decency and a disgrace to our boasted civilization.

"Concerning the Monroe doctrine, legalists and statesmen dispute widely as to its significance and application to the boundary question between Great Britain and Venezuela. It was created by our fears for the future of the whole continent when threatened by the Holy Alliance. Great Britain aided in its inception when we were a people only 9,000,000 strong.

"If it means we are the practical sovereigns of the two continents of North and South America then war with England will be the first incident in and bloody struggle to enforce a claim that many other nations, including the South American republics, will resent.

"I do not believe we are prepared to purchase supremacy, either nominal or actual, over the South American republics at the cost of our felicitous existence, whose high level is the glory of modern civilization. If by peaceful means the two continents may be brought in touch with our influence, the destiny of our Republic and the race at large will gain, and with the passage of time Canada will be one with us, beneath one flag. But, rather than that this should come upon the reeking edge of sword, let us remain as we are, and move on in our providential path as a people, non-destroying and indestructible.

WAR NOT EVEN A POSSIBILITY  
But the Rev. Dr. Virgin Thinks Examination Will Do No Harm

The Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Virgin, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Madison Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-first Street, spoke on the possibilities of war with Great Britain at the services yesterday morning.

"The President, in his strong feeling about the boundary line of the South American republic," he said, "or in his devotion to the Monroe doctrine, or for some other reason to himself sufficient, may seem to threaten war, but the people will smother this sentiment under their rich and abounding declarations of affection for our kindred across the sea.

"A commission may examine facts and deliberate upon measures, and the ripe fruit of nineteen hundred years of Christian teaching will appear in the righteous and peaceful issue of their deliberations. If the Monroe doctrine has nothing to do with this country, it should be known and declared. Examination will do no harm. Venezuela and her rights are dear to us, so are the rights of Great Britain and the mother country itself. With interests of every character interlocked and with the noblest possessions of a common Christianity held equally dear to both, war is not for a moment to be dreamed of as a possibility.

"Misunderstanding may arise for a season and lead to a debate and Presidential proclamations and a disturbed money market and immeasurable evils, but war between these nations would be the giant crime of the centuries.

The intervention of this Christmas celebration must touch with healing charm the roused antagonisms, and blend all hearts in one common prayer for wisdom and one common purpose for instant and peaceful adjustment of this question of international concern.

“A nation’s honor must be maintained, but this is consonant with peace in the light of the Christian principles by which nations are guided. We want no cries of jingoism.

“We want no wholesale denunciations of our Chief Magistrate in endeavoring to uphold the principles that have governed us for many years. It was pertinent for him to speak after lengthened and unsuccessful correspondence. We need prudent councils, a calm and deliberate temper, and a statesmanship solid with true patriotism and heavenly wisdom. We need a broad generosity that will check the excitement that speculators will increase, and a financial skill alert and effective to stay further monetary evils.

“The American people are opposed to war with Great Britain, and send her to-day salutations of Christian affection from sixty-six millions of hearts, and sing “God Save the Queen,’ while they make the welkin ring with their song of:

‘My country, ‘tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing.’

“Let Lord Salisbury find some answer to the message of our President that shall shine with a loftier Christianity, that will show the path of honorable agreement, and the people of both realms will acknowledge his master spirit.

“Let Mr. Cleveland rise above himself and issue another message higher, wiser, free from the suggestion of the possibility of armed conflict, discarding all hostile intent.

“Ere this Christmas celebration pass, let the united voices sing in unison for the nations of the world to hear the angels’ song” ‘Peace on earth, good will to men’.”

#### NO CONCERN OF OURS ANYWAY

#### The Rev. Dr. Stimson Denounces the Action Regarding Venezuela

The sermon of the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Stimson at the Broadway Tabernacle Church yesterday was devoted almost entirely to the Venezuelan question.

“It seems like a travesty on Christmas,” he said, “that we should find ourselves in the Lord’s house to-day, with our minds and the minds of the people filled with the talk of war. That a Christian nation should be assembled to worship the Prince of Peace in the same breath with which it is uttering braggart bluster which, if it means anything, is threat of war; that it should be assembled to worship one Wonderful, a Counselor, in the very hour in which we are giving place to a folly so supreme that the world stands amazed at it; at a time of extreme National strain, when anxiety has sat in the homes of our people for more than two years, and business has been paralyzed and industries have stood still, and the fields of the farmer are loaded with crops for which there is no market, and when our whole financial system is built upon a basis so unstable that it has not been changed only because of the tremendous peril attending such a task; that at such a time this Nation should be suddenly diverted from its anxious but peaceful labors by public action that involves, even as a remote possibility, the horrors of war, is a situation so amazing, so preposterous, that one finds it difficult to get speech that will do it justice.

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“The \$100,000 precipitately voted for an investigation in which we have no concern, and the outcome of which has no visible value, except possibly to get us out of a difficulty which we have created for ourselves, and the \$100,000,000 lost as a consequence in the panic of a single day, arrest our careful attention. Would that it were but a ‘midsummer madness!’

“And what is it all about? A boundary dispute in which we have not the remotest concern, a question of fifty years’ standing, to be precipitated upon the country in a form which, whether it was intended or not, brings the alarm of war and not only the business interests of our own country, but the business interests of the world, into confusion, carrying loss and ruin into innumerable homes.

“There have been sad hours in the history of the United States in the past—hours of irreparable loss, hours that brought the horrors of civil war in their train, hours that entailed commercial distress and widespread ruin from which the land did not recover for years, but there have been few hours of panic so needless and of shame so mortifying.

“Of course, we are not going to fight! War among great nations is fast becoming obsolete. Would to God that its very dialect should disappear from English speech. But when all Europe stands like hounds strained in the leash, and the industries of the civilized world are consumed in maintaining standing armies so large as to almost neutralize man’s labors, who shall fitly characterize the reckless folly that would hurl even an apple of discord into the arena of the world’s debate, or utter bitter and braggart speech that would precipitate strife?”

#### DEMAGOGUES SHOUTING FOR WAR

The Rev. Madison C. Peters Says No Fighting Is Necessary

At the Bloomingdale Reformed Church yesterday morning, the Rev. Madison C. Peters preached on “Civilization’s Debt to Christianity.” In the course of his sermon, which was mainly devoted to an exposition of the lessons of the Christmas season, he referred to the possibilities of a conflict with England.

“War is cruel, hateful wrong,” he said. ““War is hell. The political demagogues who at this Christmastide are shouting for war, will be branded by the second sober thought of the American people as the criminals of the nineteenth century.

“A war between England and America could never be terminated until one or the other went into bankruptcy or had no more men to fill the ranks. When the time comes that there is a necessity for war, when we are encroached upon or attacked, then there will be a prompt response from the American people to defend the flag.

“What sane man believes that such a necessity exists at the present time? If we are to have war, let it be on one condition—that the men who are now shouting for it be the first ones compelled to go to the front.

“As a preacher of the Gospel of peace and universal brotherhood, I call for arbitration. ‘Blessed are the peacemakers.’ I pray that England and America may look across the centuries and hear the angels’ proclamation—‘On Earth Peace; Good Will Toward Men’.”

#### BELIEVES IN THE PRESIDENT

The Rev. J. W. Chadwick, However, Counsels Avoidance of War

“Peace or War?” was the subject of the sermon of the Rev. J. W. Chadwick yesterday morning in the Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn. He said, in part:

“Peace on earth, good will to men’,” said Mr. Chadwick. “That is a sentiment so pure and high that it would have preserved any legend. Who shall say it did not preserve the legend of the birth and was preserved by that legend?”

“It may not be a controlling factor in international law now. But I believe there has been more peace in the world than there would have been if that rebuke to war had not stared nations in the face for over eighteen centuries.

“First in peace seems to be unsatisfactory at present. Some people think war, though, shows evolution of the race; another factor that makes warlike spirit is the growing strength of the Nation. Still another is the hope or gain nurtured by those who would feed on the distress of the Nation.

“But the greatest factor of all is the passionate idealization of war—our belief in our own glorious victory. There are some who can see only one side of war—the killing of men by their fellows. But these are in small numbers, perhaps. The literature of war is fascinating, because of the splendid courage portrayed. The terrible beauty of war lies in this. But is there anything in the history of our late memorable war that would not make us hate it and shun it?”

“There is an old German proverb—‘Every war leaves behind it an army of heroes, an army of cripples, and an army of thieves.’ We had all these after our war. Besides, it left legacies that are hurtful even now. Our financial system represents the result of the country’s endeavors to help itself in a time of sore need.

“War is to be avoided if possible, as one would avoid the gate of hell. Between supine submission to wrong and war’s dread alternative, there are stations which will admit to settlement with honor to both nations, and I hope we shall stop at one of these.

“I deprecate ascribing unworthy motive to the President. I have known him too long to believe the charges which are coming now even from the house of his friends. I dismiss, without a moment’s consideration, such attacks upon Mr. Cleveland’s honesty of purpose”

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THE SERVICE PATRIOTIC  
Ex-Minister Straus’s View of the Venezuelan Message  
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND COMMENDED  
Monroe Doctrine Must Be Upheld—Lord Salisbury Accused of  
Overstepping the Bounds of Ordinary Propriety

Oscar S. Straus, formerly United States Minister to Turkey, has for many years devoted much time to the study of international questions which figure in the diplomatic business of this country. With considerable emphasis he indorses the position of President Cleveland on the Venezuelan question.

He maintains that the restatement of the Monroe doctrine as being the American doctrine was a necessary and wise thing.

To a reporter for the *The New-York Times*, ex-Minister Straus yesterday pointed out some important facts in connection with the Venezuelan boundary dispute.

“The Monroe doctrine was neither inspired by the stock market nor stimulated by the price of cotton,” said Mr. Straus. “It was the ultimatum of a patriotic people, in times at peace, to preserve the integrity of our institutions in safety and honor.

“President Monroe said, ‘We owe it to candor and to amicable relations between the United States and the powers, that we would consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.’ This declaration was hailed with approval and satisfaction by the Government and people of England, and served to confirm the establishment of free Governments on this continent, no less than it served as a harbinger of peace for the nations of Europe.

“Mr. Cleveland’s message, which clearly defines the scope, meaning, and continuing vitality of our American policy, was not only demanded at this time, but a sense of candor and in order to avoid causes for conflict between us and Great Britain made it a duty that we should not leave her in doubt as to our policy.

“When President Monroe, in 1823, submitted to Jefferson the correspondence relating to the designs of the Holy Alliance to intervene in South America, he answered: ‘The question presented is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.’

“The dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela involves territory two-thirds as large as the State of New-York, and the control of the mouth and 400 miles of the Orinoco River, which is the Mississippi of Venezuela.

“Whatever may be the respective rights of the two countries, it is sufficient to say that while the claims of Great Britain have been from the beginning steadfastly resisted by Venezuela, they have been growing larger and larger until they have doubled in area in the past fifty years. Venezuela has constantly pressed for arbitration, while Great Britain has constantly shifted her boundary line westward, so that it resulted in 1887 in the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

“Our Government has not been an indifferent spectator during all these years. On the contrary, our good offices have been liberally tendered. Again, in 1891, President Harrison, in his message, alluded to the subject in the following terms: “I should have been glad to announce some favorable disposition of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela touching the western frontier of British Guiana, but the friendly efforts of the United States in that direction have thus far been unavailing. This Government will continue to express its concern at any appearance of foreign encroachment on territories long under the administrative control of American States. The determination of a disputed boundary is easily attainable by amicable arbitration when the rights of the respective parties rest, as here, on historic facts readily ascertainable.

“Venezuela has, time and again, pending these negotiations between her and Great Britain, asked for our friendly offices to aid in bringing about arbitration, and promptly advised our Government of British encroachments. In 1888 Secretary Bayard instructed Mr. Phelps to say to Lord Salisbury, in view of the widening British pretensions, ‘If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern.’

“The forcible possession by Great Britain of this territory is not measured by its area, though as large as above stated, but by the fact that the control of Barima commands the mouth of the Orinoco River and its tributaries. The naval power in possession of this river could control the trade

as well as the destinies of Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and in fact the whole of South America.

“Secretary Olney, under the direction of the President, in his dispatch to Mr. Bayard of the 20th of July, (a copy of which, as is usual, was left with the British Prime Minister,) went exhaustively into the entire subject, pointing out with painstaking fullness the importance of the subject to this country, and in what respect it conflicted with our policy and interest. It was nowhere claimed that the Monroe doctrine was a principle of international law, but stress was laid upon the fact that it was the calm and deliberate policy adopted by us more than seventy years ago as a continental policy. It impressed upon the Prime Minister the importance of submitting the question to impartial arbitration.

“The Prime Minister devotes the greater part of his reply to an endeavor to show that we do not understand the significance and scope of the Monroe doctrine, and at any rate says that it is ‘played out’, or, as he puts it. ‘The dangers which were apprehended by President Monroe have no relation to the state of things in which we live at the present day.’ He further answers our urgent request for a peaceful arbitration that it is a controversy with which the United States have no apparent practical concern.

“It will appear to any one reading the Prime Ministers communications that he has overstepped the bounds, not only of diplomatic etiquette, but of ordinary propriety, in assuming to dictate to our Government what is the meaning of the Monroe doctrine and what we have a right to hold as our policy on this hemisphere. That the Monroe doctrine, which, when proclaimed in 1823, was hailed with satisfaction and approval by England, is not abandoned by us, should now be quite evident to Lord Salisbury, even if he should fail to recognize it as a principle of international law.

“Lord Salisbury could more profitably employ his time in discovering that boundary lines are not the branches of compasses, which can be extended without regard to the rights of a contiguous Government, even though that Government be not able to adequately defend itself against forcible encroachment.

“The President has performed a most patriotic service in his clear and forcible statement of our American policy. It was due to candor and to the preservation of peaceable relations with the nations of the world that they should not be left in doubt.”

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#### THE PRESIDENT'S CRITICS

The President message did not create our vicious financial system. It is well to remember that. The evils and the weakness of the system were brought sharply into the public view by his utterances—they were even for the time intensified. But they were there before, they were known, and they would sooner or later have got us into serious trouble.

It is complained that the message was inopportune, that the President might easily have deferred its issue, that there was surely nothing in the Venezuela boundary situation to call for precipitate utterance or action, and that Mr. Cleveland should have strengthened the Treasury before he put on

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high airs with Great Britain. Even those who told that the President is right protest that he was premature.

For any critic of the Administration who is not in its confidence to make this protest is to take all the risks of speaking in ignorance of the facts. Here is a National policy formulated by President Monroe, in consultation with Jefferson, Madison and the younger Adams, accepted and restated with emphasis during the Administrations of Polk, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison, specially applied to Venezuela's boundary dispute with Great Britain by Secretaries of State Evarts, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, Blaine, Gresham, and Olney. It will be granted, perhaps, that such a policy must be put in force when the occasion arises or else abandoned altogether. So far as the public knows the occasion chosen by the President was the receipt of Lord Salisbury's letter declining arbitration. Do the critics of the President know, or merely assume, that there were no circumstances of the case that demanded immediate action? Sometimes the under officers and privates hold the General's dispositions to be senseless and perilous until they come to know his reasons. It is well to have some confidence in the General. He usually has superior facilities for getting information.

It seems to us, also, that the young college professors who are so sure that the President is wrong would do well to remember that his action was taken only after prolonged consultation with gentlemen who are fully their equal in ability and of very much greater experience, and that it is sustained by precedence in the declarations and policies of many eminent persons who have filled the offices of President and of Secretary of State. The clergy who think the President wrong would think any President wrong who took almost any step that involved war as even a remote consequence. Ministers of the Gospel are men of peace. It would be a deplorable thing if they were not.

But for that very reason they are probably not the best counselors in foreign affairs. If they were always consulted by Presidents and Secretaries of States, our foreign policy would be patterned closely on that of James I, who "shunned hostilities with a caution which was proof against the insults of his neighbors and the clamors of his subjects."

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PEACE TALK IN ENGLAND  
The Britishers No Longer Fear There Will Be a War  
SOME UTTERANCES FROM THE PULPIT  
Prominent English Clergymen Protest Against the Prevalence of a  
War Spirit—Urge Magnanimity and Concession

LONDON. Dec. 22.—London had a good deal to say to-day, in one way and another, on the Venezuelan matter. The general view now is that there is not the slightest danger of war between England and the United States.

The most notable utterances to-day were those from the pulpit.

Speaking at the City Temple to-day, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker said:

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

Do not trouble yourselves with the thought of war. There will be no war. England and America cannot do without each other. War would be suicide. We send to-day messages from our hearts to our fellow-Christians in America. We must act in a spirit of magnanimity and concession. We miss Henry Ward Beecher. He could and would have spoken the word of reconciliation. I call upon British and American Christians to unite in prayerful counsel in the interests of peace.

Mr. Parker prayed in a similar strain, the congregation giving a hearty “Amen! to his supplication. The Rev. Mr. Waller, President of the Wesleyan Conference, preaching at Liverpool to-day, said that every lover of his kindred would strive to avert a war which would be unnatural, monstrous, and wicked.

The Archdeacon of London, preaching at Canonbury, said that for the branches of the Anglo-Saxon race to plunge into a war for such a cause would seem to be a disaster whose magnitude, compared with the slightness of the occasion, removed it from the region of possibility. A give-and-take policy, he added, would soon settle the difficulty.

Canon Newbolt, preaching at St. Paul’s to-day, deplored the fact that the peace and good-will of kindred nations had been disturbed in the Christmas season, but he thanked God that the spirit of truth and honor animated both. This was the best pledge of a just and amicable settlement.

The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, in the course of his sermon at St. James’s Hall, said that the two most distressing spectacles for any lover of peace were the Sultan of Turkey and Mr. Cleveland. The latter bullied Great Britain and rudely threatened her with war, but, awful as a conflict was to contemplate, he hoped that those answerable for the conduct of the nation’s affairs would not allow him to dictate where the frontiers of the British Empire ended and began.

At the Tabernacle, the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon prayed fervently that the Almighty’s hand would guide the statesmen of both countries, and that He would endow them with wisdom and patience to bring the trouble to a happy issue. The prayer was greeted with fervent Amens.

The Men’s Sunday Union, which is composed of workers in the east end of London, has adopted a resolution sending “a hearty Christmas greeting to their brother nation” as an expression of their opinion that a war would be unnatural and un-Christian, and should be forever impossible.

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SCHOMBURGK LIVED IN AMERICA  
A Botanist Drew the Alleged Venezuelan Boundary Line

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22—An interesting fact in connection with the famous Schomburgk Line which has escaped observation is that the man who provided the British Government with that boundary came to this country from Germany when he was twenty-two years old, and after working for some time as a clerk in Boston and Philadelphia became a partner in a Richmond (Va.) tobacco manufactory in 1828.

The factory was burned, and Schomburgk drifted to the West Indies, where, after unsuccessful ventures, his botanical work attracted the attention of the London Geographical Society, and he

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secured means to explore the unknown region of the Orinoco where he traveled from 1823 to 1839, and discovered the Victoria Regina lily and numerous other plants.

This work led the British Government to commission him to suggest a boundary between Venezuela and Guiana, and to make further explorations. The line was drawn, and he was knighted by the Queen for his services. Schomburgk, until his death in 1865, continued in the British Consular Service, but devoted himself chiefly to geographical studies, being a member of the principal American and European learned societies.

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MINISTERS FOR PEACE  
The Venezuelan Question Before the Baptist Conference  
PRAISE FOR PRESIDENT CLEVELAND  
A Resolution Reflecting upon His Action Laid on the Table  
Another to be Discussed Next Week

The Venezuelan question was brought up at the regular meeting of the Baptist Ministers' Conference, at 149 Fifth Avenue, yesterday, and there was much excitement before it was disposed of.

The sentiment of the meeting was in favor of peace, but a resolution to that effect was defeated, because of its preamble, which was regarded as reflecting upon President Cleveland. Peace resolutions will be presented at the meeting of the conference next week, and will probably be adopted.

When the meeting was called to order yesterday, the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Dudley, said:

"As we are not politicians, I presume we can take some action in regard to the probable or improbable war."

The Rev. Dr. B. F. Morse, assistant to the Rev. Dr. R. S. MacArthur of the Calvary Baptist Church, said: "As there has been action taken recently looking toward a disruption between America and Britain, I believe that we should take some action deprecating any proposal of war."

The Rev. S. W. Brinkerhoff, a venerable man, said that the President's message did not contemplate war.

"It certainly does contemplate war,' said the Moderator, "and there is a suggestion of blood 'bridle deep'."

The Rev. George Tompkins then jumped up in an excited manner and said he was an Englishman, and had lived in the same house with John Bright. He quoted some of the latter's writings in support of peace and union between the two great English-speaking nations.

A motion was then made to appoint a committee to prepare a peace resolution. Before the motion was voted upon, the Rev. Dr. E. Crowell, a retired minister, said, amid much excitement:

England has insulted the United States. I am an old man, but I remember very well when France undertook to trample on the Monroe doctrine, but she got left. She sent a sprig of royalty to Mexico, but we said to France, "No, Sir." Maximilian died, justly or otherwise, an ignominious death.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

I never was an admirer of President Cleveland, but I compliment him and rejoice that he has enough good American backbone in him to stand up for American rights.

When the American commission determines the true boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, then it will be time to pass such resolutions as are proposed here. [Applause.]

“This subject, I maintain.” said Dr. Morse, “has no application to the Monroe doctrine.”

The motion to prepare the resolution opposing war with England was adopted, but it met with considerable opposition. Dr. Morse was named as a committee to prepare the resolution.

Dr. Morse then presented the following:

Whereas, A war between England and America, with the horrors and suffering it would entail, would be a stigma upon Christianity and a travesty upon civilization; and

Whereas, The question of disagreement made by the President and accepted by Congress is unworthy of the thought of a great Republic like the United States, or a great empire like Great Britain;

Resolved, That we as members of this conference composed of pastors of New-York City and vicinity, do protest against any hasty action looking toward disruption in the relations between the United States and England, and that we strongly deprecate anything advanced by private citizens or public officials, to the effect that war is the only question in dispute.

Mr. Brinkerhoff opposed the resolution, saying:

I do not want this to pass, because the President wants peace, not war. He wants arbitration, but Salisbury says “No.” If Salisbury refuses arbitration, then it is time to talk war.

I have a son, and if it comes to defending the rights of my country I’ll give my son to its defense, and I’ll go myself if they will take me. [Applause.] I will stand by President Cleveland and my country.

A motion was then made to lay the resolution on the table. Several of the ministers objected to the preamble to the resolution, as being an uncalled-for reflection on the President.

The resolution was finally laid on the table by a vote of 22 to 12.

A committee of five was then appointed to present to the meeting of the conference next Monday resolutions embodying the views of the conference against war, but which will not be offensive to any at the members. . .

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VERY PEACEFUL TALK THIS!  
England’s “Sober Second Thought”  
Approves the Commission and Is Very Reasonable Indeed

LONDON, Dec 22.—The Daily News to-morrow, under the caption “Sober Second Thought,” will discuss the situation in that light. It will say:

It would be improper and ungenerous to attribute the change of opinion to the chilling influence of a financial panic on a people so self-reliant and courageous as those of the United States. They never would be turned from

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any supreme object of patriotic effort by misgivings respecting their own power. No American can have stronger belief than we in the potency of the great country and its people. It is because we so strongly believe in the power and will of the American people that we rejoice in their rapid change of opinion.

The paper then proceeds to blame Mr. Cleveland, and says that the sooner his language is forgotten the better it will be for all parties, including himself. It then adds:

The commission will be regarded, not as an international tribunal, but as a form of domestic inquiry, designed for the better information of the American people and their rulers. It may be positively useful. Its very appointment is in one sense an admission that the State Department believes that the Venezuelan claims are exaggerated, and that no further action could wisely be taken until Washington discovered some firmer basis for negotiations than the shifty statements of the little military despot at Caracas.

The News professes to believe there is reason to expect that three Americans of credit and standing would propose a very different line of demarkation from that insisted on by Venezuela.

The Times will say to-morrow:

Although the reaction may not yet be triumphant, it is satisfactory to find that the Americans, whether they dislike us or not, are hesitating to incur the guilt of breaking the peace of the civilized world for such a contemptible cause, and in vindication of claims repudiated by all the nations of the Old World. President Cleveland's manifest incapacity to understand the effect of what he was doing when he sent such a warlike message to the Congress, has shattered the confidence felt in him as a pillar of sound finance and a mainstay of the public credit.

The renewal, therefore, of his proposals of currency reform, after he himself has made them impossible, has dashed the hopes of his friends and set his opponents to work to turn his errors to account. It is now clear that Mr. Cleveland's financial proposals have no chance at all of passing.

Deeply as we must regret that the controversy has arisen, we can, at all events, rejoice in the demonstration it has afforded of the unity of our national sentiment, especially the attachment of our Canadian fellow-subjects of the Crown. Good may come out of the evil if the incident should lead the Canadians to strengthen their organization for defense and admonish us at home to strain every nerve to retain that indisputable command of the sea on which the empire depends.

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An Appeal for Arbitration

LONDON, Dec. 23.—The International Arbitration Society has adopted a resolution recalling its own efforts since 1892 to procure arbitration of the Venezuelan dispute and reasserting its position, while regretting President Cleveland's attitude. The resolution adds that, while the society does not recognize the right of the United States to decide the question, it hopes that the matter will yet be arbitrated.

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AMERICA NOT THE AGGRESSOR  
England Raised the Quarrel and Persists In Keeping It Alive

From The Chicago Tribune, (Rep.)

Two courses were open for the President when this insulting reply of Lord Salisbury's was received. He could have laid it before Congress and recommended that the subject be allowed to drop; that the Monroe doctrine, not being acceptable to England, be abandoned, and that Venezuela be left to her fate.

But President Cleveland did not do that. He did not believe the people would give up the Monroe doctrine because it was not recognized by England. So he adopted the other course. He said: "Since England will not arbitrate, and will not appear before an impartial tribunal, to show exactly what her rights are, let us do the investigating. We will find out how much of the territory in dispute really belongs to Venezuela."

It was not necessary to do that as long as there was hope that England and Venezuela would settle the matter peacefully. But when England refused to arbitrate, then before this country went further it became necessary to see just how far Venezuela was being robbed.

No American citizen should protest against that moderate, conservative course. There have been protests, but they come from persons certainly not American in sentiment, and generally not Americans by nationality. If England can regulate boundaries to suit herself in South America and steal territory there, what is to hinder her trumping up other pretexts and regulating boundaries to suit herself in North America? She is doing it now in Alaska at the expense of the United States.

It is not aggression on the part of the United States when it resists the attempted aggressions of England on other American countries. It is not aggression on the part of the United States to defend the Monroe doctrine enunciated in 1823 for the protection of this continent against European aggressions. It was not a part of international law then, but Americans are resolved that it shall be, even if it comes to a fight.

The quarrel is not one which the United States has forced on England, but which England is forcing on this country and on all America. England is seeking to annex American territory,

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repudiates the Monroe doctrine and says she has as much to say about affairs on this side of the ocean as Americans have. Eng land is the quarrelsome one, not the United States.

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### Canada in Case of War

From The Montreal Gazette (Quebec), Dec. 21

The Cleveland Venezuela message has led in Canada to considerable discussion as to what would be likely to follow in case the United States carried its contentions to the length of fighting for them. All the authorities agree that Canadians would come in for a good share of the hard knocks, and all seem to be perfectly satisfied that such a state of affairs would be regular, and be regarded as part of the price to be paid for membership in the empire, the proportions of which the United States Government has several times tried to curtail. If there is not as much federation of government in the empire as there might be there is plenty of federation of sentiment.

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GOOD FEELING IN ENGLAND  
No Fear There Now that There Will Be War with This Country  
A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT EXPECTED  
Impression Prevails that the Political Strain Between England  
and America is Diminishing  
LIBERALS WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS  
While Not Dissenting from Salisbury's Position, They Hope to  
Force Him to at Conciliatory Policy

By Commercial Cable from Our Own Correspondent

LONDON, Dec. 23.—Everything to-night relating to the Venezuelan question is colored by the impression prevailing here that the political strain between England and the United States is diminishing sensibly.

Such remaining signs of demoralization as the security market showed in the middle of the day were due to the offerings of investors whom last week's scare seemed just to have reached, and to effects of Saturday's weakness of American securities in Vienna.

Elsewhere on the Continent there was a rally Saturday, which came on speculative buying.

It is believed, if no fresh discouragement shall come from New-York bears, there will be a more decided rally in Americans after Christmas.

Great attention has been given to-day to the pulpit utterances of yesterday in both countries, and the opinion that the situation has improved is based principally on them.

Liberal politicians are watching developments with the closest scrutiny; but no disposition is shown by them yet to dissent from Salisbury's position, though they privately confess to the hope that America may offer a compromise which they can insist on making the Salisbury Government accept.

There are no signs yet of any official tendency on the Continent to fish in the troubled Venezuelan waters, though papers that are coming in now show that the tone of Continental comment, while against the Monroe doctrine, has been much more hostile to England than summaries telegraphed here have represented it to be.

The holiday season will begin to-morrow, and not even Venezuela will avail to disturb the national lethargy here till the close of the week.

H. F.

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England Divided; America United

From The Utica Observer, (Dem.)

It is apparent that Lord Salisbury's blunt refusal to submit the matter in dispute with Venezuela to arbitration is not likely to be sustained in England. The London Times supports Salisbury staunchly, but the consciousness of right does not command for him the general support of the press. It is in striking contrast with the practical unanimity with which the American press sustains the President.

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England Cannot Afford War

From The Fitchburg Mail (Mass.), (Rep.)

As a leading power upon this continent the United States ought, for its own interest, to determine which party is right in this dispute over boundary lines. Any encroachment by European powers beyond their just rights is likely to affect adversely, sooner or later, our own National interests. Hence, we are justified in calling a halt at the beginning, whenever there is any danger of one of the smaller American nations being imposed upon by unjust claims of a more powerful

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nation. The stand taken by our National Administration at Washington is a very moderate one, and asks only that the matter at issue be taken up by an impartial tribunal and decided upon its merits. This is all that the United States is asking of England, and she cannot refuse in the end to accede to this very reasonable request. The longer she delays the fewer sympathizers she will have. War is out of the question. With her diverse, world-wide interests, England cannot afford to go to war with a powerful nation like the United States, and she is not likely to do so when once the reasonable attitude of this country has been realized.

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His Position Impregnable

From The Kansas City Times, (Ind. Dem.)

The House has done its duty with admirable sense and temper in promptly and unanimously passing the bill suggested by the President providing for a commission to examine into the question of the proper boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana. This step is eminently proper and necessary.

President Cleveland's stand is impregnable. The country has perfect confidence in President Cleveland's wisdom and non-partisanship, and, as Congressman Hitt said in the House, in urging the passage of his bill, "in such a time the Executive is hampered by every criticism that comes from our own country. The success of our country depends upon our maintaining a united front." Would that both parties had more men like him.

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COMMISSION NOT CHOSEN

The President Has Not Selected His Representatives

MR. HARRISON AN IMPOSSIBILITY

Every Man Who Goes to the White House Slated by the Reporters  
for an Appointment—War Officer May Be Named

WASHINGTON. Dec. 23.—Men of prominence go to the White House now at imminent risk of immediate appointment on the Venezuelan commission.

Chief Justice Fuller called at the Executive Mansion to-day, and he has straightway been named as one of the commission—not by the President, for Mr. Cleveland had not this afternoon so much as fixed his mind upon one member of that body. He has not yet decided whether the commission shall be made up of three or five members. The nominations of ex-Senator Edmunds, ex-Minister

Phelps, and ex-Minister Andrew D. White were public nominations, and none of those gentlemen has been consulted on the subject.

A Senator, who referred jocularly to the excellence of the public nominations to the commission, said that the newspapers had misunderstood the intention of the Senate, which was not to abandon the privilege of advising and consenting to the appointments in order that they might be made by eager newspapermen, but that the President might choose his own men to the number he thought fit, without concern as to the manner of their reception by the Senate when they had been named.

The Administration will be in no haste about the Venezuelan question. It has been under consideration now no long that it was not seriously expected that it would be disposed of in one week after the President had indicated the position the United States ought to occupy in the matter.

The army and navy men have about concluded that speculation about what we could do in case of war does not make a war, and have settled down calmly to the discharge of their usual duties, which are more useful than bellicose.

Ex-President Harrison is reported from Indianapolis as saying that the report of an offer to him of the Presidency of the Venezuelan commission was purely imaginative, and that no offer whatever had been made to him.

Senator Turpie of Indiana said that there was no truth in the report that he and others of the Indiana delegation had been requested to transmit to ex-President Harrison Mr. Cleveland's desire to appoint him as a member of the Venezuelan commission. Mr. Turpie said he never heard of such a thing, and did not expect to hear from the President on the subject. Mr. Voorhees corroborated what his colleague said, and added that if Mr. Cleveland wished Mr. Harrison to serve on that commission, the President would doubtless do as he had in other matters, and communicate with the person concerned directly.

A rumor has gained currency that the commission will consist of one Democrat, one Republican and a distinguished military or naval officer. Lieut. Gen. Schofield and Rear Admiral Walker have been mentioned in connection with this rumor, but Admiral Walker could not well serve if a salary were attached to the appointment, in view of the recent law of Congress, which prevents officers of the Government from drawing two Federal salaries synchronously. This provision would not debar Gen. Schofield, as it expressly exempts retired officers. Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Harlan, who have also been mentioned as possible members of the commission, would likewise come within the limits of the law.

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Must Show that We Mean Business

From The Chicago Journal and Press, (Rep.)

What has become of the truculent war spirit that has marked every step of the stormy career of our own John M. Palmer? In a special dispatch to this paper the venerable Senator is quoted way down below zero on the Venezuelan question. He says that the country in dispute was forsaken by

God from the foundation of the world, and that it is not worth the life of a single American citizen. He adds a protest against a protectorate on our part, but says: “We may insist that right shall be done that weak republic.”

And just here is the weak part of the Senator’s argument, and in those of all the pretended upholders of the Monroe doctrine who are in a panic over the dim prospect of war. There is only one way of insisting that right shall be done Venezuela, and that is by showing England that we mean business. It has come to that delicate point in the negotiations where it is put up or shut up. There will never be a better time for defining the Monroe doctrine so that its meaning cannot be misunderstood.

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INDORSE THE PRESIDENT’S ACTION  
Five Republican Aldermen Vote Against Mr. Oakley’s Resolution

The Board of Aldermen indorsed the action of President Cleveland in the Venezuelan matter yesterday, but not before a handful of Republican members had put themselves on record against it.

Alderman Oakley brought up the matter by introducing the following resolution on behalf of the Tammany members:

Whereas, Circumstances have arisen which involve the right and justice of one of the recognized principles of this Government; and

Whereas, the Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, realizing the importance of maintaining the autonomy of the American republics, has, in defense of this principle, upheld the dignity and honor of the United States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Aldermen of the city of New-York heartily indorse his act.

Alderman Oakley asked that the board agree to his resolution. Alderman Olcott, the Republican leader, opposed the resolution. He said he did not believe that the Monroe doctrine applied to Venezuela in this case, and that in his opinion the President had made a grievous mistake.

Mr. Olcott argued that the question was simply one of territorial boundary, involving a question of fact yet to be determined. His opinion was that the President and Congress had erred in being so precipitate. Mr. Olcott moved to lay the resolution on the table. This was seconded by Mr. Ware, (Rep.)

“This resolution,” said Mr. Oakley, “was made brief in order that it could be seen that there is no politics or no jingoism in it. I do not propose at this time to enter into a controversy with Mr. Olcott as to the scope of the Monroe doctrine, but I do maintain, however, that the President’s action is American and patriotic, and should be indorsed by this board. It has been approved by the Republican Congress, and why should Republicans oppose it here now. I hope that this motion to table will not prevail.”

The motion to table was then lost by a vote of 16 to 11, all Democrats voting against it.

Mr. Olcott said that the people who were supporting Mr. Cleveland were doing so not because they loved Cleveland more, but England less. He wondered whether Mr. Cleveland would have taken the same stand had the country been other than England.

Alderman Goodman, (Rep.) who had voted with Mr. Olcott to table the resolution, said that as the Congress of the United States had indorsed the course of the President there was no reason why the Board of Aldermen should not do so. Alderman Ware, who had seconded the resolution to table, was excused from voting. .

Mr. Oakley's resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 20 to 5. The five Aldermen who voted against it are Republicans. They are Olcott, Randall, Parker, Robinson, and School.

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MEETING LACKED "PEACE"  
Called to Protest Against President's Venezuelan Message  
HALL CLEARED TO AVOID A RIOT  
Majority Cheered the Chief Executive and Was In Favor of Upholding Action of Congress  
CRIES OF TREASON; VOLLEYS OF HISSES  
These Were Directed Against Speakers Such as Henry George and Charles Fred Adams

The Single Tax League's so-called "peace" demonstration last night at Cooper Union was worse than a fiasco; it was almost a riot. Ostensibly called calmly to discuss and protest against President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, the denunciations of the Government by the speakers became more and more violent as the evening proceeded, until finally they reached a climax in the hot-headed utterances of Charles Fred Adams, who, losing control of himself, piled one epithet on another in characterizing the President, the Congress and the Monroe doctrine. His speech provoked loud cries of "Traitor!" "Treason!" in all parts of the hall.

The audience, three-fourths of which were vociferously in favor of President Cleveland's position, at the last became so worked up that it needed only the action of the Chairman in choking off a resolution supporting the Administration to produce a general movement toward the stage. The lights were hastily turned out. Fifty excited Americans jumped on the stage and surrounded Chairman Crosby and Henry George.

The police cleared the hail. Two hustled out Mr. Crosby. Had it not been for their prompt action on the stage and all over the great subterranean chamber, there is no telling what might have happened.

The following resolution, offered by Chauncey L Dutton, and carried by a mighty yell, as the lights began to go out, expressed the real and overwhelming sentiment of the mass meeting.

Resolved, That we, the people of New-York City, hereby declare it to be our profound conviction that the Monroe doctrine is the only guarantee of permanent peace on this continent and to our Nation.

Resolved, That we thank our President and Congress for their unanimous support of the Monroe doctrine.

Resolved, That we pledge our lives, our fortune, and our sacred honor in support or such measures as the Congress shall adopt to maintain the Monroe doctrine in its broadest sense against any and all attacks.

If Mr. Crosby and Henry George, and the Single Tax leaders had expected to fill Cooper Union last evening with persons who were in opposition to the application of the Monroe doctrine, or who would listen silently to denunciation of President Cleveland, they made the worst calculation of their lives. The hall was at first full to overflowing, but it was evident at the outset that there were three distinct elements in the evidence. First, there were the Single Taxers, who were angry with the Government, and they composed, certainly, not over one-third of the crowd. Second, there were the Americans, who were stoutly in sympathy with Congress and the Administration. They were at all times greatly in the majority. Then, also, there were those who had come mainly out of curiosity to hear speeches from such men as Henry George and the Rev. Lyman Abbott of Plymouth Church.

Among those on the stage were the Rev. Dr. Abbott, Horace White, Henry George and Mrs. George, Louis F. Post and Mrs. Post, Ernest Howard Crosby, Charles Fred Adams, Edward Lawson Purdy, ex-Assemblyman Edgar L. Ryder, Byron Holt, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance of St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church, August Lewis, the Rev. Mr. Bliss, a Christian Socialist Minister of Boston, and Robert Baker, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Single Tax League.

Conspicuous in the audience was George Francis Train. He was armed with a large pair of field glasses, and he wore a big bunch of roses on the lapel of his coat.

"Where Is the American flag?" called out a man in the audience, as Henry George came on the platform. It was nowhere to be seen. Nowhere on the platform was there a flag or a sign of a National emblem of any kind.

The temper of the meeting was shown at the very beginning, in the short speech made by E. L. Purdy, in introducing ex- Assemblyman E. H. Crosby as the Chairman.

When Mr. Purdy, in referring to President Cleveland's message, called it "an unfortunate utterance," there was a storm of hisses. Mr. Purdy appeared to be astonished. "This meeting," he said, reprovingly, "was not called for unruly persons." There was an outburst of hisses, mingled with slight handclapping.

Chairman Crosby did not improve the temper of the audience by his remarks. He characterized the war talk in and out of Congress as "an epidemic of froth and hysteria." He was hissed.

The Chairman denounced the Monroe doctrine. "It is like a European doctrine with which I became acquainted when I was In Egypt," he said. "The Monroe doctrine means that we Americans don't allow anybody to steal but us." His voice was drowned in a chorus of hisses and hoots.

"The Monroe doctrine," cried the Chairman, seeking to make himself heard above the storm, "did not prevent us from taking Texas."

"Yes, and we'll take Mexico next," came a loud cry from the audience.

"Am I telling you the truth or not?" shouted Mr. Crosby, red in the face, shaking his finger at his hearers.

"No! No!" yelled a hundred voices.

"Yes! Yes!" came fainter cries.

An elderly man of respectable appearance arose in the audience to ask a question. He was forced down by the police, who threatened to eject him.

"The beam in our own eye," continued the Chairman, "prevents from saying that England shall not steal. We –" ; the rest was drowned out by hisses.

"The Venezuelan controversy," said Mr. Crosby, "is merely an ignoble controversy of speculators over gold mines."

"Sit down! Sit down!" came from all parts of the building.

The Chairman sought to soothe the now excited audience by dwelling on the near approach of Christmas and the good feeling that should everywhere prevail.

“No religion; leave that to the ministers!” was hurled at the platform by several voices in unison.

The Chairman referred to Gen. Miles, and his suggestion to spend \$80,000,000 in defenses. This brought forth a round of cheers.

“Let us take our places with the heavenly hosts to bring about peace and good will to all men,” said Mr. Crosby, in conclusion.

“Amen!” was shouted at him in derisive voices.

Mr. Purdy read a telegram from the Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs of Brooklyn, and a letter from Bishop H. C. Potter, expressing sympathy with the purpose of the callers of the meeting. They were received in silence.

The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott was the first speaker. There was some disposition on the part of the audience to express the prevailing sentiment in the first part of the reverend doctor’s speech, but his temperate language and kind and gentle manners, and the evident universal respect in which he was held, soon prevented any further interruptions.

Dr. Abbott did not indulge in any denunciations of President Cleveland or Congress or the Monroe doctrine. He said there was no danger that Venezuela could ever menace the United States by being made the basis of British military operations. He cited the fact that Canada, a British dependency, was much closer than Venezuela. He depreciated the character of the Venezuelans, said they had never had a staple government in the last fifty years, whereas British Guiana had always had a “staple, reputable, and honorable government.” “No man,” he said, “will think the interests of humanity seriously imperiled if Venezuela loses some of her territory to British Guiana.”

There were some hisses at this point.

I am glad to hear these hisses,” said Dr. Abbott, smilingly. “Now I have some one to argue with.”

During the rest of his speech he was listened to quietly, and when near the close he stopped, smiled, and said: “Well, I seem to have converted all of you.”

Dr. Abbott said it was the workingmen’s hearts that would be ploughed by bullets in case of war. A foundry, he said, was more glorious than an armory. As he closed, a man shouted:

“Down with bloody England, the robber of the world!”

A fat man in the second row from the platform snatched his spectacles from his face, turned around, and cried, “You shut your mouth!”

Henry George was greeted with cheers, but he quickly chilled the cheers into an almost continuous hurricane of hisses. He did not refer to the single tax idea, but confined himself to an arraignment of the President and Congress.

“The thing of things I have been most afraid of,” he said, “was this war cry. You and I know the last trump of the ruling classes has always been to get up a war.”

He intimated that the ultimate use of the army and navy raised in a war in the United States would be to coerce labor by capital.

“What is this Venezuelan question?” he asked. “Is it the boundary line between British Guiana and . . .”

“Honor!” cried dozens of voices.

“How does the King come?” asked Mr. George. “Is it always by enlisting the prejudices of the people? Let England go ahead.”

“No! No!” were the cries.

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“Let England go ahead,” repeated Mr. George.

There was a brief tumult of angrily protesting voices.

“You’re wrong there,” shouted Mr. George.

“We’re right,” was the answering yell.

The Chairman tried to pacify the audience, but did not succeed.

After the excitement had subsided, Mr. George said: “Is it our business to follow England all around the world undoing her wrong doing?”

“It is in America,” cried a dozen.

“America for Americans!” went up the cry, followed by cheers.

“The people who got up this war scare are playing at politics,” shouted Mr. George, now thoroughly exasperated, stamping his foot on the platform.

“This is treason,” said a hoarse voice.

Instantly some one proposed “Three cheers for Grover Cleveland!” The cheers came from hundreds of throats.

Three cheers were next given for Secretary Olney. There were also some hisses.

Mr. George appeared to lose his bearings for a moment. He shook his finger at the audience.

“Were those cheers for Mr. Cleveland I heard a little while ago?” he asked.

“Yes,” was the mighty chorus.

“I cheered for Grover Cleveland once,” said Mr. George.

“You’ll do it again.”

“Again?” said Mr. George.

“Yes, again,” came the vociferous answer.

“No, never,” shouted the speaker.

He was hissed.

“War,” said Mr. George, “always means the subjection of the many by the few.”

“How about the American Revolution?” asked a listener.

Mr. George stopped. He was angry clear through. So was most of the audience. Hoots and hisses filled in the interval before he made answer which was, in effect, that Benjamin Franklin had publicly doubted the advisability of the Revolutionary war.

“This war cry,” said Mr. George, in closing, “is all for the purpose of carrying a Presidential election.”

Hisses against the speaker and cries of “No!” were mingled with cheers for the President.

The Rev. Mr. Bliss spoke for fifteen minutes on Christian Socialism. He was temperate, and he gave the audience a breathing spell.

Franklin Pierce, grandson of President Pierce, made a fiery speech, which served to arouse the audience once more into emphatic signs of anger and resentment.

A diversion was furnished by Antonia Molina, an excited Cuban. He had not been asked to speak, but he rushed to the front of the stage, and shouted: “Why not help the Cubans?”

Chairman Crosby, Henry George, and Mr. Purdy vainly sought to pull back Mr. Molina into a seat. This only made his excitement more vehement, and when finally Mr. Crosby advised that he be allowed to speak, he was not able to talk coherently, but could only gesticulate.

A letter of sympathy with the object of the callers of the meeting was read from the Rev. N. Herber Newton.

Charles Fred Adams was the last speaker. His talk was a violent harangue against President Cleveland, Congress and the Monroe doctrine. At first the audience, impressed perhaps by his

prodigious gestures and his incessant hopping about, were inclined to make fun. For instance, when he said he was descended from “Sam” Adams, whom everybody has heard about, there were cries of “three cheers for Sam Adams,” which were given. But when he began to accuse the President and Congress of treason, and it was seen he was very much in earnest, he was interrupted every minute by cries of “treason,” “traitor,” “scoundrel.” Men jumped up all over the ball and denounced him.

The greatest tumult came when Mr. Adams said: “If the Monroe doctrine gives ground for the present attitude of the President and Congress, then I say (here he uplifted his arm) d– President Monroe and his doctrine.”

Then there was, indeed, a great hubbub.

“Put him out!” “Sit down!” “Traitor!” “Treason!” came from every part of the hall. The police rushed into the aisles to anticipate a movement of the angry people toward the stage.

The audience gave three cheers for the Monroe doctrine.

As Mr. Adams retired, amid hisses, there were calls for George Francis Train. He refused to respond.

Chairman Crosby, through the Secretary, put a motion to appoint the speakers a committee to get the widest possible expression of opinion against President Cleveland.

Before the motion could be put Shauncey M. Dutton sprang up from the first row of seats, and, waving a paper, he cried: “Mr. Chairman. I desire to offer a resolution that will express the sense of this meeting.”

Several men who had been prowling round the rear of the platform, on the watch for such a proceeding, ran clown the steps into the hole, crying, “Put him out!” The audience was now altogether on its feet, some shouting, some cheering. There was a general movement toward the platform. Trouble seemed imminent. The police grabbed Mr. Dutton and rushed him into the ante-room. The Chairman put his own resolution. It was lost by a tremendous majority.

“The meeting is adjourned,” said the Chairman.

Instantly all but the lights on the stage was extinguished, and the police began to clear the hall. Fifty men jumped on the platform, and hard words were inter-changed, and fists were thrust under the noses of Henry George, Mr. Crosby, Robert Barker, Mr. Adams, and others identified with the meeting. Half a dozen police cleared the stage.

Hostilities were renewed on the sidewalk, but a squad of police drove everybody away. The people separated hissing, shouting, and cheering.

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Lord Salisbury, the Mischief Maker

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

One may approve of President Cleveland’s message without being a jingo. Nor, in disagreeing with it, does he need to be a jingo. Jingoism is men who so fiercely pant for war, whose patriotism is so thoroughly emotional, that they are all aflame on the slightest provocation. The fire in their hearts

consumes whatever little judgment they may have in their heads. Jingoism is those who so intensely admire their own opinions, whose dislike of dissent is so bitter, that they sling the mud of nasty insinuation against every man who does not meekly accept their conclusions. Their gall and venom destroy what little of charity may lurk in the obscure recesses of what they call their hearts.

The jingoism is now engaged in the congenial occupation of misrepresenting the President's motives, because as a patriotic ruler he has dared in the face of a great crisis to uphold our traditions, that the Monroe doctrine means that while the powers of Europe, the world's land thieves, may, so far as we are concerned, steal and carve up for themselves Africa, Asia, and the islands of foreign seas, may use their hypocritical pretense of sympathy for suffering Armenians as a pretext for dividing the Sultan's dominions, they shall when casting their greedy eyes upon and turning their predatory footsteps to the American continent be met by the fiat of the United States: Thus far and no further. "It is to the interest of this Nation, as the original and foremost champion of republican forms of government, to defend all American republics in their rights, but not in their wrongs." By that principle we have lived, for that principle we will fight.

We have seen English troops occupying the port of Corinto in order to exact just retribution for a wrong committed by an American republic, and we have properly remained silent. We have seen Spanish troops trying to quell a rebellion in an island lying almost within our own coast line, and although it was to our interests to have that rebellion succeed, we have honorably refrained from giving it the succor which would have insured success. But when we behold the English Government charged with a fraudulent attempt to crowd a weak American republic out of territory it has long claimed, our President speaks in no uncertain tones: Thus far and no further, until we examine into the facts, to the end that if the weaker nation is in the right we may defend it, and if in the wrong, we may leave it to shift for itself.

With an amusing obtuseness—or is it by intentional misrepresentation?—the jingoism and the slingoism have missed the point of the controversy. It was that English jingo, Lord Salisbury, not Mr. Cleveland, who shot "the bolt from the blue" By a special letter, so written that his position might have the greater emphasis from standing by itself, thus brought out in bold relief, which it would not be if hidden away in another document, he presented to our astonished gaze in a most cynical, contemptuous way the alternative of abandoning the Monroe doctrine or undergoing England's ill-will. He had the jaunty arrogance to notify Mr. Cleveland directly that while England had once approved the Monroe doctrine, she now withdrew that approval. Times had changed; it had become obsolete; she would no longer recognize it. It was he, not in an address to his own country, but in a message to our Government, who in the silken language of a wily diplomacy, tendered us the issue of war. He, this English jingo, virtually said to be a ruler who in the Hawaiian difficulty as well as in those above mentioned, had shown his love of justice and of peace: If you wish to maintain your vaunted Monroe doctrine you must fight.

Now, it may well be a fair question for argument whether the Monroe doctrine has become obsolete, or whether it is for all time. But I fancy we will not give it up until that matter has been fairly argued among us. Certainly we will not tamely surrender upon England's dictation. When it was put forth, an English Minister, Canning, claimed to have begot it. If after seventy years, we now withdraw it, another English Minister will boast that he strangled it!

President Cleveland, instead of answering this haughty defiance, quietly transmits it to Congress, with a message, which is temperate in tone, dignified in manner, guarded in matter, entirely impartial, and asks Congress to take measures to ascertain the facts out of which the dispute between the strong and the weak nation has arisen, so that we may see what final stand an enlightened self-

interest requires us to take. England responds as the bully always does, by saying we are doing the pushing!

There is not one word in the message from first to last, which takes sides with Venezuela against England, nothing which prejudices the merits of their dispute. Lord Salisbury assails the Monroe doctrine and Mr. Cleveland declines to abandon it. It were well, after the hubbub of last week, if the jingoes and the slingoes would read that message again. It might quiet their heated souls.

JOHN BROOKS LEAVITT  
New-York, Forefathers' Day, Dec. 22. 1895

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#### LORD SALISBURY ASSENTS TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The London News, on "sober second thought," concludes that the American Venezuela commission "may be positively useful" in supplying us better information about the Venezuela boundary.

Quite likely. It is to be appointed for that purpose. But what will be the course of her Majesty's Ministers if the commission shall report, on evidence submitted, that the territory in dispute is wholly or in large part Venezuela's?

We do not think they will venture to disregard the finding. In his letter in reply to Secretary Olney's dispatch of July 20, Lord Salisbury wrote:

"Her Majesty's Government . . . fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change."

That is an admission of great importance. It will long be remembered that an English Prime Minister has declared that a violation of the Monroe doctrine by a European State would be "highly inexpedient."

We think so, too.

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#### No War Expected—or Feared

From The Raleigh News and Observer (N.C.) (Dem.)

Serious as is the situation, we do not believe these two great peoples, common in origin, language, laws, and customs—foremost in the march of civilization and mightiest of all nations—

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will in the broad light of the nineteenth century, fight over a beggarly plot of land in which, it has been said, there is not room enough to bury the slain.

The masses of the people do not want war, and most reluctantly will support a war waged over interests so remote from our own. They will support their Government, but they will demand that it proceed slowly, and make ever sacrifice for peace consistent with an enlightened sense of national dignity.

But let it be understood, once for all, that this Government has firmly set up the time-honored contention that the extension of European sovereignty in the two Americas cannot be tolerated by the United States, and that, therefore, claims to territory in this hemisphere, advanced by any European nation, which are disputed, must be submitted to arbitration. If Great Britain continues to scoff at this doctrine and still firmly refuses to submit her claims to arbitration, then there will undoubtedly be war.

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No Occasion for War

From The Sioux City Tribune, (Iowa), (Dem.)

The world has come to accept the refusal to arbitrate as evidence that the nation so refusing is in the wrong, and hence, should Great Britain conclude to defy the United States and undertake arbitrarily to establish a new boundary line between Guiana and Venezuela, she would outrage the sense of justice of every nation. There will be no war, because there is no occasion for war.

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NO SURRENDER OF PRINCIPLE

The President's Position Will Be Courageously Sustained

From The Salt Lake City Herald (Dem.)

The New-York World declares the message to be a blunder because it is not sustained by international law; because it puts the United States in a false position; because its assumption is absurd. That tone might do for the English press, but it by no means reflects the spirit of the American people, nor is it justified by anything that appears either in the message of the Chief Executive or the correspondence of Secretary Olney.

This country is confronted with the question as to whether it will maintain or surrender the Monroe doctrine—a doctrine which is supposed to have shaped the foreign policy of our Government for seventy years of our National life. To yield to the bluster of England in this controversy means to surrender the Monroe doctrine, and that the people of America are not

prepared to do. They would repudiate the Administration that would recommend it; and that man or paper that counsels it the people will set down as more English than American.

We have asked for nothing but what is right, we will submit to nothing wrong, is the spirit of President Cleveland's message to Congress on the subject of the Venezuelan controversy, and the people of the United States, without regard to party affiliation, will sustain the President in the stand he has taken.

It has only demanded that the boundary-line dispute be submitted to arbitration, a proposition which England rejects. Very well, then the United States Government, if it follows the courageous recommendations of President Cleveland—and we are of opinion it will—will take steps to ascertain for itself where the boundary line should run. It may be that the commission of examination asked for by the President would find that all the territory claimed by England rightfully belongs to her; if so it would be for England to enforce her rights. But if the commission should find that England is seeking to extend her frontiers and thus enlarge her possessions in America in violation of the Monroe doctrine, the duty of the United States would be perfectly clear—it would be to maintain the Monroe doctrine.

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No Politics in This Controversy

From The Butte Inter-Mountain (Mon.) (Rep.)

There is no politics in this controversy between this country and Great Britain over the Venezuela imbroglio. It is a matter in which all true Americans, regardless of political affiliations, stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of their country's rights, their country's integrity, and their country's honor. It is a matter in which every American forgets or ignores politics and remembers only that he is an American, not only in name but in all the name implies. The President's message appeals directly to the sympathies, the sense of justice, and the patriotism of the whole American people. It is couched in unmistakably direct and firm, yet dignified, language. It is not possible for Great Britain to misunderstand or misinterpret its meaning. The message is in the nature of an ultimatum from this Government. It emphasizes the determination of the Administration to adhere to the principle embodied in the Monroe doctrine. It is hardly with the range of possibilities that Great Britain will try conclusions with this country at the point of the sword over this matter. She has too much at stake in Ireland and Canada, to enter into war with the United States. Great Britain can afford to make a stalwart bluff; this Government cannot afford to set aside the Monroe doctrine. It is vital to its existence. For once Cleveland is right. Congress is all right, and the American people are always eminently right. For these reasons and others given we cannot believe a war with Great Britain is possible.

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### Opposition to the United States in the United States

From The Brooklyn Eagle of Yesterday

For eighty years England has refused to Venezuela an arbitration of the boundary dispute between them. For nearly half that time England has refused such arbitration, on the suggestion of the United States. In that time the boundary claim, or encroachment of Great Britain upon Venezuela, has advanced from a strip about the size of Rhode Island, to a section as large as five of the six New-England States. If this has been right, arbitration would show it. If it has been wrong, arbitration would show that. A refusal of arbitration creates the presumption that recourse to arbitration would not show the rightfulness of progressive encroachment.

Arbitration refused, the facts still remain to be ascertained. If there is any other way to ascertain them than by investigation that other way has not been disclosed. The President has asked for authority to order such an investigation. Every member of the House of Representatives and every member of the United States Senate has voted for a bill appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of such an investigation by men to be appointed by the President. The appointment of these men is under consideration. This action is the action of the Government, if any action in this world ever was. It must be held to be the action of the people, and the unanimous action of the people, for they act through their representatives, and their representatives have unanimously taken this action. Investigation has been ordered by law. Opposition to it is opposition to law. It has been ordered by the law of the United States. Opposition to it is opposition to the United States. In our civil strife that was called disloyalty. Possibly the definition was incorrect. If, however, the definition was true then, it has not become false now, because now the men who practice it were then the men who stigmatized it.

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### STAND BY THE PRESIDENT

This Is the Imperative Duty Which Confronts the American People

From The Boston Journal, (Rep.)

The Boston Stock Exchange, on consideration, has determined to proceed deliberately, and to take no action calculated to embarrass the President, and the meeting which a few members of the New-York Chamber of Commerce desired to call to obstruct his course has been indefinitely abandoned. After the first flurry, it is being recognized on all hands that it is the imperative duty of the entire Nation to stand by the President and Congress. That is the wisest and safest policy so far as the country's great financial interests are concerned, and it is the wisest and safest policy, too, as regards the present controversy with Great Britain. Anything which is calculated to weaken our own

Government in this case inevitably tends to make a peaceful and satisfactory outcome more doubtful.

In the meantime President Cleveland appeals to Congress for definite authority to make another issue of bonds. The pestilent Populists, who are the only declared opponents of his Venezuelan message in Washington, are disposed to fight this other proposition also. Anything which weakens the President strengthens them and indirectly promotes all their financial and economic lunacies. The sagacious business men of the North and East have come to see this, and that is one reason why the President has met, and will meet, with no important opposition from New-York or New-England.

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### Support the President—No Back Down

From The Evening Sun of Yesterday

President Roosevelt of the Police Board said, regarding the President's message on the Venezuelan question:

"I cannot too heartily praise the admirable message of President Cleveland. He and Secretary Olney deserve the utmost credit. I am delighted that the House and Senate rose to the level of the occasion and acted in a spirit of broadminded patriotism.

"The essence of the Monroe doctrine is that the European powers shall not be permitted to increase their territories on American soil at the expense of independent American States. Great Britain is now seeking to do this very thing at the expense of Venezuela, and we could not submit to it without loss of National self respect.

"People talk of relying upon England's honor and fairmindedness as a sufficient guarantee that she will not wrong Venezuela. I have never shared the popular dislike of England but I have also never shared in those delusions about her which, though not popular, are in some quarters fashionable. England never lets a consideration of abstract right or morality interfere with the chance for her national aggrandizement or mercantile gain.

"I earnestly hope that neither the Chamber of Commerce nor any other body of reputable citizens will do anything that can even be construed into a failure to support to the fullest extent the American side of the pending question. And I would like to say right here that the talk of British fleets ransoming American cities is too foolish to me for serious consideration. American cities may possibly be bombarded, but no ransom will be paid for them.

"I hope there will be no backdown. We should stand right up to the position we have taken. No consideration, personal, political, or financial, should influence any of our people. We should stand right behind the President and Congress, and demand that the position we have assumed shall be kept at all hazards. We earnestly hope that there will be no war, but far worse than any war would be a peace purchased at the cost of any loss of National self-respect."

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PRAISE FOR THE MESSAGE  
Tammany Hall Committee Indorses the President's Action  
SUPPORT FOR THE NATION'S CHIEF  
Speeches by County Clerk Purroy, Senator-elect Grady, and Others

President Cleveland's message to Congress on the Venezuelan question was indorsed last night by the Tammany Committee on Organization at its meeting, held in the Wigwam. The attendance was large, and the meeting, which was called to adopt the call for the primaries, was given over for the most part to patriotic speeches.

County Clerk Henry D. Purroy presided and John B. McGoldrick and William H. McDonough acted as Secretaries. After the minutes were read, Mr. Purroy said that as he had a resolution to offer, he would ask Vice Chairman George W. Plunkitt to take the chair, Mr. Plunkitt did so, and Mr. Purroy, taking the floor, said that, although it might be out of order, he desired consideration of a matter that was now deeply agitating the public—President Cleveland's recent message—and he asked that a special committee of five be at once appointed to prepare a resolution upon it. This was carried unanimously, and Mr. Purroy, ex-City Chamberlain T. C. T. Crain, William E. Stillings, Charles F. Allen, and William Sohmer were named on the committee.

This committee lost no time in reporting the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Democratic-Republican organization of the City and County of New-York hereby expresses its full approval of the well-considered, statesmanlike, and patriotic message of the President of the United States on the Venezuelan boundary question, and, speaking on behalf of the majority of the citizens of this metropolis, it pledges to him, as the trusted chief of a united nation, a most loyal and unwavering support.

This resolution was read by Mr. Purroy, and was received with great enthusiasm. Mr. Purroy, in moving the adoption of the resolution, said:

“The fearless maintenance of the great principle which more than seventy years ago was first proclaimed by President Monroe, and which last week was again enunciated by President Cleveland with a force which has since echoed and re-echoed throughout the world, must necessarily be of the most absorbing interest to every American citizen who is worthy of the name.

“Stripped of all unnecessary verbiage, and apart from all quibbling distinctions, the Monroe doctrine, in the minds of a vast majority of our people, has for years assumed the full meaning of a National declaration that no European power shall ever be permitted to increase, by force or usurpation, its present possessions in America.

“I know full well that some newspapers and certain distinguished representatives of trade, have warmly disputed this interpretation; but, on the other hand, our President and our Secretary of State, our House of Representatives, and our Senate, have deliberately proclaimed that such is its true meaning, and in doing so, their action has struck a responsive chord in the great heart of the American people, and has evoked a spontaneous, and almost unanimous, approval.

“If the true meaning of the Monroe doctrine be as heretofore stated, then there never was a case which came more clearly and fairly within its purview than does the English-Venezuelan controversy, and if this doctrine be as important as we have often declared it, and if, therefore, our

National honor demand that we uphold it at any cost, would it not be most pusillanimous on our part, while enforcing it unhesitatingly against a feeble neighbor, to shift and falter the first time it brings us face to face with a great power, our supposed equal in strength and influence?

“This Venezuelan question has for me personally a peculiar interest, because, more than forty years ago, my father represented in this city a number of the South American republics, and largely influenced, perhaps, by this fact, I have always given to the affairs of Spanish America and their relation to the affairs of the United States more than ordinary attention, and latterly have tried, by all means at my command, to fully learn the merits of this boundary quarrel.

“I shall not attempt, to-night, to discuss at any length the facts bearing upon it, because to my mind they have been set forth most clearly in the very able and logical letter of our Secretary of State, but I do desire to summarize my own opinion in the brief statement that the record conclusively shows that England’s conduct in this whole matter especially in refusing to submit her claims to just arbitration, is only one more example of that rapacious greed of power which, throughout her whole history, has repeatedly led her to unscrupulously encroach upon and usurp the possessions of weaker States, and which has justly won for her the title of ‘the robber nation of the world.’

“Apart from the protecting presence of the United States, South America presents to European avarice a most tempting field for invasion—an immense territory, nearly one-fourth of the whole globe in size, already occupied in part by European colonies, poorly guarded, comparatively sparsely populated, and richer, perhaps, in unexplored mineral wealth than any other similarly situated section of the world. Do we wish to see repeated on American soil the shameful duplicities and atrocities which disgraced humanity during the progress of the English thefts of India and Africa? If we do not, then let us not stand by now, idly and silently, while the first step in that direction is being deliberately taken, but let us speak out so plainly and so forcibly that our heartfelt and indignant protest shall suffice for all future time.

“Mr. Chairman, some critics assert that President Cleveland, by his recent message, has made fearfully imminent what may be a most shocking and disastrous war. I do not agree with them. I am no worshipper of Mr. Cleveland, but I sincerely believe that by his well-considered and patriotic declaration he has for the first time opened full wide the eyes of Europe to our unalterable determination to protect, at any cost, American soil from European usurpation, and I am convinced that in so doing he has, by one well-directed stroke, accomplished far more toward averting war with Great Britain than could ever be attained by all the silly talk about mere imaginary kinship and brotherly love.

“Mr. Chairman, the prospects of war growing out of the President’s message are not at all alarming. Every sensible man deprecates and dreads war, for he well knows the desolation and horrors which follow in its wake. But if, to preserve the Nation’s life and honor, it become necessary to arm her loyal sons, it may not be amiss for us at this time, when so much is being said about Anglo-Saxon unity, to let it be proclaimed that, ready to respond to the first call of duty, there are hundreds of thousands of sturdy American citizens who will not be hampered ever so little by any kinship with England; but who, on the contrary, while gladly serving the country which they love better than their lives, will also see before them a golden opportunity to help to wipe out a debt which they owe their forefathers—a debt involving centuries of spoliation, misgovernment, and cruelty—a debt which Lally and Dillon only partly paid upon the field of Fontenoy.”

Mr. Purroy’s address was frequently interrupted by cheering and hand clapping, and when he had concluded half a dozen men were on the floor demanding the recognition of the Chair. Mr. Plunkitt

recognized Senator-elect Thomas F. Grady, who spoke on the resolutions in a way that set the braves of the wigwam cheering and yelling with enthusiasm.

At the outset Mr. Grady got a shot at the so-called peace meeting at the Cooper Union by saying that it “is eminently fitting that, while in another hall an audience made up of the peace-at-any-cost class of citizens is repudiating the patriotic action of the President, here, in the oldest Democratic institution in the county—in the temple where the fire has been kept burning upon the altar of liberty for 106 years—we should indorse his patriotic message.”

Mr. Grady then eulogized American citizenship and wound up this portion of his address with the declaration that “we should not claim to be American citizens unless we are ready to take such action as may be necessary to preserve our National honor.” At this the committee was aroused to high pitch of enthusiasm. This was also the case when Mr. Grady spoke of this country as a Nation of almost 70,000,000 people, “peaceable and at peace with all the world until our National honor is affronted.”

Lord Salisbury, he said, had declared that the Venezuelan question was no concern of ours. “Lord Salisbury’s predecessors many years ago held a similar opinion as to certain other things relating to this country,” he said.

“That eminent humorist who mixes railroad management with political ambition can see nothing in this great message but an electioneering dodge,” said Mr. Grady.

“Yet the Congress of the United States, as one man, has sustained it. The people of this splendid federation of States have sustained it. I am not one bit afraid of its being an electioneering dodge. It was time to awaken the American spirit. Salisbury’s letter was nothing but a challenge to Americans to defend the doctrine that was first enunciated by President Monroe, and as such it will be accepted by this great Nation. The President’s message, for the first time, has notified England of the rights of this country, and of the firm intention of the people to maintain them in this generation.”

Congressman William Sulzer got the floor next, and declared that the people who were meeting in Cooper Institute were Tories.

“There were Tories in 1776; there were Tories in 1812, and of course there must be Tories in this country now.”

Mr. Sulzer proceeded to tell of the enthusiastic manner in which the President’s message was received in Congress, and made a long speech on the various features of the dispute. He was frequently interrupted by applause.

Ex-City Chamberlain Crain moved that a committee of five be appointed to report a resolution indorsing the President to the meeting of the General Committee on Friday night.

The Chair held that this was out of order for the time being, and Augustus W. Peters then moved the adoption of the resolution, and it was carried with a great chorus of “ayes.” There was not a single “no.”

Mr. Crain then renewed his motion and it was carried. Ex-Police Commissioner James J. Martin moved that the committee be the same as that which reported the resolution last night. This was agreed to.

The action taken at last night’s meeting of the Committee on Organization was arranged for at yesterday afternoon’s meeting of the Tammany Executive Committee. . .

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Peace, but Stand by the Monroe Doctrine

From The Independent

We have peace with England; we expect to maintain it. We are not beyond the province of diplomacy. England has given us no ultimatum, nor has she given Venezuela an ultimatum. It is not cowardly on our part to refuse to precipitate a conflict. It is moral cowardice not to persist in peaceful negotiations.

We do not propose abject surrender. We propose to stand by the Monroe doctrine. England gave her cordial assent to it once; why not again?

Lord Salisbury, in his last note, intimates a possible way out of the present dilemma. He says that when Venezuela's internal politics become more settled, the British Government may be able to adopt a more conciliatory course toward her. Here is an opportunity for England to come out of the affair with honor. She has said she would not agree to our proposition for arbitration; she has not said she will not try to arrange the difficulty amicably with Venezuela. Let us have faith that honorable peace will be secured, and let the hotheads on both sides of the Atlantic, who are conjuring up the spectre of war be treated as chattering magpies.

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SENSIBLE ENGLISH COMMENT

London Newspapers Show Fairness in Discussing the Venezuelan Matter

LONDON, Dec. 23.—The Pall Mall Gazette to-day prints an article in reference to the relations between Great Britain and the United States, in which it says:

We are still friends or the Americans, and as the excitement ebbs the tide of sense returns. It is for every English influence to spread calmer thoughts and build a golden bridge by which the former kindness may return.

The Westminster Gazette, under the caption, "Thank Goodness for the Holidays," protests against the inflammatory opinions published by the press, which, it says, "are breeding bad blood between England and America, and making thoughts of war familiar to the peaceably inclined."

"There is plenty of room" declares The Gazette, "for common sense to be exercised in England, as well as in the United States. It ought to be recognized that Americans have a warm attachment for the Monroe doctrine and that there is a good deal of reason on their side."

The Chronicle will say to-morrow:

If the commission is composed of men like Messrs. Phelps, White, and Edmunds, it must command respect, apart from its irregular origin. It would, in that case, occur to Lord Salisbury that some further proposal from him would be expedient, indeed necessary. This is not an instance where the diplomatic door can be closed with a bang.

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In its issue to-morrow *The Standard* will reargue the British position on the Venezuelan question. It predicts that American common-sense eventually will adopt its view, and says it may be presumed that the President will appoint as members of the commission men whose opinions are entitled to the respect of Englishmen, even though it may be impossible to admit their competence to pronounce a binding judgment on contested facts.

The *Daily News* will discuss to-morrow the prospective labors of the Venezuelan High Commission. It will say:

The commission, of course, will not invite communications from Great Britain, but should Ambassador Bayard require further information tending to elucidate our case, we feel sure that it will not be withheld. This country has never for a moment thought of pleading before the commission, but it cannot condescend either to our dignity or interests to leave the commission in the dark respecting the facts on which we base our demand. It probably will be found that the British dispatches to Washington will furnish all the information required. Should they fail to present our case completely, Mr. Bayard may very probably ask for further information on his own account. This will probably be freely and courteously supplied.

The paper again dilates upon the return of moderation in America, and says: “The community has righted itself from unwisdom in a day and a night. We may all be proud of this. Assuredly no other race in the world would or could have performed the feat in the same time. We must be careful to guard against all language calculated to provoke reaction.”

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THERE WILL BE NO WAR  
But the Country Will Prepare Itself to Meet One When It Comes

CONCORD, N. H., Dec. 23.—Senator Gallinger returned from Washington this morning, and will spend the holidays at his home in this city. When questioned about the probable outcome of the present difficulty between this country and England over the Venezuelan boundary line, he said:

“There will be no war between this country and England, because the people of neither country would sanction such an extreme measure, and I am confident that when England has played her game of bluff to the limit, an amicable understanding will be reached between that country and the South American republic. Congress is behind President Cleveland in this matter, and I believe the American people will sustain the position he has taken to a man.

“The effect of the President’s message is bound to work good for the country. The true American spirit has been aroused to such an extent that the military defense of the country will, I am sure, now be placed in such condition that when such demands are made on foreign countries, we shall have the guns and men to back them up. We have gone on the theory that we can whip anything in sight too long. The present crisis has brought us to a full realization of our needs in this direction. Should war come, incalculable damage could be done before we could get ready to meet an enemy on an equal footing. In the present temper I think Congress will be very liberal in the matter of appropriations for military purposes. Further, I think it will awaken the American people

to the necessity of securing various strategic points both in the Atlantic and Pacific, in order to make the country absolutely safe from foreign attack.

“The gist of the whole matter in a nutshell is this: Neither Congress nor the American people desire war with England or any other country, but the time has come for them to assert their position and to maintain it against all odds. If peace can be maintained with honor, all right; if it cannot, war is the only alternative.”

In regard to the currency question, the Senator said that Congress would pass bills increasing tariff on various articles in order to obtain more money for the Treasury, but beyond that nothing could be done, as the free-silver element in the Senate would prevent any action looking to the issuance of short-term bonds or bonds of any other character.

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THERE IS NO “PANIC” HERE  
Wall Street Is Not America, and the People Are with the President

From The Washington Post, (Ind.)

The people in the country at large are not likely to be affected by the lamentations of Wall Street or to recognize in a panic on the stock market any real disaster to our domestic industries. The country will not be frightened into submission to England’s arrogant pretensions because a few speculators are forced to the wall by a flurry in gambling circles. If foreigners choose to get alarmed over the situation, and to send their stocks and bonds to New-York for sale at a loss, that is no concern of the American people. The fact does not mean that the railroads, mines, and manufactories upon which these stocks and bonds are based have lost their earning powers, and that is the only question with which we need concern ourselves. The whole aim and purpose of this unloading of American securities by foreign holders is to frighten or dissuade us from the course we have marked out for ourselves.

The President has touched a patriotic chord, and the American people have responded with instant and harmonious enthusiasm. The whole Nation is behind him. What is needed, and what the President, no doubt, wants, is a retirement of the Treasury demand notes and the substitution for them of a currency equal in volume and in value, but divested of that prerogative which at present constitutes our greatest peril and embarrassment. This is not beyond the reach of immediate achievement.

Unquestionably some legislation of this kind is imperative. Unquestionably it is the solemn duty of Congress to address itself to that task in a spirit of patriotic statesmanship. It is evident that Europe is now endeavoring to divert the United States from its present purpose, and that Europe has her allies in all the great American markets. The usurer and the money changer know neither creed nor nationality.

At all times and in all places either is a man without a country, who knows only the god or avarice. It behooves us, therefore, as a people, to protect ourselves, to place our Treasury beyond

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the reach of any foe, to erect financial bulwarks against which neither the avowed foe nor the disguised traitor may prevail. This we can do. This the President asks us to do.

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THE RESPONSE OF THE PEOPLE  
It Was Prompt, General, and Enthusiastic

From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat (Rep.)

The response to President Cleveland's vigorous and straightforward assertion of the Monroe doctrine in the Venezuela case was prompt, general, and enthusiastic. In a certain sense, the message was a surprise, but it was not that form of the unexpected which confuses the public mind and provokes discord and controversy. The people were prepared for it, and it suited their mood of thought and feeling upon the subject. It aroused their spirit as American citizens like a match touched to gunpowder. In an instant all divisions in the way of political opinion and association were suspended and forgotten, and the sentiment of patriotism took possession of the situation. Republicans and Democrats alike discarded their party badges and ceased to recognize any emblem but the flag of the country. Congress did not stop to discuss the matter or to observe unnecessary parliamentary formalities, but brushed aside all minor circumstances and went directly to the main point of indorsing the message and giving notice of unanimous resolution to stand by it without compromise or equivocation. There were those, to be sure, who suggested the propriety of a little more deliberation in an affair of so much importance, but they did not press that view very strongly, and it readily passed out of sight in obedience to the prevailing idea that nothing should be done that could be construed as implying the least doubt about the determination to resist the claims of England at all hazards.

It has seldom, it ever, before happened in our history that a proposition involving the possibility of war has been so quickly accepted and applauded by all parties and all classes. There is something very inspiring in such a demonstration, and the significance of it is not to be mistaken. It means that the spirit of the people, which is the strength of republican government, can be depended upon to manifest itself in a spontaneous and decisive way when any vital principle or interest of our political system is menaced by another nation. This potent force is not strikingly in evidence when the conditions are pacific and things are moving smoothly; but the moment that a threat is made against the institutions or the rights of the country as a country, it becomes a vivid and tremendous fact.

The people are not simply given over to a passing influence of excitement. They are moved by an impulse of patriotism that is fundamental and invincible; and if England is wise, she will not fail to see that her best policy is to avoid rather than to invite the test of military collision.

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THE PRESIDENT'S COURSE WISE  
We Should Ascertain the Right and Then Maintain it

From the Seattle (Washington) Post-Intelligencer, (Rep.)

The course suggested by the President is wise. The first step is to assure ourselves that we are in the right. Knowing our rights, we must maintain them. The selection of the members of the proposed commission calls for extreme care. Their duty will be of a judicial nature, and the consequences of their decision involve such vast interests that no suspicion of partiality should taint their conclusions. They will be placed in a most delicate and trying position. A decision in favor of England, just as it may be, would subject them to a momentary unpopularity which they should be strong enough and great enough to bear. Already, and not without cause, the policy of England in the matter of the Venezuela boundary has aroused the untrusting watchfulness of the United States, and it will be no easy matter for Americans with the most immaculate integrity to entirely divest themselves of a predisposition against British claims.

The difficulty is the greater as the English side of the case will not be presented as will that of Venezuela. The republic will no doubt be represented before the inquisitorial body by fervidly patriotic advocates. England will be represented only by such documents and maps as the commission can have ready access to, unless England becomes impressed with the grim earnestness of the American people, and finds diplomatic means of furnishing to the commission testimony now confined in the archives of the Foreign Office.

We hope, and we believe, that the question will be settled without bloodshed, but it must be settled with a full recognition of the great American doctrine which Great Britain, when it suited her, so heartily commended.

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THE PEOPLE ARE A UNIT  
Not on European Consent, but on Our Will, Rests the Monroe Doctrine

From The Denver News, (Ind.)

Since England has declined to settle the question by arbitration, President Cleveland, that this country may have a safe basis to act from, asks Congress to make an appropriation for the expenses of a commission which shall make the necessary investigation to determine the true divisional line between the two countries. This he holds to be necessary, as a justification for saying to Great Britain that it must not set a hostile foot upon Venezuelan territory, and that it must confine its operations to its own country, with the line thus determined as the boundary. It was necessary to an effective enforcement of the rights of this country under the Monroe doctrine that some such

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course be pursued, and it seems that the one proposed is, under all the conditions, the safest and most just that could be devised.

The effort of Lord Salisbury to show that the Monroe doctrine has never been recognized as a part of the international code is not pertinent to the controversy. Neither the President nor Secretary Olney seriously maintains that it has. They place their right to insist upon its observance upon a broader and safer foundation than the acquiescence of a congress of European Governments in its justice. It is that its enforcement is important to the peace and safety of this Nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions.

Whether Europe wishes to recognize it as binding upon it or not, the United States says it must recognize it. Let Europe understand that in excluding it and its institutions from encroachments upon the Western Hemisphere the people of the United States are a unit.

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VENEZUELA AND ARMENIA  
Poet Watson Issues an Appeal to the Americans

LONDON, Dec. 23.—William Watson, who, many persons imagine, will be appointed Poet Laureate as Lord Tennyson's successor, has published the following poetic appeal to the United States in reference to the situation arising from the message to Congress of President Cleveland in regard to the Venezuelan affair:

O, towering daughter. Titan of the West!  
Behind a thousand leagues of foam secure;  
Thou toward whom our inmost heart is pure  
Of ill intent, although thou threatenest  
With most unfilial hand thy mother's breast:  
Not far one breathing space may earth endure  
The thought of wars intolerable cure  
For such vague pains as vex to-day thy breast.  
But if thou hast more strength than thou canst spend  
In tasks of peace, and findest her yoke too tame,  
Help us to smite the cruel, to befriend  
The succorless and put the false to shame.  
So shall the ages laud thee, and thy name  
Be lovely among nations to the end.

The Westminster Gazette says, this afternoon, it fears the poet's appeal to America comes too late. "There was a time" says the Gazette, "when Cobden's dream of America's effective help for the Armenians might have been fulfilled, but now President Cleveland has created just that diversion upon which the Sultan has been counting all along."

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CONDEMN “PEACE” MEETING  
What Citizens Say of the Cooper Union Gathering  
ALL SUSTAIN PRESIDENT CLEVELAND  
Opinions of Frederic R. Coudert, Gen. B. F. Tracy,  
Gen. Martin T. McMahon, and Others  
MUST MAINTAIN OUR SELF-RESPECT  
The Monroe Doctrine for the Protection of the United States,  
Not of South America

The, so-called peace demonstration of the Single Tax League in Cooper Union Monday evening to protest against the President’s Venezuelan message, which resulted, contrary to the expectation of Henry George, Charles Frederic Adams, and other speakers, in an unrestrainable outburst of enthusiasm for the Chief Executive, was severely criticised by leading business and professional men of the city yesterday.

Reporters for *The New-York Times* who interviewed a number of citizens secured ample proof that such a meeting is considered to have been unpatriotic and unfortunate. Some of the opinions are herewith given.

What Frederic R. Coudert Said

Frederic R. Coudert replied vigorously when asked what he thought of the matter. He said:

“I consider it most unfortunate that such a thing happened. It was ill advised and unwise as well as unpatriotic. No matter what the views of these men may be with regard to the Venezuelan message, they should not have forgotten that just now the eyes of Europe and of all the world are upon us.

“They might have known, one would think, that, with the great majority in the city against them, the result of the meeting could only have been what it was.

It there is any result to such a meeting, what is it to be? Why, simply to encourage Great Britain not to yield to any reasonable concession that she might otherwise consider right. These ‘peace’ meetings can have no other effect. They cannot move the great body of New-York opinion.

“Do they consider what it is that we desire? It is not war that we desire, but simply that the question of a boundary line should be settled by arbitration.

“Of all questions requiring careful settlement by arbitration, this surely is one of the first. It is right in line with the spirit of civilization of this nineteenth century.

“President Cleveland’s war talk – threatening war talk, if you like—was only used after eight or ten years’ earnest endeavor to have the matter peaceably settled.”

Gen. Martin T. McMahon

Gen. Martin T. McMahon, who was United States Consul to Paraguay during the Administration of Andrew Johnson, denounced the so-called “peace”, meeting, which, he said should have been named a “war” meeting. He said:

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“If anything is likely to bring about hostilities it is just such demonstrations, which, though childish enough in themselves, might be responsible for dire results.

‘It was evidently the aim of those people to give out the impression that the United States is not a unit in support of President Cleveland’s action in the Venezuelan matter, whereas we know here in this country at least that every American citizen, irrespective of politics or creed, is only too glad to be numbered with the vast majority who think Mr. Cleveland did just right.

“Mainly through the utterances of Chauncey Depew and a few other persons the British have got the idea into their heads that we are fooling over here, and that Mr. Cleveland is playing to the galleries for political following. The English, however, have misinterpreted Mr. Depew’s language. When he said Mr. Cleveland had done an excellent thing for himself and his party he was not disparaging his action any, but simply making a remark which would apply to a just and patriotic step made by any politician.

#### No One Impugns the President’s Motive

“It certainly was a good thing for the Democratic Party, but few persons will be so foolish or ignorant as to impute to Grover Cleveland what we might call the crime of creating popularity at the expense of his country. He is not that kind of a man.

“The demonstration last night fell flat. Every one of these vapid protests meet a similar fate. I am sure. Some gentlemen who are unpatriotic enough to denounce the Monroe doctrine, I perceive, are trying to make capital on the score that Venezuela will concede the disputed land to Great Britain, in which case we will be left high and dry, a laughing stock for the world. Well, they are greatly mistaken.

“The Monroe doctrine was originated for our protection. That of the South American States is secondary.

“As a matter of self-defense, we are to regard the encroachments of any foreign power on this hemisphere as an ‘unfriendly act’ If Venezuela says that the claim of the British is right and that the boundary line is the correct one, we have nothing more to do.

“But if England coddles her into ceding over the land in question the United States will step in and say ‘Hands off’ It is a question of self-defense and nothing else.

“The Monroe doctrine was promulgated in order that we, like the European nations, would not be compelled to have a balance of power; to maintain great navies and armies, and to engage in wars several times a century. It does not come to us by natural right probably, and it might not stand before an international tribunal, but it suits us. It is our simple method of keeping out of trouble and defending ourselves, and we will support it with the sword it necessary. We would not allow Spain to sell Cuba to England or Russia and we will not allow Venezuela to cede territory to England, even if she wants to. This is a phase of the question which seems to have received little consideration.

#### Will Be Settled Peacefully

“That the matter will be settled peacefully I have little doubt. England will fix it up some way. The tone of her press is already changing, and she realizes that war would be fatal to her. The fact that a commission is to be appointed does not mean war.

Even should the commission decide that England is in the wrong about her boundary line, war will not follow. In this event, I think it probable that she will submit to the opinion of the Commissioners, who will be the most capable men to be found

“Whatever else comes out of the affair, it will result in giving an impetus to American commerce such as she has never received before.

“I spent a long time in South America, and while Consul in Paraguay, had many talks with Mr. Seward, who was one of the first to recognize the advantage of commerce with South America. Heretofore, most of the trading has been conducted by Europe. This is all wrong.

“South America is the richest country in natural resources on the globe. It is the coming country. With it we could do without the Old World entirely. We are the great producers of the world, and it is now given to us to start up a commerce with South America that will make us the most powerful nation on the globe. This is what the States in South America want to see.

“They would not be jealous of us, for they know that we would not encroach one hair’s breadth on their territory, and would protect then.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

“This war scare has opened up the whole country to us. They now look upon us as their natural protector, and to us they will look for all future arbitration, and be content with our decision. This, to me, is the real meaning of the Venezuelan question and the war scare.”

Eugene G. Blackford

Eugene G. Blackford said:

“It was a very unwise thing indeed to hold meetings of this description or to give any expression of opposition to the sentiments expressed by President Cleveland in that message. It only encourages the feeling existing in England that it is all a sort of political bluff. I consider such a meeting must unpatriotic.

Whether the Monroe doctrine applies or not in this case, there is one thing on which we all feel alike, namely, that it is the duty of the President to take every step possible for the enforcement of what we understand as the Monroe doctrine.

“While I do not want war any more than these gentlemen who proclaimed themselves the other night as the apostles of peace, yet there are other things which are of worse – much worse – than war, and one of these is lack of self-respect on the part of the people.

“Mr. Adams used some strong language, I see. Intemperate language does no good in any case.”

Gen. Benjamin P. Tracy

Ex-Secretary of the Navy Gen. Benjamin F. Tracy said: “I see no necessity for peace meetings. There will be no war, and therefore anti-war sentiment has no place. The outcome of the present excitement will be one of peace with dignity.”

Corporation Counsel Stott

Corporation Counsel Francis M. Scott said: “Whatever might have been any one’s opinion of the President’s message on the Venezuelan question, it is now the plain duty of all good Americans to back up the attitude in which the message has placed the country, and to stand behind the President firmly and loyally.”

Gustav H. Schwab

Gustav H. Schwab said:

“I do not believe in approaching the Venezuelan subject in the way in which Mr. Cleveland has done it. I am opposed to jingoism and everything that savors of it, but I see no use in peace meetings. There is not a shadow of a prospect of war, and the sooner all cease to talk of war the better it will be. ‘War’ has already been expensive enough, and there is no need to continue its discussion longer. Those who talk war have nothing else to do. The ill success of last night’s meeting should convince all that such meetings are not needed.”

George L. Putnam

George L. Putnam, of Sweetser, Pembroke & Co., said:

“I am not inclined to take that meeting seriously. In my opinion very little attention should be paid to it or the utterances of the men who made themselves conspicuous there.

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“It is really not worth discussing, and ought not be dignified by considering it seriously. There are always a lot of cranks seeking notoriety. Like the east-side Socialists Anarchists, they always have on hand a large amount of gas bottled up, and they must have a meeting as an outlet for this harmless effervescence.

“Who is this man, Charles Fred Adams, anyhow? Whom does he represent, and who is behind him I never heard of the man, and if he was at all prominent or known in business circles. It is probable that I should have heard of him. The meeting will have no effect on the situation at all, and should not receive any consideration.”

### Approves the President’s View

“What is your opinion of the Presidents course in the Venezuelan affair?” the reporter asked.

“I am fully in accord with the action of the President,” [Mr. Putnam replied.] “I do not believe there will be any war, as the outcome of the President’s message, and I am confident there will be found an honorable means of settling the dispute. All this war talk is foolish exaggeration.”

“If we consider calmly and dispassionately what the President has done we find he has simply asked Congress to give him the authority to appoint a commission to investigate the situation in Venezuela and report its findings. Of course, the message was couched in firm language, but that was necessary, under the circumstances.

“The situation in Venezuela, to my mind, can be summed up in a few words. Down there are British Guiana, French Guiana and Dutch Guiana. The British territory is nearest to the Venezuela line. Great Britain wants, as usual, to extend her territory. She dare not attempt to extend her lines into the French territory or the Dutch territory, because she would not be permitted to do so by the European powers.

“Venezuela being weak, the British Government takes advantage of this weakness to seize territory to which it has no right. It is simply might against right.

### Came at an Unfortunate Time

“It was unfortunate, perhaps, that the message came at a time when our financial condition was not as promising as it might be. The war talk has been taken advantage at by the Wall Street speculators to make a raid on stocks, and, aided by London speculators, they created a short-lived panic, but that is now over.

“President Cleveland holds the key of the financial situation by the power which is vested in him to issue bonds without reference to Congress, and in this he has the whip hand of Congress. If Congress passes a financial scheme that the President does not approve he will certainly veto it, and then fall back upon his power to issue bonds to relieve the situation.

“When a business concern is in need of ready money and has good credit, it raises the needful cash by issuing promissory notes. This is exactly what the Government must do. I have the utmost confidence that President Cleveland understands the situation, that he has the courage of his convictions, and will do what he deems best for the interests at the country.

“I am sure the President will appoint on the commission men of prudence and wisdom, in which the country will have confidence. Let us await in patience the report of this commission, and not lost our heads over the prospect of a war. I am sure that those who are now shouting for the conflict have not the welfare of the nation at hart. They will be disappointed if they think war will grow out of the present disagreement between the two most civilized nations of the world.”

### James Mitchel

James Mitchel, ex-Fire Marshal, said:

“The men who are responsible for the Cooper Union meeting are simply idiots, if not worse. It was utterly in bad taste, to put it mildly, that such a meeting should have been held at this time.

“While there may be an honest diversity of opinion as to the expediency of the President’s message, it is the duty at every patriotic citizen to uphold the President, and it is simply outrageous that the men should have been permitted to denounce the Chief Executive of the country in the manner they did at the meeting.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

“The American people must bear in mind that they are dealing with the most grasping, unscrupulous, and deceitful nation on the face of the earth.”

A. B. Boardman

A. B. Boardman said:

“The duty of the hour is to keep cool and do nothing to weaken the hands at the Government. Peace meetings are unwise, as are war meetings. Even casual excited talk about the Venezuelan situation should be avoided for the present.

“When the commission reports, everyone will have a chance to make his influence felt. In the meantime we should each in his own sphere try to allay the existing excitement.”

Major William Plimley

Major William Plimley, Commissioner of Jurors, said:

“I deprecate very much any such meeting as that held at Cooper Institute last night. This is no time for loud talking on either side of the question. It is a time for sober, serious consideration. Taken all in all, I believe, that the President was right in the position he took upon the Venezuelan question.

“Our statesmen at Washington ought to be the best judges of this. It is unreasonable to say that these statesmen would unanimously indorse the President’s views simply on account of the popular clamor. I don’t believe that they would do anything of the sort, and, in view of their action, I cannot see the necessity for any such meeting as that of last night. It is no time for these mass meetings.

“England has been grasping everything it can get, and it is time it was stopped. Lord Salisbury declared in his letter practically that we didn’t know what the Monroe doctrine was. Lord Salisbury cannot tell Americans that. We know what it is and what it means, and he cannot change our views.”

George W. Miller

George W. Miller, a prominent man in Good Government Club circles, said:

“It seems to me that the meeting at Cooper Institute last night was a disgrace to American civilization. I have lived in Guatemala and I know about the eagerness of the British to seize every inch of ground they can with safety.

“I believe all good Americans should back the President up in this matter, irrespective of their politics, and I don’t see why men calling themselves Americans should gather in public meeting to oppose the President. It was astonishing and painful to learn that one of the speakers at this remarkable meeting should have said that if the Monroe doctrine gives ground for the attitude of the President and Congress, then—the Monroe doctrine. That sort of talk is extremely ridiculous.”

Alderman Goodman

Alderman Elias Goodwin (Rep.) said: “Well, that peace meeting was an extremely warlike affair, wasn’t it? Some one said—the Monroe doctrine, eh? Well, in some places and on some occasions tar and feathers might be applied to the maker of such a comment.”

John E. Brodsky

Ex-Assemblyman John E. Brodsky said:

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“I have had but little time to read the reports of that Cooper Institute meeting, but from what I have heard of it, I should say it was decidedly un-American all the way through.

“This is no time for such meetings. It is a time for every American to stand by his guns, shoulder to shoulder, like men. It is no time for whining or whimpering. Every good American will stand firmly behind the President. He is right in this matter. It is inconceivable to me that any man calling himself an American should use the language in reference to the Monroe doctrine that is credited to Charles Fred Adams.”

John Simpson

Superintendent of Streets and Roads John Simpson of the Department of Public Works said:

“In a matter like this, I don’t care which of the parties may be in power: I believe in backing up the President of the United States. He is right. England is trying to secure all it can from the weaker powers, and I would like to know when it whipped a first-class power in war.

“You asked what is my opinion of that meeting at Cooper Institute last night. I will tell you. I believe it was absolutely un-American. It was unpatriotic. It was indecent. Why, I read that a man named Adams said: ‘The Monroe doctrine be —.’ Now, I’ll bet you 100 to 1 that that fellow was either an Englishman, or has English connections.

“I guess most of those fellows at that meeting had some English blood in them. Do you think any genuine Americans would participate in such a meeting? I don’t, and, as a Republican, I say that this is the time for Americans to stand by their President.”

Alexander Meakim

Ex-Excise Commissioner Alexander Meakim said:

“Such a meeting as the one at Cooper Institute could not possibly have any effect. It was out of place and out of time. The President should be sustained by all good, honest Americans, whatever their politics. Certainly no American should seek at this time to side with England, and, in my opinion, no true American will do so. I firmly believe this whole matter will be adjusted entirely to the satisfaction of the people of the United States.”

Col. E. T. Taliaferro

Col. E. T. Taliaferro said:

“I have not read the accounts of this meeting at Cooper Institute. I have heard that a speaker at it used language about the Monroe doctrine that no American can have the slightest sympathy with. If such language was used, then I want to say that the speaker was wholly out of touch with American sentiment

“I am heartily, sincerely, and absolutely in favor of every line and every word of the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland, from the first word in it to the last. He is right and the people are with him.”

John B. McGoldrick

John B. McGoldrick, Reading Secretary of Tammany Hall, said:

“Why should people who claim that they are American citizens hold such a meeting at such a time as this, when every true citizen should be upholding the hands of the President? In talking with people whom I have met since the President’s message was sent to Congress, I have found the universal opinion that the President is right.

“I read that a man named Charles Fred Adams said: ‘– the Munroe doctrine.’ If that is so this man is a disgrace to the name of Adams.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

“It was John Adams, Representative from Massachusetts Bay in the Continental Congress who said, in his speech in defense of the Declaration of Independence: ‘It may be that it may ask the poor sacrifice of my life. Well, let it come. The victim will be ready at the hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may!’

“Is not this a time for Americans to stand up straight and assert their National Manhood? I believe it is, and I don’t believe this meeting at Cooper Institute will be regarded as anything more than a laughing matter.

“To what strange usage do these people put their so-called talents? It is interesting to notice that they did not even control their own meeting. Most of the people there were opposed to the doctrines they heard preached from the platform.

“I believe these speakers are sadly in need of light. If they want to find it let them go among the people of the great masses of the common, everyday citizens, I mean, and hear how they talk. By so doing, they can not only gain information, but they can gain what they evidently need very much, and that is a lesson in honest patriotism.”

John S. Melcher

John S. Melcher said:

“I think peace meetings at present are unnecessary and ill advised. It is well and eminently proper for the ministers to preach upon the horrors of war and inform those who are thoughtless of what might be precipitated in the event of war, and so set them thinking, but I can see no prospect of war. While I am not in accord with Mr. Cleveland’s final sentences in his message and his diplomatic methods, I think it will be well to have a complete understanding of the Venezuela matter, and it think a commission may be able to give it to us. I do not expect that it will every reach war, and favor dropping its consideration.”

Levi Burgess

Levi Burgess said:

“We veterans do not fear war so much as some others do, but we do not go out of our way to search for it. We know what it is, and consequently dread to see a country plunged into it, but no thoughtful man considers war imminent. The sooner the agitation is dropped the better, and the fewer peace meetings we have the sooner it will be ended. Peace meetings are foolish. The war is already over, and the stock jobbers have reaped all they can get from it.”

Moses Hirshfield

Moses Hirshfield said:

“It is possible that peace meetings will tend to allay the little that is left of the war scare—if it can now be found to be allayed. Such meetings are all nonsense; they amount to nothing, and, if anything, only serve to bait a few thoughtless persons, who, intent on having fun, attend them.

“Those who first started the war scare did it through criminal ignorance or worse. They did not properly consider the message or purposely misconstrued it; the latter seems to be the fact, because no loss was occasioned until after the big bears had a chance to lay their heads together and use ‘war’ as a means for shaking out stocks held on margin. I have not noticed any losses except those made in purely speculative businesses, and although it matters little to me personally which way the stock market goes, the sooner the agitation is allowed to cease the better.

“It certainly will not cease while unnecessary peace meetings are being held.”

John J. Hickling

John J. Hickling said:

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“In the event of war—which I do not regard as a probable outcome of the present agitation—we will have plenty of time to consider it. I attended the peace meeting last night, but with all the talk of war, I cannot perceive that we will have it inside of two years, if then.

“The greatest agitation is by the ‘bears,’ who always seize every opportunity to demoralize the community and make what profits they can from the fears and misfortunes of others.

“I see no occasion to fear war, but it is always well to consider everything in connection with it at such a time as this.”

Samuel L. Finlay

Samuel L. Finlay said:

“It requires a great stretch of imagination for any one to see why peace meetings should be held.

“A careful reading of the ‘war’ message would have convinced any one that war is one of the most remote of all international possibilities. My business is largely foreign, but I had no fear that it would be interfered with, as I have confidence in the diplomacy of the President and his Cabinet.

“After the Government finds out the exact situation of affairs in South America, those who are confident of war will see how easily such matters can be adjusted.”

Capt. J. F. Nickles

Capt J. F. Nickles, a naval veteran said:

“Old as I am, I would fight again if it were necessary. So far as Mr. Cleveland’s message is concerned, I heartily agree with the stand that he has taken. But as I read it, there is no prospect or necessity for war in it. Peace meetings are entirely uncalled for.

“The trouble with those who are calling peace meetings is that they have no appreciation of the situation, and are afraid they may have to fight some day. They spend their time talking of the horrors of war when there is no war in sight. I fought for four years, and over, and have no fear of all, they picture.

“I do not believe in war or expect war, but every true American should support the Government when it is right, as it is now, even before there is a remote possibility of war, and, after war is declared, if it ever is declared, he who does not fight is no American.

“The Government is competent to handle this whole matter, and peace meetings will only serve to irritate the people.”

James D. Bell

James D. Bell of Brooklyn said:

“I am personally opposed to calling these so-called peace meetings. At the present time, it would be unwise to create a feeling of distrust by denouncing the existence of distrust, as it would by any blatant jingoism or cry for war.

“In other words, persons by holding peace meetings may imply that there is war in the air, and this would create a bear feeling in the financial centres. I need not say that I am in favor of free speech. I repudiate those who endeavor, whether by police clubs, or stones or cat-calls, to interfere with it. The question here is as to the advisability at these so-called peace meetings. I think they are inadvisable. While I concede the right of citizens to meet, I would be earnestly opposed to holding any such meeting in Brooklyn. Anyway, there is no danger at war. There is no good to be got out of such meetings. The Monroe doctrine, by the way, has never been formally ratified even by the American Congress. It has always been in the air. The present action of Congress is a more advanced step toward ratification at the doctrine than any action ever before taken.

“There were two parts of the Monroe doctrine – the one declaring against further colonization of the land on the North American and South American continents, the other declaring against forcible occupancy of territory on either continent by a European power.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

“It seems to me the part relating to colonization is the one that really applies to the Venezuelan controversy.”

Ex-Congressman Magner

Ex-Congressman Thomas F. Magner of Brooklyn said:

“I believe in the old saying: ‘My country, right or wrong, always my country.’ I am personally opposed to the calling of any of the so-called peace meetings in New-York or Brooklyn or anywhere else.

“I am pained and ashamed that any citizens of the United States wish to take a position opposed to the unanimously expressed wish of President Cleveland and Congress.

“It is a little short of treasonable to utter such sentiments as were expressed last night by some of the speakers at the meeting in Cooper Union.

“All patriotic American citizens should denounce such a meeting and those in charge of it. These howlers are mere diletanti—the broth of our National life. They are always opposed to anything American. Their rantings are the result of ignorance and arrogance. Fortunately, there are not many of them.

“I was surprised the other day at the peace meeting in Plymouth Church. Henry Ward Beecher was intensely patriotic, and I do not think such a meeting would have been held had he been alive.

“But these shouters against the President and Congress and the Monroe doctrine are in such a small minority that we can afford to laugh at them.

“There has been no time in the history of the United States when a public document has been received with more unanimity than President Cleveland’s Venezuelan message.

“I do not think that any war was ever so popular as would be the war that might grow out of this message. The people are behind the President.”

Charles J. Patterson

Charles J. Patterson of Brooklyn said

“I do not see that public meetings to agitate the Venezuelan matter, like the one held last night at Cooper Union, are productive of any good.

“At the same time, I am not in favor of going to war with England on the mere report of any commission which may be sent to Venezuela. I do not believe that any commission is so certain to be right in their view of this controversy as to justify us in disturbing the whole civilized world with war.

“I do not believe public demonstrations or mass meetings at this time can accomplish anything. They are far more likely to keep alive the heat than to allay it. The sooner we get down to a calm consideration of this whole subject, the more likely are we to arrive at correct conclusions. Public meetings, just now, are decidedly unfavorable to calmness.”

Josiah T. Mareau

Joseph T. Mareau of Brooklyn, late regular Democratic candidate for the Supreme Court, said:

“I think this whole Venezuelan controversy is somewhat of a tempest in a teapot. All that is to be done is to appoint a commission, the duty of which will be to inquire into the merits of a quarrel between a weak South American State and the most powerful Government of Europe.

“When, that inquiry shall have been completed, and we are then able to form a just opinion of the merits of the controversy, the question will be presented to us as follows: What action, in view of the determination of the commission, ought this country, the United States, to take?

“To my mind, that is all that has been done up to this time, and it seems to me it ought to be approved by every true American.

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“I do not say we should go to war with England. We do not yet know positively enough of the merits of the dispute to say what ought to be done in respect to the controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain.

“But we cannot stand calmly by and see a weak South American State bullied by this powerful European country without taking some interest in the matter.

“These public meetings to discuss the controversy and the prospects of war do no good whatever. They disturb the public mind, and the financial flurry that has already been produced is aggravated by such meetings.

“Meetings like the one held last night in Cooper Union are not patriotic. Nothing has been so far done by the President and Congress which is not precisely right. I should certainly be earnestly opposed to calling a meeting of this character in Brooklyn. I sympathize entirely with the action of the President and Congress. The action of Congress does not at all indicate that we want to go to war with England.”

Edward M. Grout, last regular Democratic candidate for Mayor of Brooklyn, said:

“The incidents attendant on last night’s so-called peace demonstration at Cooper Union, in New-York, clearly demonstrate to any mind that there is no wisdom in holding or in attempting to hold meetings of this sort pending the result of the inquiry.

“Of course there is going to be no war between England and the United States. All danger of that is past. Public meetings will only arouse the passions of the people, will inflame men’s minds, and will do more harm than good. Such meetings are unpatriotic, unwise, inopportune. They keep up the excitement and the injury to business, instead of allowing sentiment to cool down.

“The people should wait until the commission to be appointed by President Cleveland makes its report. This, I take it, will be months in the future, because the commission will first have to go through the original Dutch and Spanish documents in order to get at the facts as to the boundary which underlie the controversy.

“No matter what are men’s individual opinions respecting the wisdom of the course of the President and the action of Congress they should act patriotically, and should stand by what has been already done, and await the result of the inquiry of the commission.”

Frederick W. Hinrichs

Frederick W. Hinrichs, Registrar or Arrears of Brooklyn, said:

“It will be the part of patriotism to await quietly the result of the inquiry to be undertaken by the commission to be appointed by the President.

“I do not think, with my present light, that I would be in favor of calling a ‘peace’ demonstration in Brooklyn, and rather deprecate these ‘peace’ meetings. On the whole, I think they do more harm than good. They serve to arouse the smoldering fires of feeling which lie in every man’s breast. A great many people are speaking without due reflection on the Venezuelan controversy.

“I think very few of us really understand what the Monroe doctrine is. I do not think any one can claim the Monroe doctrine has ever been recognized as part of international law.

“But what have Americans themselves hitherto claimed were the limits of the Monroe doctrine? Even that question has not been clearly settled. But, as I have said, I am in favor of quietly awaiting the result of the inquiry set on foot by President Cleveland and the Congress.”

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COMMISSION NOT CHOSEN  
The President Silent Regarding His Selection of Representatives

MAY BE ANNOUNCED ON THURSDAY  
It Is Now Expected that the Venezuelan Difficulty Will Be Adjusted  
in the Ordinary Way by the Diplomats

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24.—The gossips have selected many distinguished citizens for members of the Venezuelan commission, and an evening paper announces that the President has completed his list. In the absence of any information whatever from the White House bearing on this important question, the public will be obliged to wait until the President is ready to announce his decision. The statement is made on good authority that he is still undetermined regarding the composition of the commission. He has communicated with men of high standing and necessarily will have to wait some time to hear from them.

It is not probable that the announcements will be made before Thursday, at the earliest.

It is the President's desire to have this commission composed of men whose names will be a guarantee of the highest probity and intellectual force in connection with the proposed investigation. It is not known whether the commission will have three or five members, but the opinion prevails here that the smaller number will be decided upon.

Much satisfaction is expressed in diplomatic circles with the tone of the latest London dispatches regarding the proposed commission. The statement of *The London Chronicle* that if the commission is made up of men like Messrs. Phelps, White, and Edmunds "it must command respect, apart from its irregular origin," and that "it would in that case occur to Lord Salisbury that some further proposal from him would be expedient, indeed necessary," is regarded as a strong indication that diplomacy will yet be resorted to in the settlement of the boundary question.

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By Peaceful Methods

From *The Manchester Union* (N. H.), (Dem.)

There are in any event ninety-nine out of a hundred chances that the controversy can be settled by peaceful methods without the humiliation of either nation. It is, moreover, a firm assurance that there has been undue dilatory action in the matter, and, if the merits of the dispute shall make plain that this country has rights and interests to be defended, that National self-respect and honor will be maintained if every means in her power shall prove sufficient therefor.

Both countries realize the terrible cost to all their interests in actual warfare, and there is no disposition shown on the part of either to incur it unnecessarily. Among people of such intelligence the necessity will not arise. This country, however, stands firmly upon its dignity, and that dignity will be respected and admired by fair-minded justice-loving people the world over.

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### A Vital Principle

From The St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minn.), (Rep.)

It is of no earthly consequence to the United States whether Great Britain or Venezuela possesses the strip of territory, about 30,000 square miles in area, which is in controversy between the two powers. But it is of vital consequence to maintain the principle that no European power shall be permitted to extend its rule on this continent. For on the maintenance of that doctrine depends the momentous question whether some European power or powers shall take possession of Central America and control the Nicaraguan or any other canal which may be built through it across the isthmus between the two oceans. To surrender that principle in Venezuela would be to surrender it everywhere else on the continent, including the vital points on which the security of our commerce and of our Pacific possessions depends. When England and Russia and France and Germany have parceled out Asia and Africa among themselves, what is to hinder them in their contest for commercial supremacy and military and naval power from extending their rival projects of colonization to South America? What is to hinder them if the Monroe doctrine is dead? They have been gradually dividing the Eastern world among them for the last sixty years. But they have kept hands off South America, although with its weak Governments and its enormously rich resources, it presented a far more tempting field for their rapacity than Africa or Asia or the islands of the sea. But they have not attempted to meddle with the republics which the Monroe doctrine called into being, because the Monroe doctrine stood guard over them like the flaming sword at the gates of Paradise. No, . . . it is not dead. It is the vital, the supreme principle of American public law, as bearing upon the international politics of the American continent.

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### It Is the American Doctrine.

From The Savannah News, (Ga.), (Dem.)

Nearly the whole of the press of the country heartily supports the President in the position he has taken in respect to the Venezuela boundary dispute. Both houses of Congress have practically declared that his position is the right one, by authorizing him to appoint a commission to inquire into the merits of the dispute. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the President has the approval of the people in what he has done.

If the facts, as stated by Secretary Olney, are correct, Great Britain has been for many years, and is now, acquiring Venezuelan territory against Venezuela's consent, and extending her system of government over it. We regard that as a violation of the Monroe doctrine, and we must either take a positive and determined stand against such a violation of the doctrine or abandon the doctrine for

all time to come. If we draw back now the Monroe doctrine will cease to be a living principle. It will be as dead as if it had never existed.

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NO DANGER OF WAR.

Judge Lawson of Missouri Tells Why Hostilities Are Improbable

COLUMBIA, Mo., Dec. 24.—Judge John Lawson, Professor of Law in the State University, is the author of numerous legal books. His work on “contracts” is used in nearly all of the leading law schools of America. Speaking of the threatened war with England, Judge Lawson said:

“There will be no war, for the simple reason that England has given too many hostages to fortune in the shape of American investments. Every American citizen would be released for the time from any debt obligation to Great Britain, and, if it became necessary, the United States Government could, as a war measure, wholly annul obligations.

“Even without Governmental action all business relations would cease. Take the suspension of English insurance companies doing business in America; all the obligations incurred under these would be canceled. It would be a long time before a commercial country like England involves itself in war with the United States.”

Judge Lawson does not agree with the law professors of Yale and Harvard in their published utterances of international law. “International law,” said Judge Lawson, “is not a code of principles reckoned from all that pertains to justice. It is simply certain important principles which each nation has been able to get other nations to acquiesce in through force. The Monroe doctrine will become international law as soon as the United States, holding firm to its position, compels its recognition by another country.”

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dec. 23, 1895.

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

As at last night’s Cooper Union meeting I, at least, left the impression (on some minds) that I was wantonly, and deliberately indulging in offensive personalities against the President. I hope you will allow me to offer to the public, through your columns, this expression of sincere regret, and my most profound apologies, for having apparently allowed myself to be betrayed, in the excitement and confusion of the wrangle precipitated by the noisy and insulting shouts and interruptions of the Jingo contingent in the hall, into anything which was even susceptible of being so construed.

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Realizing, as I do, the utter impropriety, mischievousness, and bad taste of injecting offensive personalities into the public discussions of questions of policy, I wish publicly to withdraw any expression I may have really used, which even tended in that direction. In justice to myself I must say that, whatever may have been the actual result, the only intention I was definitely conscious of, the only attitude I supposed myself to be assuming, was simply that of indignantly protesting against the Jingo's preposterous demand that we accept as practically infallible and absolutely binding on all, the personal, dangerous, and suddenly announced policy of the very man whom they (the Jingo's) have, through their favorite organ, constantly ridiculed and jeered at with the very "personalities" which I quoted.

As to "President Monroe and his doctrine," what I said, was that, if the Monroe doctrine was to be distorted and perverted into a pretext for abandoning Washington's policy of minding our own business, and for plunging the country into wars about the disputes of other nations, the people would "sooner or later be driven to exclaim '— both President Monroe and his doctrine.'" This I uttered purposely in extravagant burlesque, to cause, (as it did.), a laugh, which somewhat relieved the tension of feeling in the audience.

CHARLES FREDERIC ADAMS

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LETTER BY LORD PLAYFAIR

He Does Not Believe Peace Will Be Broken Between England and America

LONDON, Dec. 24.—The Times to-morrow will publish a letter written by Lord Playfair recalling instances of mutual expressions of brotherly sympathy by Great Britain and the United States. He reproduces President Cleveland's "noble" words in reply to him when he introduced the arbitration deputation to the President in 1887.

Lord Playfair dwells upon the celebration of the centenary of American independence in Philadelphia, and the enthusiasm displayed at a banquet there to the toast "The Mother Country," to which he had the privilege of replying. He says he refuses, after what he has witnessed, to believe that the best people in the United States do not entertain an affection for Englishmen equal to that which Englishmen entertain for them.

He refers to his spending eighteen successive Autumns in the United States, thereby gaining knowledge of many of the leading men there. He adds that the late James G. Elaine once assured him that nothing would induce the United States to war with England, and authorized him to express this opinion to Lord Salisbury, who was then, as now, Prime Minister. The message was delivered. Lord Playfair concludes by urging the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's "commonsense" advice, and declaring that the two nations admire and love each other.

All the papers to-morrow will publish editorial articles, which are virtually long sermons from the text, "Peace on earth, good-will to men." with special reference to the United States and Great Britain. They reaffirm their relief that peace will not be broken.

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Our Right and Our Duty

From The Cincinnati Tribune, (Rep.)

The nations of this continent are civilized republics and our near neighbors, with whose political and commercial prosperity we are indissolubly associated. We have, therefore, a right and an interest to claim and maintain for them immunity from the uncalled-for and ambitious confiscation of their territory by European States, whose political and commercial interests are forever antagonistic to our own.

This is a guiding principle of the American people, and whether or not it be the Monroe doctrine, or, if it be, whether that doctrine has ever been specifically admitted to the international code, we need not care.

We may, without deserving the sarcasm and ridicule of the European world, declare that if there is a serious question whether or not Great Britain be not attempting unjustly to confiscate a portion of the territory of our neighbor and friend, Venezuela, we will investigate that question, and if we find and believe the right to be with our sister republic, we will by all legitimate means aid and assist her in maintaining that right.

This, we take it, is the true position of the Administration. It was not a theory so much as a condition that confronted the President, and that condition he has fairly met. The theory is of purely academic interest; the political situation presents a question for National action.

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KIND WORDS FOR AMERICA

Literary Men of England to Their Brethren in This Country

MESSAGE OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL

Men of Letters in the United States Urged to Use Their Influence to Avert War  
over the Venezuela Matter

LONDON, Dec. 24.—An address from British to American literary men relative to the Anglo-American crisis has been compiled by an author of distinction, whose name, however, is not made public, and already has a good many signatures.

Among those whose names undoubtedly will appear on it are John Ruskin, William Lecky, Walter Besant, Richard Blackmore, Thomas Hardy, William Black, Rider Haggard, John Morley, and others equally prominent.

After prefatory remarks, the address says:

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There are two paths before us. One leads we know not whither, but in the end, through war with all its accompaniments of carnage, unspeakable suffering, limitless destruction, and hideous desolation, to its inevitable sequel, hatred, bitterness, and the disruption of our race. It is this path that we ask you to join us in an effort to make impossible.

There follow expressions of the pride felt by the British in American achievements, in the course of which it is said:

Nothing in history has earned us more glory than the conquest of a vast continent by the Anglo-Saxon race. When our pride is humbled by the report of things that you do better than ourselves it is also lifted up by the consciousness that you are our kindred. There is no anti-American feeling among Englishmen; it is impossible that there can be any anti-English feeling among Americans.

The address then dwells on the strength of the tie of literature, which, it says, will continue to live after the fever of any political strife shall have passed away. It is argued that if war should occur, English literature would be dishonored and disfigured for a century to come by patriotic songs, histories of victories and defeats, records of humiliation and disgrace, and stories of burning wrong and unavenged insult. “These,” it is said, “would be branded deep in the hearts of our peoples, who would so express themselves in poems and novels as to make it impossible for any of those who had lived through such a fratricidal war to resume their former love and friendship.”

In conclusion the address says: “Poets and creators, scholars and philosophers, men and women of imagination and vision, we call upon you in the exercise of your far-reaching influence to save our literature from dishonor, and our race from lasting injury.”

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#### THE COUNTRY STANDS BY THE PRESIDENT

The United States now holds the position it has held for twenty-five years—that if Great Britain has a lawful claim upon the territory also claimed by Venezuela, she can easily and surely prove her title before impartial arbiters; that as a strong power disputing with a weak one she ought to be willing to arbitrate if fair dealing is her purpose. If fair dealing is not her purpose, if her claim is not well founded, then, refusing arbitration, she clearly contemplates an act of aggression upon Venezuela. About that we have something to say.

President Monroe declared our policy in 1823 in these words:

But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

President Cleveland has declared that the action England apparently contemplates is plainly that which Monroe said was dangerous to our peace and safety.

“If a European power,” he says in his message, “by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation at its rights, it is difficult to see why, to that extent, such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of Government to that portion of the continent which is thus taken.” That is the American doctrine. If anybody doubts that it is the spirit of the American people let him read the array of testimony marshaled in our columns yesterday and to-day.

The President declares our hearty assent to any lawful claims of Great Britain. We should accept as final the finding of an impartial tribunal before which Great Britain should succeed in proving her case. Against her assertion of claims not lawful, against intended acts of aggression on American soil, we set up the policy we have asserted and maintained for seventy-seven years. We have taken our position in the present dispute after mature consideration, deliberately, justly, firmly.

Shall we recede? Shall we abandon the Monroe doctrine? Not because there has been a stockbroker’s panic. Not because men whose vision is bounded by the tall buildings of down-town New-York denounce the President for an act that, while it has caused them loss and pain, has thrilled the country with an awakened sense of our National dignity and responsibility. We needed some such appeal to emotions nobler than those aroused by the contemplation of interest, tables and prices current.

If American citizenship is to be rated as a mere huckster’s license, then it is time to remove Washington’s statue from its pedestal on the Sub-Treasury steps, to make a market of Independence Hall, and to sink the Liberty Bell in the deep sea. Not a man of all the crazy throng in the Stock Exchange believed we were to have a war with England. Three-quarters of them, were plunged into genuine fright by the crafty tactics of the other fourth, who swept in dirty gains from their half-treasonable assaults upon the Nation’s credit and position. But strong and patriotic hands put a stop to their work before serious harm was done, and the banks of New-York, always conservative and patriotic, have helped to stamp out the panic. Assuredly the National policy is not to be reversed at the begging of any such patriots for profit only.

But must the appeals of the pulpit for Christian forbearance and peace pass unheeded? No, they will evoke hearty answers from every patriotic heart in the land. We have striven for peace in this matter for twenty-five years. We have been most Christian in our forbearance. We have exhausted the arts of diplomatic persuasion in the effort to induce Great Britain to send the controversy to arbitration. It is amazing that the Christian pulpit of New-York and Brooklyn should have wasted in vain criticism of the President and in ill-informed strictures upon the Monroe doctrine that prayerful emotion which it ought to have employed in the effort to incline the obdurate heart of her Majesty’s Prime Minister to an honorable settlement of the Venezuelan dispute before a court or impartial arbitrators.

Those who set themselves up as the censors of the American President, the American Congress, and the American people have chosen the easy role. It costs nothing to declare that the Monroe doctrine has expired by limitation, that even if it existed it would be inapplicable to this dispute, and that the matter is not worth making a fuss about, at least not in opposition to Great Britain, for the English are our good friends and kinsmen, while the Venezuelans are, as Prof. McVane of the Government and Law Department of Harvard University has it, “not American born,” or are Roman Catholics, as the Rev. Lyman Abbott avers. This line of argument requires no expenditure of time or tissue in research, nor do Mr. Chauncey Depew’s unworthy political jests about the President and erroneous statements about our relations to the Venezuela case cost him more than the simple effort of talking to a stenographer.

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Now that the “war scare,” which was altogether the creation of those who have assailed the President and his message, has passed away and the firm convictions of the American people have made themselves known and felt, it is evident that the position taken by the President to prove by its practical use that the Monroe doctrine “was intended to apply to every stage of our National life,” will not be abandoned. We shall not desert that advanced position because of schemes for speculative or party profit. It is the American position. It is held by the Government and by the masses of both parties alike, by all citizens who have taken the trouble to think rightly upon the question. It is the peaceful position. Firmly maintained by us, it will never be assailed by foes from across the sea.

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THE POSITION OF SPAIN  
Understood that She Will Give Access to Her Venezuela Records

LONDON, Dec. 24.—The Standard to-morrow will publish a dispatch from Madrid saying It is understood that the Government will not object to the United States sending a commission to Madrid to seek information from the Spanish archives regarding the boundaries of Venezuela and British Guiana and Brazil and French Guiana, but previously will intimate that allowing access to the archives is an act of courtesy, and does not imply in the slightest degree that Spain admits the soundness of the Monroe doctrine.

It is an open secret in diplomatic and political circles, the dispatch says, that the Spanish Government will adopt the attitude of all the European countries whose opinions on the subject Spanish diplomats recently have ascertained are adverse to the Monroe doctrine.

The dispatch adds that, in view of the unanimous protests against President Cleveland’s message in the press and by the public, Señor Canovas del Castillo, the Prime Minister, cannot afford to play into the hands of the United States, however much he may desire to avert fresh developments concerning Cuba.

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War a Long Way Off

From The Chicago Times-Herald, (Ind.)

The recent deliverance of the President and of the Secretary of State, backed as they are by the prompt adoption of a resolution authorizing, at the President’s request, the appointment of a commission to investigate the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, will be accepted

the world over as assurance that the people of the United States are dead in earnest in their purpose to resist foreign aggression on this continent.

To assume, however, that we are ready to go to war on the Venezuelan question without exhausting every means known to go to war on the Venezuelan question without exhausting every means known to diplomacy and ways of peace to bring England to accept our view of the case is a mistake. The action of the President and Congress is not properly so interpreted by the British press and people.

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SCHOMBURGK ON ALIEN SOIL  
Recognized that He Was Passing Beyond the English Line

LANCASTER. Penn., Dec. 24.—F. R. Diffenderfer yesterday forwarded to Secretary of State Olney a little volume, discovered among books in his possession, which will doubtless prove of value in the present difficulty with England. This book is Vol. XXXIX. of “Jardine’s Naturalist’s Library,” published in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1843. It is a treatise on the fishes of Guiana, written by Robert Hermann Schomburgk, who surveyed the boundary line on which Great Britain now founds her claim to such a large share of territory belonging to Venezuela.

Prefixed to the book is a memoir of nearly one hundred pages, including a lengthy account of his operations in Guiana and Venezuela between the years 1835 and 1839. It is this part of the volume which may prove important to the Boundary Commission authorized by Congress.

Schomburgk and a party of explorers, on Sept. 20, 1838, sailed up the Takutu River and entered the Mahu village, where they remained several days, the guests of the Indians.

Schomburgk says: “At length the column was put in marching order, the coxswain at the head, carrying the British union flag, under which they had been marching for the last three years through hitherto unknown parts of Guiana. Now it was to lead them beyond the British boundaries, into regions known only to the copper colored Indian; but they were animated with the hope of reaching, for the first time, from this side of the continent, the point which Baron Humboldt had in 1800, after many difficulties, arrived at from the westward—namely, Esmeraldo on the Orinoco.”

This would indicate that whatever surveys or lines Schomburgk may have made afterward, in 1838 and 1839, he then admitted that that territory was alien to the British.

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RUSSIAN EDITORS HOPE FOR WAR  
They Sympathize with America, and Do Not Hesitate to Say So

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Moscow, Dec. 24.—The entire Russian press is discussing the Anglo-American crisis with an ardor approaching enthusiasm.

The papers daily calculate hopefully the chances of a conflict. They wholly sympathize with the United States, and are hostile to Great Britain.

They do not conceal their delight that Great Britain possibly may be paralyzed in the East by her troubles in the West.

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WILLIAMSBURG CITIZENS PATRIOTIC  
Condemn the Peace Meeting and Uphold the President

In the Eastern District of Brooklyn, yesterday, one of the most pronounced sympathizers with President Cleveland in his support of the Monroe doctrine, and one who was equally emphatic in denouncing “peace at any price” meetings, was the Rev. Sylvester Malone; one of the Regents of the State University.

“Who speaks of war at this momentous hour?” asked the venerable pastor, recalling Southey’s lines on the eve of Waterloo. “We have no burning desire to see the two civilizations clash, but we do not want to see one civilization, and a representative monarchy at that, ride roughshod over us.

“The question at issue, it seems to me, is likely to lead to a decisive struggle, sooner or later, between the rival systems of republicanism and of monarchy upon this continent. We, as a people, have forever separated ourselves from Europe and its traditions, but Europe, however, seems resolved not to permit us to remain in republican isolation, and besides hemming us in along the 4,000 miles of our Northern border, has also erected strong fortifications in the West Indies.

“America stands for nothing if not for a new and a greater civilization than the world had ever seen. Our ethnological and racial diversities, our geographical position, situated as we are in the midway of the world of the future, having 300,000,000 of Europeans on one side of us, and 600,000,000 Asiatics on the other; with, our magnificent domain kissing the bosoms of two oceans, render it necessary that this mighty republic, with its vast wealth and resources shall not tip its hat to any other nation beneath the sun.

“At the same time, we are not courting war and I don’t believe there will be any war or that the President has given any justification for the belligerent tone attributed to his message. I am a Republican, but I heartily and cordially support the President in his action. This is not only our duty to ourselves, but the President deserves such support.

“It is eminently wise on his part to send commissioners to examine all the facts. If there is justification for our interference then we ought to stand together once assured that we are right as one man, and cheerfully take up arms to vindicate the Monroe doctrine for all time.

“No power in the world to-day dare face America. Even in her present comparative state of unpreparedness, it is obvious that the powers of Europe fear the weight of her influence since two paragraphs in the message of her Chief Magistrate have awakened a terror unparalleled since the days when the word of Napoleon sent a cold shiver through the Cabinets of Europe.

“The miracle of the nineteenth century is that within the short period of a generation the North is willing to take the Southern Confederates into her army and navy, and the latter are glad and anxious to demonstrate their participation and identity with the prosperity of their victors and to share alike in the fortunes and the patriotism of their common country.

“This is a significant state of things and one that doubtless does not escape the eyes of our rivals for the commerce of the world and for the supremacy of the seas.

“I think those peace meetings are apt to indicate an apparent division in our ranks and so create a false impression. It ought to go forth as something incapable of contradiction that we on this question are a united people. The President has spoken. A Congress overwhelmingly Republican has nobly sunk all party differences, and given to the President’s action its heartiest co-operation.

“That is one of the grand features of this Venezuelan incident. It shows that as a people we can lay aside party pride and, confronted by any National danger, make a holocaust of ourselves and of our political feelings upon the altar of patriotism.

“This sacrifice is a lesson and a bright example for the older civilizations and has tended in no small degree to make America a model for other nations, which was the ideal intended by our Revolutionary fathers.

“One of the gratifying evidences of this unity is the tribute paid to America recently by Mgr. Satolli, who, carried away by the electric thrill of our institutions, recognized their magnificent character in a unity of purpose when the nation’s future is at stake.

It speaks well for the foreign population that it is thoroughly American, and that all classes, however divided in politics, are with the President

“Speaking for myself. I can say that I have always strongly advised my Catholic and Irish fellow-citizens that they must not dream of ever going into a fight in the United States under any other flag than that of the Stars and Stripes, and with the single object of seeing that this great Republic of the West would, in any military contingency, triumph over all its enemies, come from what source they may.”

The Rev. N. W. Wells

The Rev. Newell Woolsey Wells, the pastor of the South Third Street Presbyterian Church, said: “I think those peace meetings are making altogether too much of the matter. Americans are eminently a common-sense people, and common sense will enable them to see that the President’s message is pacific in tone. The President could not do anything else in view of the circumstances. We have not yet begun to think seriously of war, and I take issue with, the Rev. Lyman Abbott’s view of the situation. We are not affected much in a financial sense by the message. It is probable some railroad securities and certain inflated stocks may have been hurt, but the general property of the country is secure. A business man told me yesterday that no solid houses are likely to suffer in consequence of the message, and that the atmosphere was sure to be so cleared that in the long run we will be gainers by the belief in the permanence of our institutions and the impossibility of an attack by any foreign State.”

The Rev. Frederick T. Koerner

The Rev. Frederick T. Koerner, pastor of the German Lutheran Church, in Driggs Avenue, said: ‘I stand by the President in the position he has taken, and I hope Congress will sustain him to the

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end. Peace meetings are uncalled for, although I believe that their promoters are honest, and inspired by patriotism in the course they are adopting. There is not the least danger of a war, however, and if one should come, my knowledge of foreign-born residents leads me to believe that they would stand for the rights of the United States quite as firmly as the native-born.”

The Rev. Samuel K. Spahr

The Rev. Samuel K. Spahr, pastor of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, at Roebing and South Fourth Streets said:

“The reading of the President’s message stirred up my blood into such a refreshing condition as I have not experienced for a long time. I regret anything in the shape of public meetings that would indicate any division or lack of unanimity among our people, and our representatives in both branches of Congress have shown us a magnificent example of loyalty and discipline, and the people should also on their part see that all party lines and prejudices are ignored.”

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Editor’s note: Despite the headline, Williamsburg is not mentioned in this lengthy article.

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Editorial  
From a Letter of Secretary of State Frelinghuysen to  
Our Minister to Venezuela, November, 1882

“You will take an early occasion to present the foregoing considerations to Señor Seijas, saying to him that, while trusting that the direct proposal for arbitration already made to Great Britain may bear good fruit (if, indeed, it has not already done so by its acceptance in principle,) the Government of the United States will cheerfully lend any needful aid to press upon Great Britain in a friendly way the proposition so made.”

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Editorial  
Secretary Bayard to Minister Phelps, February, 1887

“. . .Nevertheless, the records abundantly testify our friendly concern in the adjustment of the dispute, and the intelligence now received warrants me in tendering, through you, to her Majesty’s Government the good offices of the United States to promote an amicable settlement of the respective claims of Great Britain and Venezuela in the premises.

“As proof of the impartiality with which we view the question, we offer our arbitration, if acceptable to both countries. We do this with the less hesitancy as the dispute turns upon simple and readily ascertainable historical facts.

“Her Majesty’s Government will readily understand that this attitude of friendly neutrality and entire impartiality touching the merits of the controversy, consisting wholly in a difference of facts between our friends and neighbors, is entirely consistent and compatible with the sense of responsibility that rests upon the United States in relation to the South American republics. The doctrines we announced two generations ago, at the instance and with the moral support and approval of the British Government, have lost none of their force or importance in the progress of time, and the Governments of Great Britain and the United States are equally interested in conserving a status the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of more than half a century.

“It is proper, therefore, that you should convey to Lord Iddesleigh, in such sufficiently guarded terms as your discretion may dictate, the satisfaction that would be felt by the Government of the United States in perceiving that its wishes in this regard were permitted to have influence with her Majesty’s Government.”

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Editorial

Secretary Blaine to Mr. Lincoln, Minister at London, May 1, 1890

“Mr. Lincoln is instructed to use his good offices with Lord Salisbury to bring about the resumption of diplomatic intercourse between Great Britain and Venezuela as a preliminary step toward the settlement of the boundary dispute by arbitration.”

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Editorial

Mr. Lincoln’s Reply to Mr. Blaine, May 5, 1890

“In reference to the Venezuela boundary question, I have the honor to acquaint you that, having received on the 2d inst. your telegraphic instruction, I had to-day by appointment an interview with the Marquis of Salisbury, as I have informed you by a cablegram. . . In the course of the conversation he spoke of arbitration in a general way, saying that he thought there was more chance of a satisfactory result and more freedom from complication in the submission of an international question to a juriconsult than to a sovereign power, adding that he had found it so in questions with Germany. If the matter had been entirely new and dissociated from its previous history, I should have felt from his tone that the idea of arbitration in some form to put an end to the boundary dispute was quite agreeable to him.”

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Editorial

The Venezuelan Minister to Secretary Gresham, March 31, 1894

“Vainly have the Government of the United States, on different occasions and under various forms, expressed their wish to see the difficulty settled by award of arbitrators, and vainly, also, have the Governments of Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Argentine Republic, Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Haiti interposed in that direction their friendly recommendations to the Foreign Office. Her Britannic Majesty’s Government have insisted on their refusal.

“The precedents established by Great Britain herself in various cases of similar differences with other nations have proved equally powerless to influence her mind and to persuade her to adjust in the same way her conflict with Venezuela.

“In 1829 she consented to submit to the decision of the King of Holland a boundary question with the United States; a similar one with Portugal, in 1872, to the judgment of the President of the French Republic, Marshal MacMahon, and recently, in 1893, to the Court of Arbitration of Paris the difference concerning the sphere of action and jurisdiction in the Bering Sea, which can properly be called a boundary question.

“If Her Britannic Majesty’s Government believes that in the cause, nature, and object of their dispute with Venezuela there is something to make it differ from the disputes just mentioned, and to sufficiently legitimate her obstinate resistance; if they consider their titles to be so unquestionable that it is useless to ascertain on whose part justice is; if they are afraid to abandon a right which, in their opinion, is certain and perfect, and to expose the dignity and independence of their country by allowing an authorized and impartial court to tell them whether or not their pretensions are fully justified, then those motives themselves could be submitted, to the judgment of arbiters, under this form: Is Great Britain right in refusing to surrender to arbitration her boundary controversy with Venezuela? If what she seeks is truth, why does she object to its being established and proved by the arbiter or arbiters?”

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AGREEMENT OF SPAIN ADVISED  
Venezuela Is Contending for the Same Rights Against England  
That the Spanish Colonists Claimed

LONDON, Dec. 25.—The Nacional of Madrid advocates an entente between Spain and the United States regarding Venezuela, on the ground that Venezuela is merely contending for the same rights against England that Spain used to claim when all the Spanish-American Republics were her colonies.

The Standard to-morrow will print a dispatch from its Madrid correspondent saying that the article in the Nacional was evidently inspired, and that it has caused a sensation.

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Must Be Sure of Our Ground

From the San Francisco Examiner, (Dem.)

The proposed commission is not to be a tribunal at all. It is simply an agency to aid our own Government in reaching a conclusion. When the information collected by the commission is studied by the President, his conclusions will be presented to Lord Salisbury, not as the findings of an

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arbitration board, but as the views of the Government of the United States, and the question before the British Premier then will be simply whether he is willing to make an arrangement satisfactory to the United States or not. We have an idea that by that time he will.

In the selection of the members of the commission President Cleveland, of course, will act under the fullest sense of his responsibilities. He will choose men of judicial minds, men who have been accustomed to sift evidence and who have never made themselves conspicuous by extreme opinion upon foreign affairs. He will carefully avoid the choice of mere politicians. We should like to see him include in the body some of the authorities on international law from the great universities, and perhaps a member or two of the Supreme Court. In whatever action we may take we must be sure of our ground. The report of this commission must be so candid, exhaustive, and convincing as to make the justice of our position apparent to the honest judgment of the world, even in England itself.

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England's Aim

From The Buffalo Courier, (Dem.)

There appears to be very little doubt that Great Britain's chief aim is to obtain control of the mouth of the Orinoco, and undisputed control of the mouth of this mighty stream would be an immense acquisition, immeasurable in value. It would be far more important to her than the possession of the additional timber lands and gold mines in the disputed territory. To say that the British command of the mouth of the Orinoco would not materially shape the destiny of Venezuela is absurd, and to assert that the United States should view the matter with indifference is not defensible. Happily all the facts in the case and the far-reaching issues involved will be put before the world in the report of the coming Venezuelan Commission.

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ENGLAND AND AMERICA

The address of the British authors to the American authors must enlist the sympathy of every reader of the English language, not only in the British Islands and the American hemisphere, but in all countries in which that language is read. It is as true of this country as it can be of England that she rejoices in the achievements that are first addressed to the "other public" of English-writing authors. Every one of these the American as well as the English reader counts among his possessions. It was said by Dr. Johnson: "The chief glory of every nation arises from its authors."

But these two nations are in the case, exceptional in human history, where the glories of a great literature are equally cherished by two nations.

Indeed, nothing has been more noteworthy in the discussions that have been aroused by the special message of President Cleveland than the absence of what may be called personal feeling. A question has arisen for international lawyers and for publicists which it is felt on all sides it would be not only inhuman but absurd to submit to the arbitrament of arms. It concerns the historical policy of this Nation, a policy adopted beyond the memory of any American now living. There are fears that the action of Great Britain may infringe upon this policy, originally adopted, as Lord Salisbury has reminded us, with her entire approval. Those fears will not be allayed if Great Britain insists upon being the judge in her own cause, the other party being immeasurably weaker than herself and unable of herself to resist the enforcement of an unjust judgment.

In all this there is nothing that ought to excite any personal animosities or at all to change the friendly relations of individual Americans and individual Englishmen. In fact, those relations have not been disturbed or imperiled by the President's emphatic notification that, as to the larger question involved in a dispute in itself trifling, his countrymen are very deeply in earnest. Individual Englishmen and individual Americans find it possible to maintain their friendships, and this not by avoiding the subject, but while discussing it fully and in all its bearings, and even while bantering each other upon it. Full and free discussion, under only such restraints as impose themselves upon the disputes of gentlemen and of friends, is all that is needed to assure a speedy, a peaceable, and a satisfactory solution of the international question. The British authors have contributed nothing directly to such a discussion, for they have abstained from entering at all upon the merits of the controversy. But indirectly they have made a contribution to it of the utmost possible value by giving an example, equally wholesome on both sides of the ocean, of the tone and temper, of the respect and good will, with which such a discussion should be conducted. A controversy conducted in such a spirit cannot but come to a just and a peaceful conclusion.

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No Need of Hysterics

From The San Francisco Chronicle, (Rep.)

The argument of the President in support of the Monroe doctrine and in reply to the position assumed by the British Government in the Venezuelan matter is unanswerable. Americans of all shades of political opinion will indorse the special message of the President in that regard.

There is no occasion for Congress or the country to go into hysterics over the situation. There is nothing in the aspect of the affair to warrant any talk about a war between the United States and Great Britain over the Venezuelan imbroglio. Neither country desires war, that is to say, an armed conflict.

The situation demands that the United States should remain absolutely firm in the stand which has been taken. Let it be understood that the Government will not recede. The United States has

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now assumed and will maintain its position among the first nations of the world. As it is, the American people are content that the sphere of American influence shall be confined to the American Continent, but if the Republic is to have such controversies as the one concerning Venezuela on its hands, it may become necessary to enter a wider diplomatic and international field.

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WAR NOT DEEMED TO BE POSSIBLE  
English Preachers Regard the War Talk in This Country Uncalled For—  
Army Officials Warned as to Their Expressions

LONDON, Dec. 25.—The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of Westminster, and preachers at Christmas services generally to-day touched upon the Venezuelan crisis. They all deplored the idea of a war, expressed the belief that such an outcome of the controversy was impossible, and enlarged upon "peace and good will." References to sympathetic feeling with the Armenians were also general.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25.—Certain army officers who have in recent interviews in the newspapers been quoted in discussion of the possibilities of war with England, and as outlining their ideas of what should be done in such event, are said to have received personal letters from Secretary of War Lamont severely deprecating such talk.

Expressions from such sources, he says, are not only given undue significance, but they are also injurious to the good reputation of the discipline of the army and harmful to the country in contributing to an unwarranted apprehension.

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE  
It Continues Cordially to Support the President's Stand  
NO ABATEMENT IN THE LOYAL ACCLAIM  
The Feeling Still Widespread that the Administration's Course  
Is the Only Proper One for to Pursue

From The Christian Intelligencer

We have not the opportunity to-day to present more fully highly probable facts and some considerations concerning the Venezuelan affairs which are the subject of discussion between our Government and that of Great Britain. However, the position firmly taken by President Cleveland in his message and Secretary Olney in his dispatches deserves, as it has received, the hearty support of

the Nation. The evils of war, as some of us distinctly remember, are unspeakably grievous and afflictive. All honorable means should be used to the utmost to prevent war. The people of the United States love peace, as is evident from the smallness of our army, the comparative fewness of our ships of war, and the unfortified condition at our coasts. The proposition of the President to appoint a commission to ascertain whether Venezuela has a clear title to the territory which Great Britain not only claims, but has already occupied, in other words, to ascertain whether the Monroe doctrine applies to this case, is eminently wise and just.

That a competent commission and one which will receive the confidence of the Nation will be selected is certain. Until the report of such a body is made it becomes us to avoid altogether all irritating or offensive words and deeds. Nothing should be allowed to carry us into precipitate or intemperate action. Let us wait patiently to learn the right, and then perform it courageously and with steadfastness. The spirit of our National Administration in this serious business deserves our confidence. There need be no fear that the firm maintenance of its position will result in war. Let us go about our ordinary avocations in our ordinary temper, and give no heed to the irritating and abusive terms poured upon us by the journals of Great Britain. Above all let us entreat our God and the God of our fathers to endow us with the wisdom, righteousness, and mercy we need in this hour.

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The Country Not Panic-Stricken

From The Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.)

Possibly the time is near at hand to realize the dream of “a parliament of nations and federation of the world.” But however that all may be, the duty of the American people is to rally to the defense of the great doctrine that no European power shall encroach upon the territorial rights of any American power, however strong may be the aggressor and weak the victim. England will be more likely to arbitrate or be convinced that the United States is in downright earnest. Indeed, the English people need more than anything else just now to be convinced that our Government is in earnest.

Their first impression seemed to have been that the President was playing politics. They did not think much of it. When a Republican Congress sustained him, they took it as an affront, and sacrificed a good many of our bonds in the fatuous hope to cause a revolution of public opinion. That ruse—for ruse it was—succeeded in frightening the speculative market, but the country, as a whole, is unmoved. There is reason to call the creation of a boundary commission a step toward war. It is rather a long step toward what ought to prove a peaceable solution of the whole problem.

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Not Against the English People

From The San Francisco Post, (Ind. Rep.)

The burst of patriotism which has followed the transmission of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message to Congress is not difficult of analysis. Nor does the fact that political lines seem for the moment to have been obliterated complicate the problem.

There is no feeling in the United States against the English people. On the contrary, we are bound to them by ties of relationship which cannot be easily broken. But that Americans generally think it is about time to put an end to Great Britain's aggressions on this side of the ocean is sufficiently apparent from the support President Cleveland is now receiving.

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WHY DOES SHE REFUSE ARBITRATION?  
Interesting Extracts from Public Documents Pertinent to  
Great Britain's Present Attitude

Resolution of the House of Commons, July 16, 1893

Resolved, That this House has learnt with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have, by resolution, requested the President to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States have, or may have, diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and peaceably adjusted by such means, and that this House, cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution.

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ATTITUDE OF LOYAL MEN  
The President's Firm Position Sustained by All Patriots  
No Other Course than His Would Comport with the Honor  
and Self-respect of the American People

From The Washington Post, (Ind.)

It is difficult to understand the blind persistency with which British newspapers and public men keep their eyes closed to the true condition of public sentiment in this country. Because a few alien editors have condemned the President's course, a few school teachers have argued against his interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, and a few clergymen have protested in the name of peace, English opinion has suddenly taken up the hypothesis of a great popular revulsion of feeling, and looks with confidence to an immediate change of attitude on the part of this Government.

Nothing could be more fatuous and foolish. Nothing is further from the thoughts of the President or the plans of Congress than the very slightest modification of the position that has been assumed by Mr. Cleveland. The American people have hailed the announcement of that position with an approval so fervent, so enthusiastic, and so harmonious that for the moment party differences have been forgotten and party lines obliterated.

Only the most infinitesimal and insignificant fraction of our population so much as dreams of receding one single step, of changing or retracting anything. The first wild clamor has subsided. The country no longer seethes and froths. But instead there has come to us a quiet, earnest, deep-seated purpose, against which it will behoove no nation on thin globe to strike.

Let no one delude himself with the vain and foolish thought that we have wavered. What the President has said upon the Venezuelan question, ninety-nine-hundredths of the able-bodied men over whom he rules have echoed from the bottom of their patriot hearts.

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AN ALLEGED PRIVATE DISPATCH  
Reported in London that Mr. Olney Has Sent a Message to Salisbury

LONDON, Dec. 26.—The Daily News to-morrow, commenting on the report that Secretary of State Olney has forwarded a private dispatch to Lord Salisbury, will say:

There is nothing incredible or surprising in such an announcement. On the contrary, it would be highly honorable to him. There is no reason to believe that, in pushing the Monroe doctrine, Secretary Olney had any design of insulting or annoying England.

The paper discredits the various far-fetched explanations of President Cleveland's policy, and says he meant no harm by his message to Congress. Whatever mischief he did, he has endeavored conscientiously and laboriously to undo.

Ex-Senator Warner Miller, in speaking of the Venezuelan incident yesterday, said that war was out of the question. "The House and the Senate have the prerogative alone to declare war, and no President can rob them of it. President Cleveland has tried to do so. Of course, the House and the Senate passed the commission bill, not desiring to appear unpatriotic. But as these two branches of Congress have to vote to furnish the sinews of war in the shape of appropriations, it is nothing but right that they should have the power to declare war. President Cleveland's administration has

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placed the country in a deep financial hole, and it only remains for a Republican Congress to try to get it out.”

### Hopes for Peaceful Relations

The Chamber of Commerce yesterday received the following cablegram from the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce:

EDINGBURGH, Dec. 26, 1895.  
To Chamber of Commerce, New-York:

Edinburgh Chamber express earnest desire that present difficulty may end in continuance of peaceful relations between both countries so closely allied by kindred language and mutual interests.  
THOMAS CLARK, Baronet, President.

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### A CANADIAN ALARMIST Editor of a Toronto Paper Fears an Invasion of the Dominion

TORONTO, Dec. 26.—A local paper this morning printed the following:

“The United States Jingoës are in retreat, but any day may see a panic followed by great social disturbances, and then an irrepressible rabble of adventurers take the road to invade Canada. They have done it before. There is, so a good authority says, 1,000,000 men without work, desperate as to the future, and with nothing to lose, who could easily be got to join in such an invasion. There are also a host of ‘Generals’ and ‘Colonels’ of more or less war experience, and, well versed in the vocabulary of brag, to take the command. We say in all seriousness, that we are liable to such an invasion any day. It is therefore the duty of our Government to take some measure of defense, and to quietly, but vigorously, see what shape we are in for resisting such attack.”

OTTAWA. Ontario, Dec. 26.—The Government has decided to establish at once a school of military instruction in Montreal. Several influential delegations waited upon the authorities and urged this course.

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### AMERICAN REPUBLICS SYMPATHIZE Spanish Southern Governments Would Assist the United States in the Event of War with Great Britain

VIENNA, Dec.26.—The Paris correspondent of the *Neues Journal* sends to his paper a report of an interview with General Guzman Blanco of Venezuela, who is now in Paris, in which that gentleman says that the integrity of Venezuela is a vital question to all America. If England is allowed to dominate the Orinoco region, Gen. Blanco declares, she will shortly assume control of the regions of the Amazon and La Plata. If she should begin war against Venezuela, by the establishment of a blockade of the latter's ports, all of the American republics would respond by closing their ports against English commerce. Gen. Blanco expressed the belief that in the event of war between England and the United States an entente would be established between the latter country and Russia, and that Russia would attack Great Britain's Indian possessions at the moment that England attacked the United States.

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#### COMMISSION NOT SELECTED

##### The President In No Haste to Appoint the Investigators of the Venezuelan Boundary

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.—Despite the many rumors concerning the composition of the Venezuelan Commission, the president has not yet decided whom he will appoint. He, of course, considered some of the names which have been mentioned in the last few days, but his mind is not made up. He dispatched a letter to ex-Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont two days ago, asking, it is assumed, whether Mr. Edmunds would accept an appointment as a member of the commission. Mr. Edmunds's reply has not been indicated by the President. It is the policy of Mr. Cleveland to ascertain beforehand whether any of the men he deems eligible for appointment would be willing to serve, and it is possible that some of the men with whom he has communicated may be disappointed if they have signified their willingness to accept.

It is taken for granted, in the absence of definite information concerning the President's plans, that he will not care to have a large commission. It follows that he is anxious to secure the very best material obtainable. It is not probable that the Commissioners will be named before Saturday.

The improvement in the tone of English opinion is regarded at the White House as due in large measure to the President's delay. If this delay is supplemented by the appointment of a commission composed of men with more than a National reputation, the British view, it is believed, will be further revised.

Edward J. Phelps of Vermont, ex-Minister to England, one of the gentlemen who may serve on the commission to report on the Venezuelan question, was visited by a reporter for *The New-York Times* last evening at the Clarendon Hotel.

Mr. Phelps said he had received no communication, official or other, that he was to be asked to serve on the Venezuelan Commission. He declined to discuss the matter.

CHICAGO, Dec. 26.—At the offices of Isham, Lincoln & Beale this morning little credence was given to the report that Robert Todd Lincoln would be appointed a member of the Venezuelan Commission. Mr. Lincoln's partners said there probably was no truth in the report. Mr. Lincoln has been in Philadelphia since Tuesday.

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REPORT OF A QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE  
Salisbury Said to be Negotiating for Support on the Continent

LONDON. Dec. 26.—The Daily News will publish to-morrow a dispatch from Vienna stating that Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, is negotiating with France and Holland with view to adopting common action against the policy of President Cleveland.

Spain, the dispatch states, already has indicated her agreement with Great Britain on the question.

It is believed, the correspondent states, that Great Britain, France, Holland, and Spain will form a quadruple alliance to protect their American possessions against the United States.

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PRESIDENT'S COURSE WAS RIGHT  
England Will Now Learn About Monroe Doctrine, Rev. Mr. Darlington Says

The Rev. Dr. J. H. Darlington, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Bedford Avenue and Clymer Street, Brooklyn, has not made any reference to the Venezuelan trouble from his pulpit, but yesterday, in an interview, he said:

Such topics are not to be brought into the pulpit on Sunday. The Sunday services of the Church should not be secularized. They are for the preaching of the Gospel. The less secular topics of any kind brought into the pulpit the better. But I am very glad to give a reporter, or any one else, my views on this subject on a week day.

My idea is that things have happened just right. I am very glad indeed that the President spoke as he did, and that the two houses of Congress acted as they did. The mind of the masses of the people in England and on the Continent of Europe is in a misty condition about America and American affairs anyway. Probably, while the statesmen knew there was such a man as President Monroe, the majority of the people, not reading the newspapers to the extent that they do in this country, where even the laboring man buys his newspaper on his way to work, and when the best papers in England devote almost no space whatever to American news, giving, in fact, larger accounts of doings in Australia than in the United States and three times as much to the affairs of Canada as to this country, it is well they should learn that there is a Monroe doctrine and just what it is.

The pronounced stand taken by the President and houses of Congress will make the Monroe doctrine a subject of discussion in every country and city chophouse, on the street corners and by the firesides; and, while there will be some Englishmen who will be crazy for war and who believe

that one Englishman is as good as from ten to twenty men of any other nation in battle, the majority of the thinking people of England will readily determine that there must to no war for such a trifling cause, and mercantile England will see that her immense money interests in this country are not to be put in peril by any such war.

The shipping interests of England alone, which to-day are greater than all the rest of the world, probably, would be utterly ruined should such a war occur. Now, as Gladstone says, all that needs to be applied to the situation is common sense—to go slow and not irritate Great Britain by any unnecessary warlike demonstration. We have taken the right stand in demanding arbitration. If we simply stand firm, in a few months the whole matter will be settled peaceably and without a thought of war.

The only danger lies in the possibility that the hot-headed Venezuelans may commit some untoward act and so force retaliation by the British fleet. But, even if that occurs, it is not necessary for the United States immediately to step in. The two greatest Christian nations of the world will look long at the dispute before they engage in a war which will cost hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds at millions of property.

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IS A MESSAGE OF PEACE  
The President's Venezuelan Utterance Not a Signal for War  
MR. CLEVELAND'S POSITION APPROVED  
Ex-Congressman Williams of the Opinion that the Dignity of  
the Country Has Been Fully Maintained

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.—Ex-Representative George Fred Williams of Boston, who is spending the holiday season in Washington, heartily approves of the President's course in relation to the Venezuela boundary question. Mr. Williams, like all true Americans, takes the ground that the Monroe doctrine should be rigidly enforced. While applauding the President's stand in behalf of this doctrine Mr. Williams does not believe that there will be a war between the United States and Great Britain.

"I agree that this Venezuelan question should be settled from the standpoint of peace," said Mr. Williams to a correspondent of *The New-York Times*, "and that if the American public has any distinctive function to perform in modern civilization it is to prevent war and maintain peace and a brotherhood of men so far as the American continents are concerned."

He continued:

I understand this to be the entire spirit and purpose of the Monroe doctrine, as announced by President Monroe in his annual message of Dec. 2, 1823. The primary declaration of that message is that America should not become involved in the policy which European nations may choose to adopt in maintaining their balance of power among themselves. The Monroe doctrine,

therefore, in the first instance, pledges the United States Government to the policy of declining any intervention by force of any countries beyond the American continents.

Since the declaration of the Monroe doctrine the United States have fulfilled their pledges in this regard and their purpose has been the maintenance of peace upon the American continents. On the other hand they attempt to secure the domestic peace of the American States by forbidding the European nations from “any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of the hemisphere” and treating such an attempt “as dangerous to our peace and safety.” The attempt to extend European systems is further defined by the declaration that ‘we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, (namely, any of the American States,) or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

The purpose of this doctrine was, I believe, fully foreshadowed in the letter of Thomas Jefferson, written in 1820, in which, referring to the Minister to Brazil, he says:

I hope he sees and will promote in his new situation the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations and the importance of their coalescing in an American system and policy totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally acquire a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard or an American on the other. . . I hope no American will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting in the seas and territories of both Americas the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun.

I think the words of Jefferson are even more fundamental and important to the peace of our continent than when they were uttered. Every true American must regard, as Jefferson did, that the sound of a European gun on our side of the ocean as a menace to our peace, and that, on the other hand, our intervention in the affairs of Europe, Asia, and Africa, would be an equally unfitting solution of the problem which interests our continents. It seems to me that the whole subject should be viewed from this standpoint, and that war in nowise should be considered except for the great purpose of maintaining the peace of our continents. This doctrine, called the Monroe doctrine, has never been abandoned by this Government, and, in my judgment, never should be. It deserves a place in international law because it absolutely prevents the interference of America with Europe in consideration of Europe’s consent to abstain from intervention in American affairs.

Whatever may be the views of our citizens as to the caution or temperance of President Cleveland’s message, it is clear that his purpose has been to defend the peace of the American continents against the threat of England to by force insist upon its own claims to take possession of American soil. If the Monroe doctrine is still the true American doctrine, it was President Cleveland’s duty to insist upon it, and had he not done so, according to his judgment, the whole policy would have been placed in danger of invasion. We must judge the language of diplomacy according to its real purport, and not according to its well-chosen phrases, and it becomes every true American citizen who ventures to speak upon this subject to inquire who has used the actual language of war.

It seems to me that it is not President Cleveland, but Lord Salisbury, who at first declared that force and not justice shall decide the points in dispute in this case. To those who deprecate war it should be suggested that Lord Salisbury was the first to decline a peaceful solution. Lord Salisbury’s position to expressed in the following words:

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

If, as time has gone on, the concessions thus offered diminish in extent and have now been withdrawn, this has been a necessary consequence of a gradual spread over the country of British settlements which her Majesty's Government cannot, in justice to the inhabitants, offer to surrender to foreign rule.

In other words, Lord Salisbury declares that wherever Englishmen choose to settle on American soil, England will forcibly maintain their rights to English possession and English rule, and that the peaceful methods of arbitration shall not interfere. In other words, wherever Englishmen choose to settle disputed territory, England will defend her claim to title, just or unjust. Now, it seems to me that the stand point from which every patriotic American should view the President's message is this: That upon the diplomatic correspondence and such information as has so far come to the Department of State, the President does not view the English claim as a legitimate boundary dispute, but as a case of theft of territory by England from an independent American State.

“While I would not maintain that the American people should sustain their President in any claim he may make, right or wrong, I do think that he should assume until further evidence is offered, that England's claim to the territory in question is so unfounded that it practically amounts to what President Monroe defined as “interposition by a European power for the purpose of oppressing an American republic.”

The mere claim of title to territory will not change robbery into right, and from the attitude and vigorous words of President Cleveland the American citizen should assume that the President considers the English demand for territory as baseless and unjust. In his message he says:

If a European power, by the extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why, to that extent, such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken.

As I understand it, President Cleveland's attitude is this: He regards Lord Salisbury's refusal to arbitrate as a declaration of purpose on the part of England to occupy by force as much of the disputed territory as it chooses to claim, and to deny the demand of this Government that the dispute be settled by peaceful arbitration, and in calling for a commission to fairly investigate the dispute. President Cleveland proposes to satisfy the people of this country and the whole world, which makes and unmakes international law, whether England is attempting to rob an American Government of its territory, or is merely asserting just and well-founded claims. It does not lie with patriotic Americans at this time to criticise of the President of the United States for attempting, through a just and impartial tribunal, to settle peacefully a question which England proposes to decide by force. It is not President Cleveland who is appealing to force, but England, which declines the tribunal of peace.

The commission proposed by President Cleveland does not mean war, but peace. It is an assertion of peaceful methods against the defiant claim of Great Britain that it will forcibly occupy American territory without impartial judgment, and merely because English settlers have chosen to take possession of the land. We may purchase peace at too high a price. Once allow England to occupy by force whatever American land it chooses to claim, and the Monroe doctrine no longer exists. Any claim of title, whether by disputed boundaries, original grants, or conquest, must be submitted to by the United States against any European power merely

because we abandon the doctrine that American territory shall be independent of European control, except so far as it was colonized when President Monroe declared his doctrine.

It seems to me that Lord Salisbury's argument that the conditions which existed in 1823 are no longer effective is wrong, for the Monroe doctrine applies with much greater force than it did seventy years ago. The purposes, policy, and interests of the European States have been very dearly illustrated in recent years. They have undertaken to control the Government of Egypt and of Turkey, and have even divided up the African continent by virtue simply at their power over helpless countries. The question here involved is whether they may, by a like exercise of arbitrary power, possess themselves of American territory. Every year brings distant countries nearer together, and no one knows how soon railroads between the American continents may make Venezuela and Brazil our neighbors, and furnish facilities for European States to transport arms from those sections to our southern borders. If, as is alleged by some, England's purpose is to control the commerce of North and South America by obtaining possession and control of the mouth of the Orinoco River, it is of fundamental importance to our peace that this shall not be done unjustly or by force.

If England would arbitrate its claim, then the methods of peace would be vindicated. If the United States allows England to defy the tribunal of peace and take possession of American territory by force, it cannot later regain its position as the defender of the autonomy of the existing States of the American continents. I cannot understand how President Cleveland can be charged with precipitating war when he proposes to appoint a just tribunal to satisfy the people of the United States and of the world as to the justice of England's demands, and thus insist upon a peaceful solution where Lord Salisbury insists upon the savage tribunal of force. While President Cleveland might have chosen less forcible words with which to enforce the American doctrine of the peaceful solution of questions affecting the American continents, I should rather treat any excess in statement as an indignant protest against the policy of England to acquire territory by force than the expression of a purpose on the part of the United States to use force in the defense of this territory.

The appointment of the commission is a distinct repudiation of the doctrine of force. It is an appeal to the sense of justice of the world; it is a vigorous insistence that armed Europe shall not introduce warlike methods to disturb American peace. Instead of declaring war, the President treats Lord Salisbury's refusal to arbitrate as an insistence upon forcible measures and proposes to have the case tried peaceably whether England wishes it or not, and to ask the support of the peace-loving and war-hating world in resisting what he deems to be the oppression of a feeble American State by a powerfully armed European invader. This is the American doctrine that was good in 1823, is better now, in 1895, and will be a boon to mankind in the next century.

I am second to no man in deprecating force in the settlement of international disputes. It is barbarous, unchristian, and to be hated by every just and merciful man, but the nation which defies the tribunal of peace is the nation which must bear the guilt of bloodshed, and not the nation that insists upon arbitration as the civilized, Christian; and lawful method of settling disputed international questions. There is no fear of war between the United States, and, in my judgment, if the people of this country will stand by the President in this emergency, England and all other nations will be taught a lesson which may well close this century that the American continent must be governed by law and not by the will of the strongest.

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COMMISSION NOT YET SELECTED  
The President Probably Will Not Name the Men to Investigate  
the Venezuela Boundary Dispute Until Monday

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27.—There have been no developments to-day in connection with the Venezuelan Commission appointments. The President still is engaged in the task at selecting a body of men whose names will be a guaranty to the world that the boundary question is to be examined with due regard to the responsibility attaching to the decision that is to be reached.

It is probable all the names which have been suggested in the last week have occurred to the President, and equally it is certain that some of the men whose qualifications have been urged do not approach the high standard the President has set.

The necessary delay involved in the creation of the commission in having a wholesome effect, not only in the United States, but in England, and no harm will be done to American interests if the commission be not named before next week. It requires time to fix upon a dozen or more men who would make acceptable Commissioners, to ascertain whether they would accept appointment, and finally to decide upon the three or five, as the case may be, to whom the delicate task shall be committed.

It comes from high authority to-night that the Commissioners may not be named before Monday. The President has not yet decided whether the commission shall have more or fewer than three members.

He may be governed in determining the matter by a desire to appoint men regarded as desirable, after three persons have been chosen, but it is intimated that he relies upon more rapid work by a small commission than would be obtained from a larger one.

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GREAT BRITAIN TO WAIT  
Will Give Away No More Property of Venezuela at Present  
DELAY CAUSED BY THE UNITED STATES  
*St. James's Gazette* Story Denied—Excitement Over War Talk  
Dying Out—People Did Not Grasp the Question

By The United Press

LONDON, Dec. 28.—The *St. James's Gazette*, which was the first newspaper to print the ultimatum of Great Britain to Venezuela, Oct. 19, published to-day a statement that initial steps have been taken in British Guiana to form a chartered company, whose operations shall lie between the Essequibo and the Schomburgk line. The *Gazette* proceeds to say that the origin of this important political development is to be found in a dispatch which Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, wrote in September, sketching the new policy of the Imperial Government as regarded interior affairs, and

inquiring if local capitalists were prepared to take up a large concession in the Northwest and develop its mineral and other resources, at the same time hinting that, if not, there were people in the United Kingdom who were willing to do so.

The Gazette then goes on to print a report of an alleged meeting held in British Guiana for the purpose of forming a chartered company to take up Mr. Chamberlain's offer. The paper, which claims to know the policy of the Colonial Office, says it is certain that Great Britain will not consent to leave to arbitration the entire territory claimed by Venezuela.

With reference to the Venezuelan situation it can be said that the British Guiana Chartered Company, over which The St. James's Gazette is trying to get up a sensation, has not been chartered, nor is a charter likely to be given until everything is amicably arranged between London and Washington.

The dispatch of Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, offering to make concessions within the Schomburgk line, was written obviously to strengthen the British case against the contentions advanced by Mr. Olney, the American Secretary of State.

An English syndicate, relying on Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions, made proposals to the Guiana Government, asking for the grant of huge tracts of land between the Essequibo and the Schomburgk frontier. The syndicate asked too much and met with a refusal. A meeting of colonial residents held in Georgetown, chiefly representative of the planter interest, formed a board which was authorized to petition the Government for a limited concession. All this happened prior to the sending to Congress of President Cleveland's message anent the boundary dispute. The St. James's Gazette admits that, though there is no reason why Mr. Chamberlain should delay his decision in the matter of the concession out of consideration for the feelings of Venezuela, he will probably hold the matter in abeyance, in view of the tension between Great Britain and the United States.

### No Excitement Over Venezuela

Notwithstanding the condition of excitement under which the country was alleged to be laboring owing to the attitude of the United States on the Venezuelan dispute, which excitement, by the way, was only manifested by the newspapers and not by the people, Prime Minister Salisbury spent the whole week quietly at his residence, Hatfield House with his family and a few guests. Two messengers went daily between Hatfield House and the Foreign Office carrying dispatches. Those whose business, even during the holiday period, obliged them to visit the Foreign Office, found the atmosphere motionless and not a trace of the recent supposed excitement.

Few communications have been received during the week from any quarter, and most of those that were received were from Constantinople. No communication of importance was received from Washington. If the statement cabled here is correct that Secretary of State Olney has informed Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, that the members of the Venezuelan commission have been nominated by President Cleveland, the fact has not yet been officially communicated to the Foreign Office.

It is understood here that no difficulty will be placed in the way of the commission getting at all the sources of inquiry at the disposal of the Foreign Office. If the documents in its possession are desired, duly certified copies of the same will be transmitted to Washington. If the commissioners carry their inquiries into British Guiana, they will obtain all facilities for the pursuit of their investigations, though it is the opinion of the authorities here that the work of an actual frontier

inspection will be too difficult a task for any Commissioners that President Cleveland is likely to appoint, a task that neither Mr. Phelps nor Mr. Lincoln would undertake.

Lord Salisbury, in appointing Sir Augustus Hemming to the Governorship of British Guiana in succession to Sir Charles Cameron Lees, had in view Sir Augustus's services in delimiting British and French territories in West Africa. The nomination at Sir Augustus was due to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who persuaded Lord Salisbury to make an unprecedented departure from official custom in raising Sir Augustus from a chief clerkship in the Colonial Office to a Colonial Governorship. Sir Augustus has studied the Venezuelan frontier question. He coached Mr. Chamberlain on the subject, and probably supplied Lord Salisbury with material information.

### War Talk Dying Out

Now that the question of the crisis has relaxed, people are wondering what all the furor was about. Papers like *The Speaker*, which last week breathed a warlike defiance to the United States, indulge this week in queer self-congratulations on the good sense and good feeling shown by the English under most unexpected and extraordinary provocation in "keeping their temper and studiously refraining from anything like retaliation upon the American jingoes." The truth of the matter is that the jingo papers here, notably the Liberal press, tried to fan popular feeling into flames. They failed chiefly because the mass of the people could not understand what the cause of offense was that had been offered or was to be received from Washington. The war talk on the part of some of the newspapers is not quite over. The agricultural papers discuss the probable effects of a war between the two countries.

The *Mark Lane Express* holds that, should a war occur, and should it be a brief one, the only effect on the grain trade would be increased prices, and not a shortness of the supply. Russia and India, it says, are now effective sources for the supply at any home deficiency.

*Vanity Fair* publishes a wild article, in which it says that a war would be an excellent thing. If England should make the United States climb down, it would put England on a pinnacle that she has never yet attained, and much other matter of the same calibre. This paper is a harmless society organ, and reflects the prejudice of only a small circle which is in no way noted for its grasp of current events outside of gossip and society functions.

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### The Commission a Peace Measure

From *The Philadelphia Telegraph*, (Rep.)

The proposition to appoint a United States Commission to ascertain, if possible, precisely what the relative rights of Venezuela and Great Britain in the disputed boundary matter are, was not only not a declaration of war but it was really a peace proposition. The commission will ascertain, if possible, which country is right in its contention; and while it is doing that diplomacy will be employing its best offices to secure an amicable settlement of the of the matter in dispute. The

commissions may possibly discover that the British demand is valid; for if there were no doubt with reference to the boundary line there would be no commission and no inquiry. It is the reasonable uncertainty of the situation that makes an investigation desirable.

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STRONG ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENT  
Arrivals from Venezuela Tell How the Message Was Received

Arturo L. Mola and Roberto Mola, Cubans on their way from the United States of Colombia to Cuba arrived here yesterday from La Guayra, on the steamship Caracas. They were in Venezuela at the time President Cleveland sent his message to Congress.

They said yesterday that as soon as the full text of the message became known in Venezuela everything put on a holiday appearance, and America and Americans were cheered upon all occasions. Bonfires were built, fireworks were discharged, and the American flag was flown from hundreds of houses.

They said that the American Consuls were serenaded in all of the cities, and it was generally said that all Englishmen would be asked to leave Venezuela, unless their country consented to arbitrate the boundary question. The feeling in Venezuela, they stated, was strongly anti-British, and the entire sentiment was for this country.

William L. Russell, Secretary of the American Legation, went from Curaçao to La Guayra on the steamship Caracas while she was en route for this port. The Venezuelan Custom House boat went out to meet the Caracas flying the American and Venezuelan flags. When her officers discovered Mr. Russell on the Caracas they gave him an enthusiastic reception, fired guns in his honor, and took him ashore, where he met the officials and soldiers at a reception given in his honor.

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OPPOSED BRITAIN'S GREED  
Mr. Gresham's Attitude on the Venezuelan Question  
WOULD HAVE RESISTED AGGRESSION  
Mr. Olney Doing Practically What His Predecessor Would Have Done  
—Claims of the Anglo-Americans Denied

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28.—Some of the ladylike objectors to the message of the President on the Venezuelan question are attempting to support their arguments for the British attitude toward Venezuela and the United States by insisting that it Secretary Gresham had lived the management of the matter would have been much more careful of British prejudices, and that he never would have permitted American feeling to be aroused as Secretary Olney and President Cleveland have stirred it.

The theory of these apologists for England is that Secretary Gresham approved of the British aggressions in Venezuela, and would have advised President Cleveland to pursue a course that virtually would have justified the retention by Great Britain of its most advanced boundary line in Venezuela. It might as well be stated now, as it will appear later, that Secretary Olney has followed directly in the lines marked out by his predecessor, that there has been not the slightest departure from them, and that if Secretary Gresham had lived until now it is highly probable that it would be Secretary Gresham, and not Secretary Olney, who would be exasperating all the pro-British persons living in the United States and exciting numbers of ignorant clergymen and laymen to criticism of their own Government and praise of the Government with which we have brought an old controversy to something like a head.

As a matter of fact, the Venezuela boundary question is one that has engaged the attention of changing Administrations for several years, and the conclusions and arguments of Secretary Olney, upon which the President based his message, are founded upon the correspondence in the Department of State. Venezuela has been too much occupied with revolutions to calmly dwell upon the preservation of her eastern boundary line, and Great Britain has apparently benefited by the pre-occupation of the Venezuelan mind and the complacency of the United States about the Monroe doctrine.

Until Venezuela was aroused by the discovery that the Schomburgk line had been left to the eastward, and that Great Britain had set up a new and more advanced claim, the intent of England to defy the Monroe doctrine was not accepted as a reason additional to the one of justice to warrant the United States in objecting to further assertion of control over Venezuelan territory. Out of the correspondence in the matter, it is probable that Secretary Gresham reached the conclusion that it was not so much the desire to hold the swamp that Mr. Depew says is not worth \$25,000 as it was the intention of England to show its contempt for the American doctrine at non-extension of European system or control. This naturally led the Government to decide that if a stop was to be put to the absorption of Venezuela, it must begin before that republic was half appropriated by the British in Guiana.

Secretary Gresham handed down to Secretary Olney the correspondence of the State Department and the programme of the Administration just as it had been made out prior to his death. The present Secretary will show, when he comes to publish the correspondence for the year 1895, that in demanding from Spain the prompt settlement at the Mora indemnity he simply carried out the plan arranged by Secretary Gresham, who had adhered to the policy of Blaine, Frelinghuysen, Fish, and the Presidents under whom those Secretaries of State served, in insisting that Spain should do all that she had offered and agreed to do, but which she had evaded doing until, with a Cuban war on her hands, she feared that the United States might insist upon collecting the indemnity in Havana while the insurrection was going on at the east end of the island.

There has been until recently a hope in the Department of State that England would demonstrate its entire reliance upon the possibility of sustaining its Venezuelan claims by ample proofs, and that it would resort to arbitration as an opportunity by which it could lose nothing in the hands of impartial judges. Whether the land be worthless, as it is said to be by Mr. Depew's British friends, or valuable, as the effort of the British to hold it leads the public to believe, the decision as to the boundary line, if adverse, would not greatly impair the prestige of the British Empire and a decision restoring to Venezuela a portion of territory claimed by Great Britain would unquestionably do much to modify the world's opinion that England is not governed by considerations of justice when she is dealing with nations regarded as easier to crush than to conciliate.

British-Americans will not derive any real comfort from the attempt to prove that the cause of Great Britain would have been in more sympathetic hands if Gresham had lived than it has been since his death. He had a strong conviction that the British aggressions in Venezuela were not only a glaring injustice to Venezuela, but also gave an occasion, possibly sought, of intimidating the United States.

Secretary Olney has apparently considered Mr. Gresham's views as sound and worthy of adoption as correctly maintaining the traditional policy of the United States since Monroe. The intent, more than the extent of the appropriation of Venezuela is the thing by which Great Britain must be judged. The advancement of the boundary line from the east toward the west at different times during the last half century has had some pretended property and commercial justifications.

The concern of the United States has not been about the loss to Venezuela—it has been a reasonable jealousy lest the real purpose of the successive seizures of territory were the assertion of a policy antagonistic to our own and intended to illustrate our disposition to allow the Monroe doctrine to lapse.

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THE PRESIDENT UPHELD  
Washington Unanimously Sustains the Venezuelan Message

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28.—Never since the times of the war of the rebellion has there been manifested so great a feeling of unanimity about any National question as has been displayed here on the President's assertion of the American doctrine regarding the extension by Great Britain of its boundaries or its power, or both, in Venezuela. Old newspaper correspondents have made this comparison, and they admit that there was greater division of opinion about the rebellion than there has been about the correctness of the President's position. For, when the rebellion began, there lingered about the city many writers for the Southern press who desired to stay as long in the National capital as possible to send news across the lines, and occasionally to be of service to the States, whose cause they believed was right.

There were at first no critics of the President for his Venezuela message. The few newspaper exceptions to the general voice of approval encouraged other critics, and gave some of the men who had voted for the bill to authorize a commission of inquiry, time and strength to find fault, not loudly, but by ingenious qualification and political analysis. But if the thing were to be all done over again, and the men who are now criticising the President for having added the two paragraphs at the end of his message which have been alluded to as "a menace of war" were to be heard, there are not many here who would ask to have those paragraphs omitted. The effect of those lines upon the popular mind has been made. Possibly some of those who have discussed the message and the papers that accompanied it did not really know just what the controversy was all about. But everybody who is at all conversant with the talk of the street and the crowds is sure that the country has obtained the impression that there was an inclination on the part of Great Britain to crowd us, and that the President had given our British uncle a nudge that could be taken to mean nothing less than a warning to "keep off."

There will be some speech making on the Monroe doctrine before the Winter is ended, and one Senator, in whose utterances the public always finds much of interest, will contribute his opinion, which will not conflict at all with that of the President, but may put the doctrine in new words. He thinks that the investigating commission will sustain his notion that the only interpretation to be put upon the doctrine in such a case as that of the British aggression in Venezuela is the one of intent. "We cannot," says this Senator, "listen to such puerile arguments as that of Dr. Depew, when he says that the territory in dispute is a swamp worth less than \$25,000. Great Britain would be justified by that argument, if it could buy up its stolen territory. Further than that, it might absorb several other sections of Venezuela, and other South American States entire, and by and by snap its fingers at the United States and ask, 'Where is your Monroe doctrine?' The danger is that there is a well-formed determination to overturn the doctrine, make it to be a subject for ridicule, and demonstrate, if possible, that we did not understand what we were proposing to do when we enunciated it. By an honest and earnest examination into the matter we shall undoubtedly show that the changes of the boundary have been made for the purpose of extending the British Empire in spite of our doctrine of 'hands off,' and that American unwillingness to make a fuss could be depended upon an undertaking to carry out a policy so menacing to our traditional policy, if not to our interests."

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#### GUIANA AND NEW-YORK

The dispute about the boundaries of British Guiana has a particular though indirect interest for the inhabitants of this island, since it formed a part of the territory for which New-York was traded more than two centuries ago. It is curious that what is now undisputedly Venezuela should have been the only part of the mainland of America which was ever seen by Christopher Columbus, a little less than four hundred years ago. His conviction that by steering west from the Pillars of Hercules he would find the Continent of Asia was part of a geographical notion correct only in its basis and its outline and almost necessarily wildly wrong in its detail. He had been so often deceived, from his first sight of Watling's Island, in what he had taken to be indications of a continent that, after having rightly conceived Trinidad to be an island and given it the name it carries to this day, he assumed the land at the mouth of the Orinoco to be an island also, and named it accordingly. It was only after it had been made clear to him that the great river was a river and not an estuary that he concluded, from its great volume, that it could flow only from the heart of some body of land far too great to be a mere island, even such an island as his own Hispaniola. But to him this was a matter of supposition and inference only, which he had no opportunity to verify, and he died without any real conception of the changes which his voyages had made in the map of the world.

It was a century later that Raleigh visited the coast of Guiana and published the famous description in which he set down, nothing doubting, the account, which Shakespeare borrowed, of "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." Although the whole northern coast of South America was called by him "Guiana," neither in his voyage of 1595 nor in the voyage seventeen years later, which was the occasion of his execution, did he give any foundation, either by settlement

or by discovery, for British claim. There was no British settlement until long after Raleigh's death. The grant of Guiana by Charles II to Lord Willoughby, then Governor of Barbados, in 1664, was merely a manifestation of the easy good nature, in giving away things to which his own title was not clear, of which the merry monarch made another manifestation the same year in granting to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, the region of which the commercial and the political capital still bear the names respectively of these two titles.

Lord Willoughby was not so fortunate in making good by arms a defective title as was the King's brother. For, whereas New-Amsterdam was actually captured by the British the same year that the Duke of York's patent was issued and held until the close of the war, the Dutch remained throughout the masters of all that part of "Guiana" which was not French or Spanish. Fortunately for the Duke of York, the peace of Breda, in 1667, was made, not upon the basis of the "status quo," but upon the basis of the "uti possidetis," and so New Amsterdam remained English and Surinam Dutch. To the modern observer it seems that the Dutch must upon this occasion have been greatly outwitted and not yet have acquired the sharp practice which was long afterward imputed to them by a British statesman: "In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch is giving too little and asking too much."

This is not the way in which the transaction appeared to those who took part in it, either at the peace of Breda or in the treaty of Westminster, in 1674, by which the cessions were confirmed. Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," written about the middle of the eighteenth century, says: "At that time this was looked upon by many as a bad exchange, but it now appears that we have made an excellent bargain," and this "appears" much more vividly at the end of the nineteenth century.

Of course, these historical reminiscences have nothing whatever to do directly with the boundary dispute. The whole of what is now British and Dutch Guiana was ceded to the Dutch by the treaty of Amiens, in 1802, but British Guiana was recaptured by the British the next year and formally ceded to them by the Dutch in 1814. It is from this cession, as the diplomatic correspondence shows, that the existing British title is derived. But, although the old exchange of Guiana for New-Netherlands "has nothing to do with the case," it should give to New-York something of the same interest in its progress with which a sympathetic person who has bought his exemption from a conscription follows the fortunes of his substitute.

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### Schomburgk's Views in 1839

From The Philadelphia Press

LANCASTER, Penn., Dec. 28.—There has been forwarded from this city to Secretary of State Olney a volume which may have some value in the present Venezuela controversy. This book was published in Edinburgh in 1843, and is a treatise on the fishes of Guiana, written by Robert Schomburgk, who surveyed the boundary line on which Great Britain now founds her claim to such a large share of territory belonging to Venezuela. Prefixed to the book is a memoir of nearly a

hundred pages, including a lengthy account of his operations in Guiana and Venezuela between the years 1835 and 1839. On Sept. 20, 1838, Schomburgk and a party of explorers sailed up the Takuta River and entered the Mamu. In a village in which they remained several days they were guests of the Indians. Continuing his account of the journey. Schomburgk says:

“At length the column was put in marching order, the coxswain at the head, carrying the British union flag, under which they had been marching for the last three ears through hitherto unknown parts of Guiana. Now it was to lead them beyond the British boundaries into regions known only to the copper-colored Indian; but they were animated with the hope of reaching for the first time from this side of the Continent, the point which Baron Humboldt had in 1800, after many difficulties, arrive at from the westward—namely, Esmeraldo, on the Orinoco.”

This shows that, whatever surveys or lines Schomburgk may have made afterward, in 1838 and 1889, he admitted that that territory was alien to the British.

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BRITISH GUIANA CLAIMS  
Their Variations Since the Territory Was Acquired  
NO DEFINITE BOUNDARY UNTIL 1843  
Sir Robert H. Schomburgk Gave the English a Liberal Slice  
of Venezuela—Maps of Various Dates

Immediately following the Peace of Paris, in 1815, which confirmed the right of Great Britain to the three provinces in Guiana which she had wrested from the Dutch, there were some enthusiasts in England who conjectured that British Guiana comprised nearly all of South America below the Orinoco River.

Sir Andrew Halliday, who visited Guiana, in a book published in 1837, in a glowing description of British Guiana, said:

“The coast line of this rich and important colony may, as I have stated, extend to a little more than 200 miles; but its depth or length inland has not so far as I am aware, been as yet determined.

“One or two travelers do say that they had penetrated so far to the south that from the summit of the Cordilleras they could discern the South Atlantic Ocean; and that from said heights the waters parted north and south. Hence some have conjectured that this is the southern boundary of British Guiana, though its true latitude has neither been ascertained, nor is it at all stated in any work that I am aware of.”

Sir Andrew did not venture to say that from the topmost heights in question there was a good view or the south pole and the Fiji Islands.

One fact is made clear by Sir Andrew Halliday in his book, namely, that Great Britain, up to 1837, had made no definite claim to boundaries for British Guiana, and had not even attempted to lay out boundaries.

Exactly what Great Britain conquered from the Dutch were the colonies along the Essequibo. The contention of Great Britain has been that she is entitled to the whole immense valley of the

Essequibo, and to the entire Essequibo watershed, extending in all directions to the very ridges of high mountain ranges, hundreds of miles distant from the colonies which the British arms originally took by conquest.

Sir Andrew Halliday's statements regarding the haziness of the British Guiana boundary were corroborated by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, in a book published by him in London, in 1840, entitled "A Description of British Guiana." The object of the work was to give an account of whatever related to the physical structure, natural productions, and present and future capabilities of the colony of British Guiana, including statistical information.

The whole embraced the results of Schomburgk's scientific expeditions of discovery in Guiana from 1835 to 1839, under the direction of the Geographical Society of London. A map accompanied the book.

In his preface Schomburgk said: "Though the accompanying map is incomplete, many of its details resting on information procured from the natives, yet the greater portion has been laid down from my own personal observations, and offers a correct view of the facilities which the numerous rivers and their tributaries afford for internal navigation, and will show how important it is to the colony that its boundaries should be more clearly defined than at present and freed from the encroaching claims of the adjacent States, which, if admitted, would deprive British Guiana of the greater part of her most valuable territory."

Schomburgk's sketch map of British Guiana gave to the British such a liberal slice of Venezuela that it was decided by the British Foreign Office that he was just the right man to lay out a boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana.

Accordingly, in 1840, he was appointed as Her Majesty's Commissioner for surveying the boundaries of British Guiana. He proceeded to South America and was engaged in that work for three years, completing his labors in 1843. They found official expression in a line which has ever since been known as the "Schomburgk line."

A comparison of the boundary line in Schomburgk's sketch map, made prior to 1840, with the "Schomburgk line" laid down by him as her Majesty's Commissioner, will show that the two are practically identical. When Schomburgk drew his arbitrary line, he set up posts, to indicate British dominion, at Point Barima, Amacuro, and other localities. The Venezuelan Government made a vigorous protest, and Lord Aberdeen, then English Foreign Secretary, ordered the posts removed. This was taken to indicate that England did not contend that she was entitled to all the watershed of the Essequibo.

This is made clear by the fact that neither the Schomburgk line nor Lord Aberdeen's proposed boundary, nor any suggested boundary of England, until within very recently, included the watershed of the Cuyuni River, a tributary of the Essequibo. The most extreme claim of England, until the present, was for a boundary crossing the Rio Cuyuni at a point east of its junction with the Uspania River.

The fluctuating claims of England are further illustrated by a map published in London in 1842, under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The authorities given for the map are Humboldt, Schomburgk, Godazzi, and others. The difference between this line and the "Schomburgk line" will be seen on comparing the two.

The old French geographers did not give British Guiana any territory to speak of west of the Essequibo River. The "Dictionnaire Géographique Universel," published in Paris in 1828, stated the area of British Guiana to be only 3,120 square leagues. It called British Guiana the smallest of the Guianas.

In an old French map in the “Atlas Universel de Géographie,” published in Paris in 1839, the line of British Guiana extends parallel, generally speaking, with the Essequibo River, distant only a few leagues west thereof. It included only the bottom lands of the Essequibo Valley.

Most instructive of all maps is that published in The New-York Times Dec. 18, and now reproduced, showing the various boundary lines proposed by Great Britain. It will be seen that the line of Lord Aberdeen, suggested by him in 1844, gave the Venezuelans a portion of inland territory in exchange for a large slice of the coast.

The Granville line of 1881 claimed still more of the ocean coast, and gave Venezuela no more of the interior than had been offered to her by Lord Aberdeen.

The present British claim has been enlarged so as to take in all of the watershed of the Cuyuni River. It was not proposed by Great Britain until the valuable gold mines were discovered at the Cuyuni head waters.

Sir Andrew Halliday, in the work already referred to, states that even as late as his time, fifty years after the British had conquered the country, the population was practically confined to the centres of the river valleys.

He says: “As yet a few patches only along the seacoast and on the banks of its three great rivers have been subjected to cultivation.”

Schomburgk himself, in his book “A Description of British Guiana,” made it clear that only a very small part of the immense territory claimed from Venezuela by Great Britain was or had ever been colonized by the English or even discovered or traversed by them. As long ago as 1837, Schomburgk indicated, the claims of Venezuela on the one side and Brazil on the other reduced the territory of British Guiana to 12,300 square miles. The Brazilians claimed as far north as the Siparunus River. Venezuela then claimed to the mouth of the Morocco, from there to the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni, along the western bank of the Essequibo to the confluence of the River Rupununi.

According to Schomburgk, the total population of whites in the Essequibo Province in 1829 was only 476 men and 183 women. There was still a thinly scattered population of the aborigines.

Schomburgk’s sketch map of British Guiana shows absolutely not a single English or Dutch settlement large or small in the entire country in dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, save only along the banks of the Essequibo.

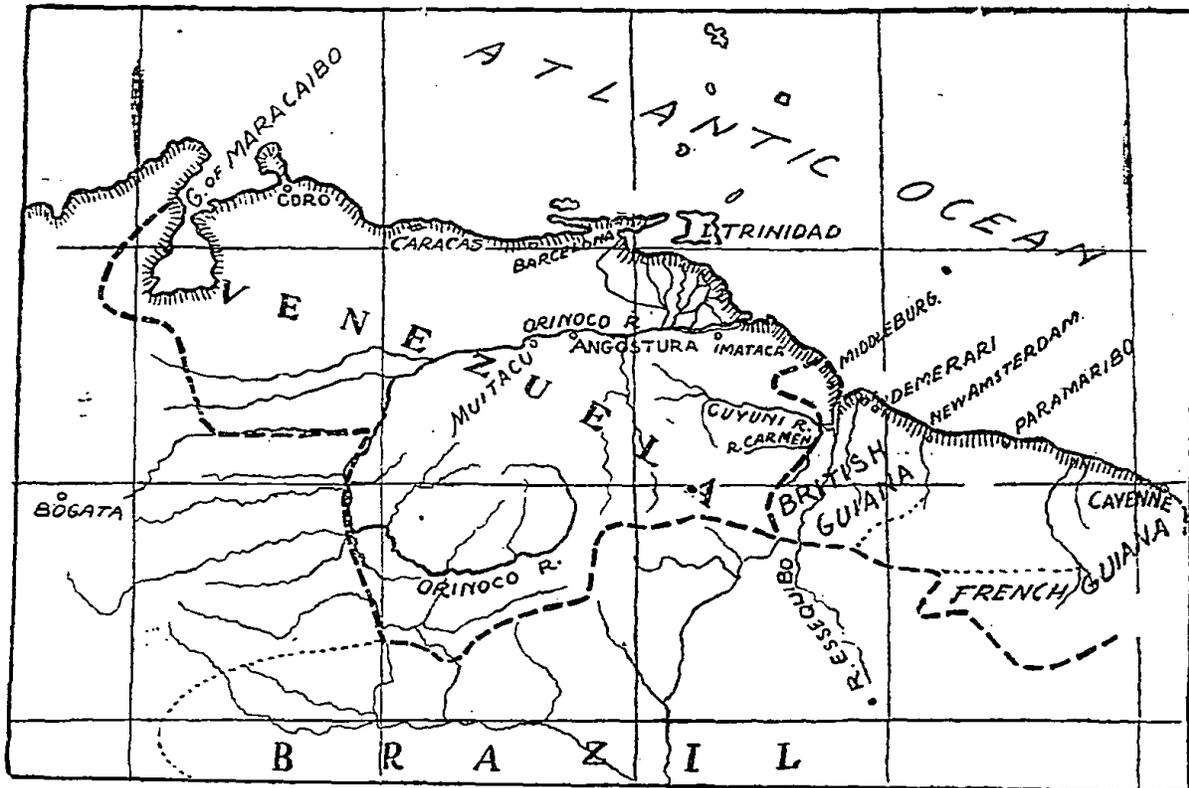
He says in his book there were only seven towns or villages in all of British Guiana. None of them was west of the Essequibo River. They were Georgetown, on the eastern flank or the Demerara; New-Amsterdam, on the Berbice River; Mahaica, on the west bank of the river of that name; Mahaicony, on the river of that name; Fredericksburg, on the island Wakenaam, in the mouth of the Essequibo; Williamstown, on the Essequibo, and Catharinesburg, on the same river.

“The Dutch,” says Schomburgk, “formerly cultivated the banks of the Essequibo 100 miles above its embouchure. If we except the three islands at the mouth of the river, cultivation does not extend at present five miles beyond its mouth.

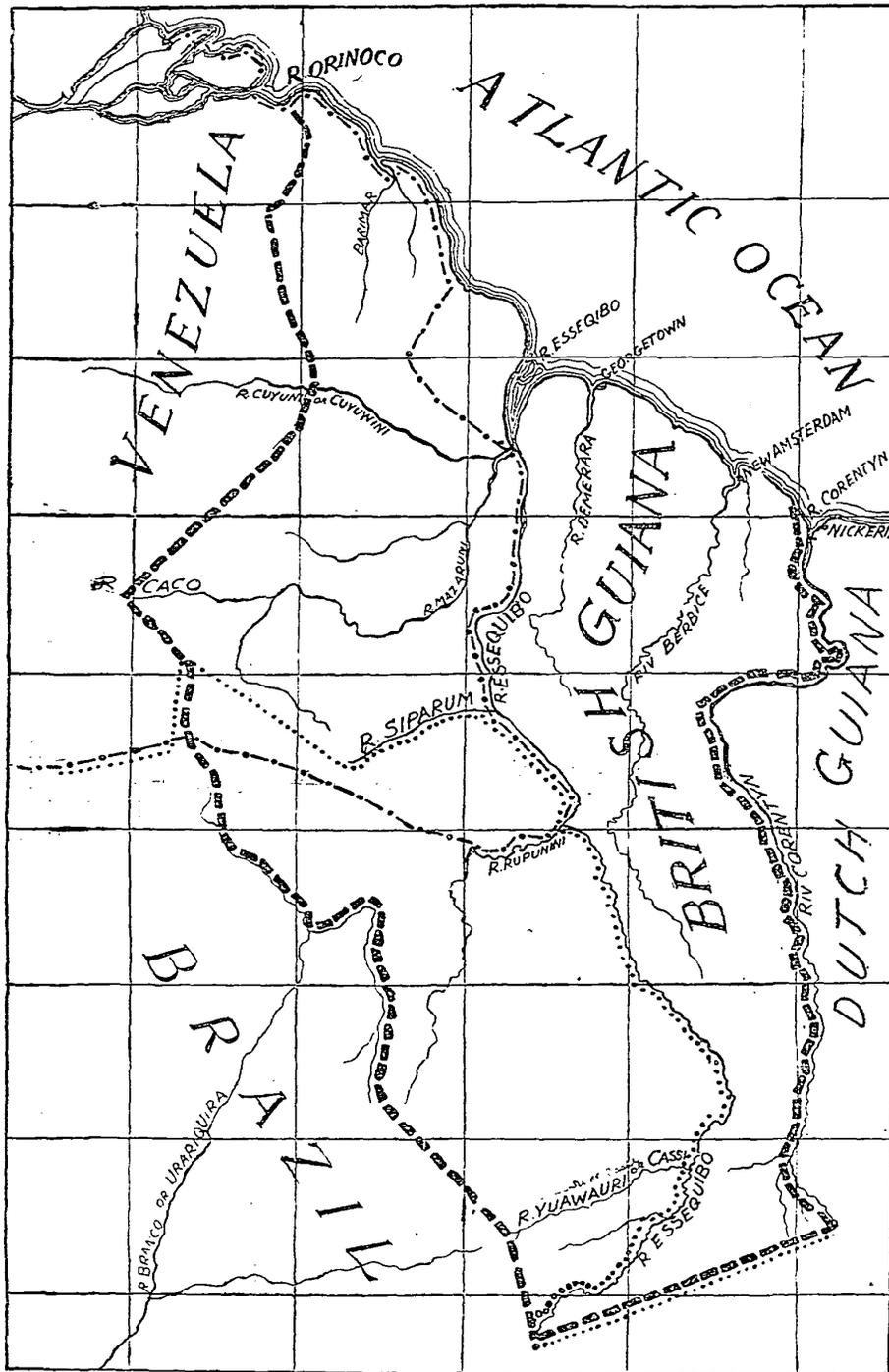
“The same remarks apply to the rich coast land of the rivers Pomeroon and Morocco.”

The claim sometimes advanced in support of the English that they were entitled at least to the country so far as the Essequibo and tributaries were navigable would never have given Great Britain a title of the Venezuelan territory which she has claimed. Schornburgk says: “The Rivers Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, and Corentyn may be navigated inland by schooners or steamboats unobstructed to a distance of from 50 to 125 miles, where the rapids and cataracts offer the first impediment to further advance.”

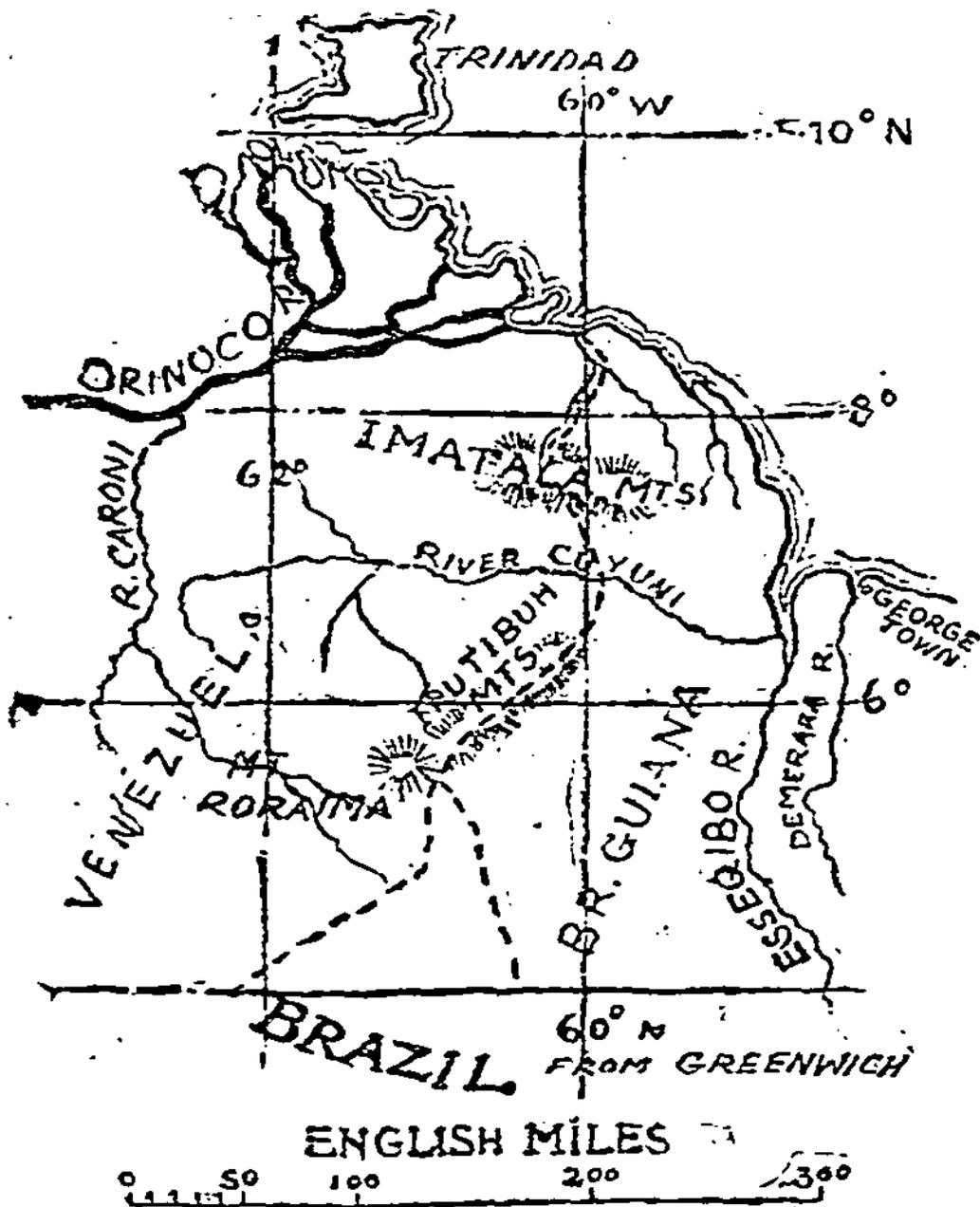
26 - 31 December 1895



**Old French Map of the Boundary Line.**  
Published in the Atlas Universel de Géographie in 1839.

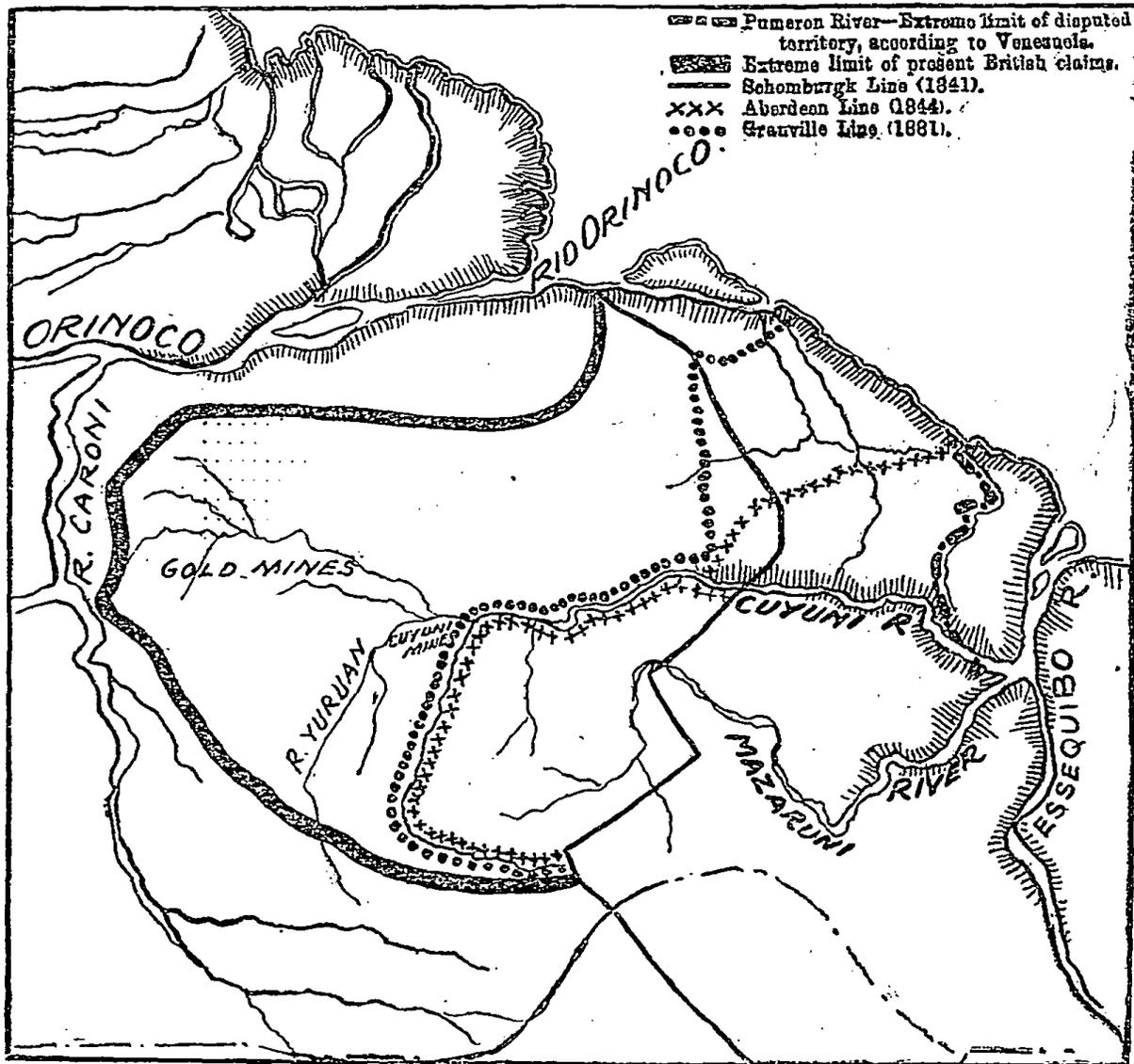


**Schomburgk's Sketch Map.**  
Made by Him Before He "Surveyed" the Boundary.



**An English Map.**

Published in 1842 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.



**Great Britain's Various Boundary Lines.**

Reproduced from a Map Printed in The New-York Times Dec. 18.

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CALLS SALISBURY A BULLY  
Michael Davitt of Ireland Discusses the Venezuela Question  
ENGLAND, HE SAYS, WILL YIELD  
Not a Possibility of War in His Judgment—He Predicts a  
Peaceful Settlement of the Dispute

CHICAGO, Dec. 29.—Michael Davitt, the Irish Nationalist, and member of Parliament from South Mayo and East Derry, is in this city on his way home from Australia.

He said to-day that he did not think there was the slightest possibility of war between the United States and Great Britain.

Lord Salisbury," said Mr. Davitt, "is known in Great Britain and in Ireland as a bully whose policy when he has been at the head of the Government has been to try to intimidate little nations and powers throughout the world. He has been able to do so with impunity heretofore, but now he finds that behind little Venezuela stands America, and he will discover that he will not be allowed to carry on the same policy toward this small State in South America that he and other English statesmen have carried out toward weak peoples and small Governments in other parts of the world.

"For myself, I only can repeat that I am glad such a stand has been taken by the United States. It was about time, and the upshot of it will be that the reasonable demand made by the President to have the whole trouble submitted to arbitration will be accepted by England, and then the seat of operations will be transferred from the newspapers to diplomacy. I believe that war is so far away that it is outside the realm of probability, because, after all, look at it in this light: The commercial relations between this country and Great Britain are so enormous that the people of the United States on the one hand and of Great Britain on the other practically would be insane if they jeopardized these trade relations on account of a small affair like this in Venezuela—a little 40,000 square miles of worthless country.

"This is particularly plain when it is taken into consideration that the President of the United States makes so favorable a proposition as to have the whole matter submitted for arbitration."

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COMMENDS THE ADMINISTRATION  
Harry Bingham, Leader of the New Hampshire Bar, on the Monroe Doctrine

At a reunion of the New-Hampshire members of the Grand Army of the Republic, held at Littleton, N. H. on Thursday, the principal speaker was Harry Bingham, the leader of the New-Hampshire bar. Mr. Bingham devoted much of his speech to the Venezuelan question, and among other things said:

A gold-bearing region has been discovered in Venezuela, and Great Britain claims it as within the boundaries of her dominion. This contention has raised a first-class controversy, which is now in

full blast. Our Government is properly taking the ground that, according to its established policy, the gold-bearing region, if within the proper boundaries of Venezuela, cannot be taken from Venezuela without its consent, and that Great Britain must not encroach upon the territory of any of the countries upon this continent or plant new colonies upon it. Great Britain has also a controversy with one of the Central American States in which her real purpose is more obscure.

Gold having been found in Alaska, it is said that Great Britain, as usual, is about to start a controversy, in which she will claim that the newly discovered gold has been found within the limits of her dominion.

England maintains impregnable fortifications at Halifax, Bermuda, Esquimault, and various other places on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of America as naval stations, whence she can send on a moment's notice sufficient force to bombard and burn our seaport cities, or like cities of any of our sister republics. It is certainly not pleasant for us and for the other American republics to realize that these fortifications that darken the coasts of America are stations for the colossal navies of Great Britain, and that ironclad ships, armed with all the modern implements of swift destruction, may issue from these stations and within twenty-four hours after orders received assail and destroy the seaports of America. And it is especially unpleasant and embarrassing for us and our sister republics to be compelled to hold debates with Great Britain for the settlement of these constantly occurring controversies, while she stands with her arm of power uplifted, ready to strike us or them on the instant at a vital point.

Our country in our dealings with foreign nations has had a wise policy that has been gradually developed according to circumstances. The present situation has developed circumstances that call for a further enlargement of that policy. The great nations of Europe are now maintaining immense standing armies and powerful navies, with all the materials necessary for immediate war on hand. It is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and we do not desire to maintain corresponding armaments and corresponding readiness for immediate war; but we must do so or stand at great disadvantage in settling the territorial questions that are constantly arising with European powers, especially with England. Hence it has become an object of great importance to us that the great powers of Europe, particularly England, should not possess dominions on any part of this continent. The growth which our foreign policy has had in the past should continue. Washington, that far-seeing man, initiated this policy by announcing that the United States would not interfere with the affairs of the Eastern world; that it would not make any offensive and defensive alliances there; that it offered to all nations alike friendly relations, conceding nothing to one which it did not concede to the other. These ideas were embodied tersely in the mottoes of succeeding Administrations in these words: "Good will and friendship to all nations, entangling alliances with none." This policy was enlarged in 1823, and President Monroe then announced that European Governments must not plant new colonies, nor extend their existing possessions, nor interfere with existing Governments within the limits of the Western Hemisphere. This doctrine, called the "Monroe doctrine," has been indorsed and approved by our people without distinction of party.

The time has now arrived when circumstances demand that in order that justice may be done, and the peace of nations preserved, there should be a further enlargement of our foreign policy. We ought to demand of the great powers of Europe relinquishment of dominion over any part of the western hemisphere upon such terms as in view of the present situation are just and equitable, to be determined by arbitration or otherwise. In making this demand we should not threaten war, but we should base our claim upon those broad and equitable principles that have been recognized already by the controlling nations of the earth, and are getting better and better recognized as time goes on.

The principle has been recognized that territory may be taken from a nation and parceled out among other nations, or erected into a new and independent nation, that the sovereignty of a nation may be denied and a protectorate established, accordingly as by so doing wars may be done away with, the permanent peace of nations made secure, and the welfare of the world protected. England, with the consent of the other great powers, occupies and controls Egypt for its good for the preservation of peace and for the purpose of maintaining the Suez Canal open to the commerce of the world. England compelled China to open her ports to the commerce of the world on the ground that nations owed to each other reciprocal obligations in respect to trade and intercourse, and that if any nation shut itself up and refused to trade and have intercourse with the rest of mankind, it was the right of any nation, or nations, thereby debarred to compel, by force, such delinquent nation to perform its obligations to the outside world. England conquered India, and now rules over the countless millions of people which inhabit that country. This act of invasion and conquest of ancient sovereignties the world approves, because India itself benefited thereby, and the welfare of the world promoted. England, France, Germany, and other European nations are to-day engaged in subduing the wild tribes of Africa, Madagascar, Australia, and the numerous islands of Polynesia, and in planting colonies everywhere. Nobody objects. Everybody approves, and the welfare of the world is promoted by having the waste places of the earth, now haunted by savages alone, peopled by civilized men.

America has always refrained, and will always refrain, from intermeddling with the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere. We only demand that the rights of our citizens lawfully sojourning there be respected. England and her concert of European powers may settle the Eastern question to suit themselves. They may maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire or dissolve it and parcel out its territory as they please. Upon them must rest the responsibility for the wrongs now or hereafter done to the Christian inhabitants of the Turkish territory. They may regulate jointly or severally the affairs of Europe, Asia, and Africa, of Australia, and the many isles in the waters of the Eastern Hemisphere as unto them seemeth good. The United States will not interfere, but she claims, as one of the great powers of the earth, that her voice should be a potential one in regulating the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, and that she, with the other nations of America should determine the question as to the distribution of territory in that hemisphere. The well being of America and the welfare at the world demand that it should be so. It would be a great relief to America if the great powers of Europe exercising dominion over American territory would abandon such dominion and permit the people of such territory to govern themselves.

We have already discussed Spain and the character of the rule which she exercises in America. The other powers of Europe, with the exception at England, hold dominion over territory in America of limited extent only and of small importance. Whether or not such dominion shall be surrendered is a question of little account, except in one case it would be obeying and in the other disobeying a general rule. England claims to have great dominions in America as she does everywhere else. The substantial part of what she claims in America is Canada and the territory connected therewith in North America lying north of us and not including Alaska. This claim embraces a very considerable part of the earth, covering an area of at least 3,500,000 of square miles; a little of it inhabited and some of it uninhabitable. This vast Canadian territory is susceptible of indefinite development; but it is not now making progress. It is substantially at a standstill, There is more emigration out of it than immigration into it. It would be so no longer if British domination was removed. English dominion is an incubus upon the territory north of us. While it continues there will be no prosperity, no go ahead. Enterprise will languish, business will stagnate, and there

will be no growth, but let the Canadian territories be free and independent, allow the people there to strike out for themselves and the march of progress will begin at once. The woodchopper's ax will make the forests ring. Its mineral deposits will be discovered and made available. The hum of busy industries will be heard where now the noise of falling waters is the only sound that breaks the solemn stillness of nature. Population will increase at a rapid rate, and land values will be quadrupled many times. Everything will be booming.

While, as we have seen, the removal of British domination would be a great boon to the nations now organized in the western hemisphere, it would be an infinitely greater boon to the people of those American territories now under British dominion. The domination of England over any part of America is not beneficial to anybody there. It is offensive and annoying to everybody there. It is especially paralyzing to the territories over which it exists. It is an unqualified nuisance in every particular so far as America is concerned.

So far as England is concerned it would be better for her to give up her dominion in America. She gets no revenue from her Canadian territories. It must cost her heavily to maintain her fortified naval stations at Halifax, Bermuda, and Esquimaux. The prosperity that independence will give to the people of the Canadian territories will enable them greatly to augment their trade with England, and thus they will richly compensate her for any loss she may think she has suffered by granting such independence. England has dominions from which she is deriving a profit where she is needed and desired sufficient in magnitude to keep all her governing capacity busily employed. Certainly it cannot be expected that she will desire to hold on to a dominion which affords her no profit, where she is neither needed or wanted, and where she is nothing but a nuisance to the people of that dominion and the people of all its neighboring countries.

In regard to the foregoing suggestions, inquiry perhaps may be made somewhat in this way: Suppose all that has been stated to be true, and that the dominion of England over any part of America is an unmitigated nuisance to the people of that dominion and to the people of every part of America. Suppose further that England refuses to treat about surrendering her American dominions, and refuses to submit the question to arbitration, what can be done without it?" The answer to this inquiry made on the case supposed is plain. The people of America would be fully justified in taking up arms and compelling England to relinquish her dominion over every part of America. Such an undertaking, however, ought not to be entered upon by the American people unless after careful consideration they thought they could accomplish it, because such attempts when they fail are not productive of good, they only make matters worse. The circumstances of modern times have been and are such that strong nations, even when they had good cause, have hesitated about going to war. They have delayed and debated long before resorting to that final arbitrator. The course, however, which we ought to take is not doubtful. Let us adhere to established foreign policy and the principles that underlie it at all times, on all occasions whatever political party may be in power. Let England understand that we consider her existing dominion in America to be an unmitigated nuisance and that our people are unitedly determined that she must abandon it. Let us give our reasons fully and continue in our opportunities without ceasing, and it is believed that she will yield. But if not and war must come, then let us do as we have done before in similar circumstances when we were much weaker than we are now. Let us trust in the God of battle.

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Approves the President's Interposition

From The Christian Work

We heartily approve the interposition of the President in behalf of Venezuela as an act of justice in behalf of a weaker State and an action carrying with it the quality of humanity. If we concede that the President might have assumed a less menacing attitude, we may also insist that Lord Salisbury might and should have been less exasperating and offensive in his dispatch to Mr. Olney, the rasping tone of which, in sending his reply, formed the immediate occasion, if it was not the efficient cause, of the President's action. But, how ever wise or unwise any of the parties to the present controversy may have been is a matter of the past, discussion of which would probably not be profitable. The important question for each of the parties is how to reach a settlement satisfactory and honorable alike to all. That may not be the boundary line determined by President Cleveland's commission, but assuredly neither will it be Lord Salisbury's arbitrary Schomburgk boundary line. Of this latter there can be no question. Happily, the way to peace seems open.

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VIEWS OF SENATOR SHERMAN

He Agrees with President Cleveland on the Venezuelan Question

Senator John Sherman expressed himself Sunday to a correspondent of The Philadelphia Press in Washington, as follows:

I can only express my gratification that the general sentiment now prevailing both in the United States and Great Britain is that the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela ought not to be the occasion of estranged relations, much less of war. I am strongly in favor of the general principle announced by President Monroe that the United States will regard any forcible invasion of the territory of an American State by a European power as an unfriendly act. The boundary question between Venezuela and Great Britain has been the subject of controversy for many years, and is a proper question to be settled by arbitration between those powers. Before the announcement of his doctrine by Mr. Monroe, Great Britain had acquired from Holland a settlement at British Guiana. The country between that possession and the settlements in Venezuela was an unoccupied territory of little value except for minerals. The inroads of English settlers upon this region have given rise to disputes between the two Governments, and each at different times has refused to arbitrate the question of boundary.

I do not feel justified in criticising the President for his message, as his assertion and definition of the Monroe doctrine is, I believe, a correct one, and whether it is a dogma of international law or of American policy, it has a strong hold upon all of the nations of these continents, and was

recognized and encouraged by Great Britain before its announcement by President Monroe. All parts of America are now occupied by civilized and Christian nations, the descendants of European ancestors, and they are no longer open to the conquests of European powers.

The refusal of Lord Salisbury to arbitrate this question of boundary naturally created a feeling of resentment, but recent indications that this refusal will not be insisted upon by Great Britain have changed the whole current of public opinion, and now I believe the United States will, with the same unanimity expressed by Congress, cheerfully acquiesce in the decision of any fair tribunal that may be agreed upon between the two countries interested. The President in his communication to Congress opens the way to such a settlement by declaring that any boundary line fixed by the two continents will be cheerfully acquiesced in.

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LODGE LOOKS FOR PEACE  
Venezuela Dispute the Result of a Misunderstanding  
THE MONROE DOCTRINE EXPLAINED  
England's Boundary Policy Has Been Dictated by Greed—Democrats  
in Sympathy with the Senator

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30.—In a speech delivered in the Senate to-day on the subject of the Monroe doctrine and its application to the Venezuelan boundary question. Mr. Lodge presented a series of historical facts and apt allusions which will be read with interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The controversy was due, he acknowledged, to the mistaken idea in England of the temper of the American people. The question, he contended, was one to be treated with the utmost gravity, for it involved the safety and honor of the United States.

The speech is generally regarded by Senators as a fair exposition of the principle of the Monroe doctrine and its relation to the boundary dispute. Mr. Lodge spoke from printed slips for more than an hour, and had the closest attention. He frequently was interrupted by Democratic Senators with questions which disclosed their sympathy with his position.

Mr. Lodge spoke upon the Monroe doctrine. He said that he had intended not to do so until the joint resolution introduced by him giving to the declaration made by Mr. Monroe in his message of December, 1823, the format sanction of Congress had received the consideration of the Committee on Foreign Relations. But since, the President had sent in his message on the Venezuelan difficulty, and Congress, without a dissenting voice, had authorized the commission which the President requested. This action had led to much wild talk and cries more vocal than numerous from those who believe we should never do anything to clash with England's interests. This outcry, coupled with London's attempt to frighten Congress by producing a stock panic, had tended to confuse the issue. He, therefore, thought a little cool explanation would not be out of place.

Two cardinal principles, he said, had always governed the United States in its relations with foreign nations. The first was Washington's neutrality doctrine, as laid down in the farewell address. The second was the Monroe doctrine, the history of which he traced in detail. The only attempt

heretofore made by outside powers to break through that doctrine was the joint intervention of England, France, and Spain in Mexico in 1861. A second case has now arisen, and the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine is again threatened, as it was by the French in 1862. This second attack upon the principle of the Monroe doctrine comes from Great Britain, and is made under cover of a boundary dispute with Venezuela. In order to show the importance of this controversy, which has now reached a crisis affecting most gravely the honor, the interests, the rights and the well-settled policy of the United States, he sketched the history of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, and of the negotiations between the two countries. He continued as follows:

It will be observed, from this brief outline of the dispute, that no new rights have come to England or to Venezuela since 1814, i.e., since the declaration of President Monroe. They have the rights of Spain and Holland, respectively, nothing more and nothing less, and are entitled to exactly what those inherited rights give them. In 1836 a British Minister acknowledged that Point Barima belonged to Venezuela by asking the Venezuelan Government to erect a lighthouse there. In 1840 a British court in Demerara declared the territory of the Moroco, far to the east of the Orinoco, to be Venezuelan territory. In 1841 an English engineer laid out a perfectly arbitrary line running from the mouth of the Orinoco in a southerly direction until it reached the western boundary of British Guiana. Lord Aberdeen disavowed this line, and proposed another starting at the River Moroco and going further into the interior. Lord Granville proposed another reaching further to the west. Lord Rosebery another inside the Schomburgk line, but coupled with the free navigation of the Orinoco. In 1893 he proposed a second line, and meantime Lord Salisbury had extended the British claim while he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Every British Minister had offered a different line within which Great Britain would not consent to arbitrate, and every British Minister has gone beyond his predecessor in making fresh claims to territory beyond the line which he offered. At first sight this seems to denote inconsistency on the part of the British Government, but in reality their course has been just the reverse. There is apparently just as much support for one line as another when they pass beyond the Valley of the Essequibo. From Schomburgk down, every line was entirely arbitrary, and the constantly growing claims beyond the various lines offered was in entire keeping with the policy of the British Government. Their object was to get as much new territory as they could if the matter ever came to a settlement, which they have used every artifice to delay

Asserting his belief that Great Britain had no good claim to a foot of land beyond the Essequibo, Mr. Lodge laid down the principle that if England, with no authority but a disputed claim, seizes territory, and declines arbitration upon it, her action does not differ from seizing and holding new territory in the Americas by right of conquest. The seizure of this South American territory by England, he asserted, was an absolute violation of the Monroe doctrine. He said:

At the last session of Congress I called the attention of the Senate and of the country to the manner in which England had absorbed the Islands of the Pacific and to the necessity of our controlling the Hawaiian Islands, a necessity which now becomes more pressing with each succeeding day. I ask you now to look at the Caribbean Sea. I ask you to note the strong naval station which England has established at St. Lucia. Follow a line thence to the westward, and you will find Trinidad, the development of which has been strongly pushed of late years; then Jamaica, and finally British Honduras. That line faces the South American coast. This territory, claimed from Venezuela, is being pushed steadily to the westward along that coast, and the point at which it aims is the control of the mouths of the Orinoco, one of the great river systems of South America. The purpose of all these movements is written plainly on the map. If successful, they will give Great Britain control of the Spanish Main and make the Caribbean Sea little better than a British lake.

We have seen British forces at Corinto. We know the attitude the British assume in Venezuela. They are attempting to take land on the Alaskan boundary. They have just denounced the *modus vivendi* and reopened in that way the perilous dispute of the Northeastern fisheries. It is not by accident that these events have all occurred or have all come to an acute stage within the past year. They are not due to us, for we have committed no aggression upon anybody. Of all these difficulties which are now upon us, the most immediate is that involved in the dispute with Venezuela. They tell us that this territory is remote and worthless. It is remote, perhaps, but it is not worthless,

for if it had been the Venezuelan possession of it would be undisturbed. But it matters not whether it is worthless or valuable. The tea tax was trivial but our forefathers refused to pay it, because it involved a great principle, and the attempt to collect it cost Great Britain her North American colonies. The American people believe to-day just as firmly in the principle at the Monroe doctrine. They deem it essential to their honor, their safety, and their interests as a nation, and they are prepared to defend it when it is assailed.

Mr. President, who is responsible for the unhappily strained relations between England and the United States? As I have pointed out, we have not been the aggressors on any of the points now in dispute, whether in Alaska or Venezuela. What then has strained our relations? The peremptory refusal to arbitrate this question of boundary. Who gave that refusal? Great Britain. We have appointed a commission, not to arbitrate between Great Britain and Venezuela, but to inform us, after careful investigation, what the true divisional line, in its opinion, should be. Who has drawn an arbitrary line at boundary and declared that they would not arbitrate to the east of it? Not the United States, but Great Britain. Ultimatums are what strain relations, and they have come from Great Britain and not from us. I believe that this question will be peacefully settled by the good sense of the representatives of England and the United States, but I am very clear that such settlement can only be reached by action on the part of Congress and of the President which shall be as temperate as it is firm, and which shall maintain the Monroe doctrine absolutely wherever it justly applies. The doctrine is as important to us as is the balance of power to Europe, and those who maintain the latter must not attempt to break down the principle which guards the integrity of the Americas and protect them from the interference of foreign powers.

In the course of Mr. Lodge's historical review of the Venezuelan boundary question he was asked by Mr. Hill (Dem., N.Y.) whether Venezuela had ever, at any time, refused arbitration.

"Never," Mr. Lodge replied.

"I refer to that," Mr. Hill explained "on account of a published interview with Mr. Lincoln in a Chicago newspaper, in which it was stated that Venezuela had refused arbitration."

"I never met," Mr. Lodge said "with any instance in which Venezuela refused arbitration. So far as I am aware she has sought arbitration constantly. She has rejected one or two of the compromises offered by Great Britain. She rejected one of them because Great Britain insisted on free navigation of the Orinoco. I do not think that Venezuela has ever rejected arbitration. On the contrary, she has always sought it."

At another point in the narrative Mr. Lodge was asked by Mr. Chandler (Rep N.H.) whether he had discovered any trace of the Indians with whom treaties had been said to have been made.

"I have not," Mr. Lodge replied. "They must be concealed in the British 'case'."

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THE VENEZUELAN BOARD  
Justice Brewer Said to be Chosen for the Commission  
NO CONFIRMATION AT WHITE HOUSE  
The President Finds It Hard to Excuse the Men He Wants  
to Investigate Venezuela's Boundary

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30.—Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court, it is announced positively in a local paper, has been offered and has accepted a place on the Venezuelan Boundary Commission. Justice Brewer is silent on the subject, and at the White House it is stated that none of the names of

the Commissioners to be selected by the President will be announced until all the members have been chosen.

An impression has been given by a Cabinet officer that the make-up or the commission will be submitted at to-morrow's Cabinet meeting, and that after the names have been considered in that meeting the commission will be announced to the public.

It is learned that the President has sent out many communications on the subject to leading citizens who would, if they would accept, command a large share of public confidence, but that many of those whom the President was disposed to select were unable, by reason of ill health or urgent private business demanding constant attention, to take up this important public work.

From this report the inference is drawn that the commission will have less rather than more than five members.

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#### MAKE-UP OF THE COMMISSION

##### Justice Brewer Thinks It Possible Chief Justice Fuller May Be a Member

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 29.—Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court passed through this city to-day en route from San Antonio, Texas—where he has been at the bedside of a sick daughter—to Washington. Judge Brewer said the report that he had been asked to accept a place on the Venezuelan commission was untrue.

“I would not be surprised,” he added, “if Chief Justice Fuller should be asked to take a place on the commission. He and the President are warm friends. Mr. Cleveland appointed him Chief Justice in 1888. The Chief Justice would make an excellent man for the place, but, although he is wiry and is capable of doing an immense amount of work, I do not think he would accept the post. His duties then would be too great for any man.

“As to Gen. Harrison, I do not think that he would accept a place on the commission. He probably can make more money out of his law practice and not do such hard work. And then—although I do not know—he may be a candidate for President.

“If he is a candidate for President he probably wishes to be where the politicians gather, and he would not have the time to do this if he should act on the commission. . .”

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WAS SCHOMBURGK'S WORK  
England's Claim Began with the Knowledge of Venezuela's Wealth  
SALISBURY ANSWERED BY GRANVILLE  
Documentary Evidence that the Premier Did Not Correctly State the Facts  
in His Letter to Secretary Olney

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31.—The State Department has made a discovery of considerable importance in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, which throws new documentary light on the British contention of ownership west of the Schomburgk line, and Lord Salisbury's refusal to agree to arbitration east of that line. In the opinion of those officials engaged in studying the various phases of the controversy, this official document demonstrates that England had no idea of claiming a large part of Venezuela until Schomburgk's scientific explorations had disclosed the great wealth of the region, and that she then determined to make exorbitant claims, trusting that part of them, at least, would stick.

It is also their opinion that the document nullifies a large part of Lord Salisbury's reply to Secretary Olney, by showing that the English Premier has not been entirely disingenuous in his relation of matters of fact. Lord Salisbury, in undertaking to correct Mr. Olney's statement that the dispute began as least as early as 1814, which he says is founded on misconception, declares that the dispute on the subject of the frontier did not, in fact, commence until after the year 1840, and he then proceeds to narrate the true circumstances connected with the marking of what is called the Schomburgk line, in the main as follows:

A grant was made in 1835 by the British Government for the exploration of the interior of the British Colony, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Schomburgk, who was employed on this service, on his return to the capital of the colony in July 1839, called the attention of the Government to the necessity for an early demarcation of its boundaries. In consequence he was appointed in November, 1840, Special Commissioner for provisionally surveying and delimiting the boundaries of British Guiana, and notice of the appointment was given to the Governments concerned including that of Venezuela. The intention of Her Majesty's Government at that time was, when the work of the Commissioner had been completed, to communicate to the other Governments their views as to the true boundary of the British Colony, and then to settle any details to which those Governments might take objection.

It is important to notice that Sir R. Schomburgk did not discover or invent any new boundaries. In submitting the maps of his survey, on which he indicated the line which he would propose to Her Majesty's Government for adopting, Sir R. Schomburgk called attention to the fact that Her Majesty's Government might justly claim the whole basin of the Cuyuni and Yuruari on the ground that the natural boundary of the colony included any territory through which flow rivers which fall into the Essequibo.

"Upon this principle," he wrote, "the boundary-line would run from the sources of the Carumani towards the sources of the Cuyuni proper, and from thence towards its far more northern tributaries, the Rivers Iruary (Yuruari) and Iruang (Yuruan), and thus approach the very heart of Venezuelan Guiana." But, on grounds of complaisance to Venezuela, he proposed that Great Britain should consent to surrender her claim to a more extended frontier inland in return for the formal

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recognition of her right to Point Barima. It was on this principle that he drew the boundary-line which has since been called by his name.

The newly discovered document consists of a letter from Viscount Leveson, (afterwards Earl Granville) British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Sir James Stephen, permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies, written under instructions from Lord Palmerston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, for the guidance of Lord John Russell, Secretary for War and Colonies. This important letter shows exactly what went on inside the British Cabinet at the time.

Schomburgk had been sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in 1835 with funds supplied by the Government to explore the Orinoco country, and that on his return to England in 1839, and apparently as a result of his familiarity with the resources of that country, the Government chose him as the most available person to select the richest territory in Guiana, which would naturally constitute England's share in any subsequent division. The note is as follows:

Foreign Office, 18 March 1840.

Sir: I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, relative to the expediency of an arrangement being made with the Brazilian, Venezuelan, and Netherland Governments by which the boundaries of British Guiana may be accurately defined.

With reference to that part of your letter in which you state that Lord J. Russell considers it to be important that the boundaries of British Guiana should be ascertained and agreed upon if possible, and that Mr. Schomburgk's researches in those parts have qualified him in a peculiar manner to be of use, should the services of any person acquainted with the geography of British Guiana be required for fixing the boundaries of the British territory, I am to state to you that the course of proceeding which Lord Palmerston would suggest for the consideration of Lord J. Russell is that a map of British Guiana should be made out according to the boundaries described by Mr. Schomburgk, that the said map should be accompanied by a Memoir describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute the boundaries in question, and that copies of that map and Memoir should be delivered to the Government of Venezuela, of Brazil, and of the Netherlands as a statement of the British claim. That, in the meanwhile, British Commissioners should be sent to erect landmarks on the ground in order to mark out by permanent erections the line of boundary so claimed by Great Britain. It would then rest with each of the three Governments above mentioned to make any objection which they might have to bring forward against these boundaries, and to state the reasons upon which such objections might be founded, and Her Majesty's Government would then give such answers thereto as might appear proper and just.

Lord Palmerston further considers that it would be expedient that the Brazilian detachment should be required to withdraw from Pirara and that the officer in command should be informed that any claim which Brazil may imagine itself to have to that village should be stated by the Brazilian Government to that of Great Britain, in order that it may be discussed and settled between the two Governments.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) LEVESON

To James Stephen

In reference to the last paragraph, it may be stated that Brazil did withdraw from Pirara, and that the southern boundary of British Guiana has now advanced over 100 miles beyond that point.

[1 January 1896]

ENGLAND'S CLAIM NOT TRIFLING  
Her Boundary, If Accepted, Will Take One-third of Venezuela

“I cannot understand,” Carlos C. Bolet, formerly Secretary of the Venezuelan Legation at Washington, and now in this city, said, “how any one except an Englishman, notably desirous of obscuring the real situation, can try to belittle the Venezuelan-Guiana boundary dispute, so called.

“To say that it is ridiculous to talk of war over a trifling boundary dispute seems plausible enough; but, is this a trifling boundary dispute? No one should want war. I have no idea that war is within the limits of possibility. England is not going to fight the United States over a ‘trifling boundary dispute.’ I have not considered that there was the least danger of war at any time, and that despite the fact that to my mind the question at boundary long since gave place to one of foreign aggression on this continent.

The United States, from a pure sense of justice, might well extend its kindly offices to a weak sister republic against the encroachments at a strong European monarchy, but this country has an interest in the question of its own, and that for the reason that Great Britain has gone so far that her designs are palpable. No clever intrusion of the boundary question will afford an excuse for the attempt she is making to appropriate one-third of our country.

“One-third, I say, and a third which includes the control of the mouth of the Orinoco River and of valuable gold mines. The Statesman’s Year Book, their official publication, in 1885 placed the area of British Guiana at 76,000 square miles. The same book in 1886 placed it at 109,000, an increase, you see, at 33,000 in one year. They claimed 26,000 square miles in 1814. Now the maximum claim is something like 115,000 square miles.

“By the treaty of London In 1814, between the Dutch and the English, the Essequibo River is given as the limit of the Dutch possessions that were ceded to Great Britain, but England takes both sides of the Essequibo and both sides of all its tributaries. Then, because the ruins of some Dutch forts are found, farther up the coast toward the mouth of the Orinoco, she pushes her claims to take them in also. It is a matter of history that the Dutch were constantly invaders of the Spanish territory, which is now Venezuela, and they constructed fortifications to protect themselves, but they were invariably repulsed and driven back across the Essequibo.

“Finally, in 1791, a treaty between the Spanish and Dutch was entered into and signed at Aranjuez, Spain. It was a treaty of extradition, and here again the Essequibo was named as the dividing line between the possessions of the two Governments. A photographic copy of this document, which is held by Spain, is now in the possession of the State Department at Washington, and will doubtless play an important part in the investigation by the commission to be appointed by President Cleveland.

“There is another document, which shows that since the independence of Venezuela Great Britain has acknowledged that territory well within her present claim belonged to Venezuela. It relates to Punta Barrima, and the English Government suggests that Venezuela should establish a lighthouse there.

“More modern history shows how groundless are her present pretensions. Look in the Encyclopedia Britannica. The edition of 1887, I think, states the case as it then stood. The comparatively small tract between the Essequibo and a line drawn south from Punta Barrima was

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then in dispute, and each country agreed not to enter upon that tract pending the settlement of the question of boundary.

“Venezuela kept faith, but Great Britain not only occupied that territory, but many times as great an area far beyond it.

“The control of the Orinoco means the control of the interests at nearly the entire northern part of South America. Does this interest the United States?

“Is President Cleveland’s message too strong? Does not his firm attitude now prevent a war which would follow a dispute of greater immediate import? I think it does.”

Mr. Bolet spends a considerable part of his time correcting erroneous statements that creep into print, and combating the perversion of fact systematically persisted in by one or two of what he terms un-American papers.

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#### COLONISTS ASK LAND CONCESSIONS WITHIN THE DISPUTED TERRITORY

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31.—The leading editorial articles of Demerara (British Guiana) papers, which reached the State Department this morning, relate to President Cleveland’s annual message and its reference to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. The Daily Chronicle, the Government organ, says President Cleveland’s remarks really amount to this:

“The established policy of the United States is firmly opposed to the forcible increase of European territory upon the American Continent,” and, conceding that this is a pretty plain proposition, declares that there is only one condition under which Great Britain is at all likely to concede the right of the United States to be sole arbiter of the destinies of the other American republics, and that is that she shall declare a protectorate over them and make herself responsible for their wrongdoings and liabilities, “in fact, assume toward them in deed as well as in word the part of a wet nurse.”

The suggestion for arbitrating the whole dispute is ridiculed, and it is argued that the disparity in power between Great Britain and Venezuela is the only thing that has delayed more prompt redress for the Yuruan incident. It is claimed that if Venezuela had been a great nation the indignity on the British flag would have been wiped out long ago, though the whole resources of the empire were required to achieve that end, and the threat is made that unless reparation for that insult is speedily made the character of the action adopted by Great Britain may render the necessity for further discussion respecting the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela altogether unnecessary. The article concludes:

“It must be apparent to all who study the matter that, should Lord Salisbury accept the suggestion thrown out by President Cleveland and agree to submit the matter of the boundary line to arbitration, not reserving therefrom the territory lying on either side of the arbitrary line, such action would be tantamount to conceding that there is some doubt as to whether the Yuruan outrage was committed on British territory. If it were not, the demand for reparation would appear in a vastly different light to that which it at present assumes. Of course, we may be told, in fact a portion of the American press has already told us, the territory is occupied by implication when Great Britain

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

demands an indemnity for the arrest of British policemen at Yuruan, seeing the arrest could not be complained of unless the place were assumed to be under British jurisdiction. It is difficult, however, to see where the implied occupation comes in.

The occupation is an occupation de facto. The Union Jack flies at Yuruan, and a British outpost is stationed there to indicate where the defined lines of British Guiana reach to. Beyond this is contested territory, regarding the ownership of which Great Britain is quite prepared to arbitrate, and has all along been quite prepared to arbitrate. That however, she will fall in with the suggestion thrown out in the Presidential message and submit to arbitration her claims to the entire territory claimed by Venezuela is not for a single moment supposable.”

All the leading men of Georgetown, British Guiana, met Dec. 5 and formed a company to develop the country in dispute, petitioning the Government for “a concession of crown lands lying north of the Cuyuni River between the meridian of longitude 60° and the western boundary of the colony, and between the latitude of 5° and 7° north.” The company undertakes within two years to hand over to the Government to be used in building roads and bridges to the coast, \$500,000, and to have a working capital of \$750,000 additional.

One of the principal speakers declared that they had recently had an opportunity of learning that the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who was taking a great deal of interest in this colony, and who was inclined to push forward its development, was favorable to giving large concessions, and it struck a number of them that the colonists, who had borne the brunt of things so far, and who had spent and lost a good deal of money in the colony, should have a finger in the pie if there were any good things going. He had no doubt that the necessary money could be raised in England after the colonies themselves had subscribed the preliminary expenses.

A number spoke in the same line. One of them asked if any part of the territory applied for was affected in the boundary dispute. The Chairman replied that the whole of it was, but according to the cable dispatch that day, “Lord Salisbury said there would be no arbitration.”

Over 15,000 shares were taken in the colony, and the company was fully organized. It appears from the official maps that the territory asked for amounts to nearly 5,000 square miles lying almost wholly west of the original Schomburgk line, and therefore, according to Lord Salisbury’s contention, altogether in the disputed territory.

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THE MAP NOT RELIABLE  
Schomburgk Made His Drawings for the Benefit of Botanists  
HE LAUGHED AT THE ENGLISH  
The German Was Himself Surprised at Britain’s Accepting His Work—  
Was Not a Practical Surveyor.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1.—When the Venezuela Boundary Commission shall be named and shall be ready to proceed with its work of investigation. It looks as though the members might be furnished with material that is in large part unknown to the British claimants for territory beyond the

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Schomburgk line, and even within the line, which Great Britain has indicated as the one within which it could not consider its right to territory to be made a matter of dispute or of arbitration.

The Star to-night publishes an interview with Prof. Scharff, son of Prof. Theodore Scharff, late of the Imperial Normal School of Metz, which throws a new light upon the character of the so-called Schomburgk line and survey. Prof Scharff says:

“We were residing in the Grand Duchy of Baden when Schomburgk made his South American trip. Schomburgk was an adventurous and somewhat erratic fellow, with a passion for botany. Up to the time of his leaving the Fatherland his life was that of the German student of the time. He drank his beer, fought his sword duels, and got into the regulation scrapes. He was well versed in botany, though, and, led by his restless, adventurous disposition, he wandered to North America, to the West Indies, and finally to South America, winding up in British Guiana, where he settled down to work upon his botany. Schomburgk undertook a trip into the country lying between British Guiana and the Orinoco. He was not sent by any Government, and had nothing in view beyond an examination of the flora of the unknown region and satisfying his taste for adventure. It was a private scientific expedition, and nothing more.

“As he journeyed into the interior, he made careful examination of the flora of each new section of country. He classified the region, geographically, according to the character of the plants he found.

“The preparation of the maps came about in this way. When he located the flora of a certain section he collected specimens of the plants, pressing them upon a folio, and writing below the sample a description of the same. Then, on the back of the folio, he drew a rough map of the region, wherein the genera and species abounded. The map was a defining on paper of the area containing specific classes of plant life.

“Now it happened that in his explorations Schomburgk came upon the huts and camps of British squatters at various places. Some of them were wood cutters, living in the forests to get out the valuable woods for shipment to England, raising perhaps a few yarns or other vegetables around their habitations. Others were adventurers, prospectors, and hunters. When he found these places, Schomburgk naturally noted their location upon his maps for the guidance of brother botanists who might undertake expeditions into the interior.

“I have seen those maps and studied botany from them. Schomburgk sent many packages or rare plants to my father out of friendship. Knowing his interest in botanical subjects, he would ship large bundles of tropical flowers pressed out on folios, and with the description of the country on the back as I have explained. The maps would be drawn upon a large scale when exhibiting the location of many varieties at plants within a defined area.

“When Schomburgk came out of the forests and returned to British Guiana, the Governor General saw his collection and took especial interest in the maps showing the location of the British squatters, which he was pleased to call British settlements. The English Government immediately took Schomburgk in hand; his maps were accepted as geographical definitions, and the limits of his wanderings and of the discoveries of squatters as the boundary of British territory.

“Schomburgk was not a surveyor and made no claim to be. He did not even make a topographical examination of the country he had traversed. He did not run a line, and the alleged British territory was merely the land occupied by men who placed their foot upon the soil and said: ‘This is English ground.’ Schomburgk knew the worthlessness of his so-called boundary of English possessions, but he was not concerned in what the English claimed. They paid him for his maps and he laughed in his sleeve at the claims they based upon them.

“I am satisfied from what I have heard my father say and from the communications from Schomburgk that his alleged boundary of British Guiana was an arbitrary one and had no basis or foundation in fact.”

Copies of maps like those described are now in the possession of the family of a German resident of Washington, and will probably be demanded by the Venezuela commission when it sits in this country.

The name of the late Prof. Theodore Scharff is familiar those acquainted with the leading German educators and Faculties. He was one of the most distinguished botanists of the Continent, and was frequently sent upon scientific expeditions by the German Government. He was a friend of the now famous Schomburgk, and was in constant communication with him while the latter was in South America. It is Schomburgk’s testimony that came to him which is expected to throw a new light upon the Schomburgk maps.

Prof. Scharff, Sr., died about three years ago. His son, Prof. Emil Ludwig Scharff, furnishes the information given above.

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FAVORS AN ADVISORY BODY  
Chamber of Commerce’s Action in the Venezuelan Matter  
Would Have United States Commission Act with Similar Board Named by Great Britain  
The Messrs. Smith Bring up the Cost of War to Merchants—  
Other Speakers Before the Chamber  
CARL SCHURZ’S SPEECH WELL RECEIVED

At the monthly meeting of the Chamber of Commerce yesterday, attended by as many members as the spacious rooms of the Chamber could hold, resolutions were adopted in favor of an inquiry into the Venezuelan dispute by a commission, in which Great Britain may have equal voice with the United States, with an additional arbitrator to be named by the two Governments, and appealing to the people of both countries to unite their efforts for a peaceful settlement of the controversy.

The Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws presented the resolution of appeal. Its spirit and meaning were defined in an amendment offered by Carl Schurz, at the close of a well-studied speech, in which he suggested that the proposed court need not be called a council for arbitration, and that England might consent to it if it were known by another name—an advisory body, for instance.

Mr. Schurz did not advise submission to any encroachment upon American rights. On the contrary, a portion of his speech was given to demonstration of the impregnable condition of this country. Only the surface could be scratched by seaboard attacks. The interior would grow in strength with each year. He showed that no foreign power would go to war with this country unless forced to it.

The meeting gave Mr. Schurz a rousing indorsement. Everything he said met with cordial response. His declaration for peace, but only with honor, stirred the greatest enthusiasm. Outbursts

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of applause greeted every expression of loyalty and every utterance that favored a proper assertion of National dignity. In its manifestations of feeling the meeting did credit to the good sense and patriotism of the merchants composing the Chamber.

Petty commercial spirit was asserted in a mildly absurd way by Charles Stewart Smith and G. Waldo Smith. This league of the Smith family excited only derision. Henry M. Taber, who had a chair so close to the Smiths that he seemed to be infected by them, ventured to object to a phrase in the committee's report, which ascribed to the American people "unanimous" support of the Monroe doctrine. Mr. Taber had hardly spoken his objection when Francis O. Matthiessen, in a voice ringing with indignant resentment, exclaimed:

"Mr. Chairman, I think the Monroe doctrine does meet with the approval and the hearty support of the people."

A shout of assent and applause long continued followed this sentiment, contrasting most emphatically with the silence that had attended Mr. Taber's plaint. In deference to the Smiths and Mr. Taber, however, F. B. Thurber, Chairman of the committee which made the report, consented to scratch out the word "unanimous," and the report and resolutions were adopted with the understanding that popular support of the Monroe doctrine was unanimous, barring the Smiths and Mr. Taber. Abundant evidence appeared in the proceedings that if the Smith idea had become aggressive the Chamber would have throttled it.

### The Resolutions Adopted

The resolutions adopted were as follows, the first being the committee's and the others Mr. Schurz's, which the committee accepted:

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York, being profoundly impressed with the gravity of the situation which threatens the peace now and happily so long existing between Great Britain and the United States, appeals to the common sense and the common interests of the people of both countries to avert the calamity of war by a resort to arbitration or other friendly negotiation, which has so often been found to be a sufficient and satisfactory mode of settling international disputes, and to which both Governments stand committed by profession, precedent, and the humanitarian spirit of the age.

Resolved, That the President of the Chamber of Commerce appoint a special committee of fifteen members, of which the President shall be one, to consider the expediency of an effort to be made on its part in conjunction with similar organizations, in the interest of international peace and good understanding toward obtaining the submission of the whole Venezuelan boundary dispute for investigation to a joint committee to be composed of the members of the commission already appointed by the President and an equal number of British subjects, and to be presided over by some man of eminent character and ability, to be agreed upon by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States; the commission so constituted to be not a court of arbitration, but a Commission of Inquiry or Advisory Council, and, as such, to report the results of its investigation and its opinion to the Governments concerned for their decision.

Resolved, further, That if the special committee of this Chamber finds it expedient that such an effort be made, it shall have power to enter in the name of the Chamber of Commerce into correspondence with other commercial organizations and other organizations of public-spirited citizens to enlist their co-operation and to do such other things as it may deem useful and proper to further the object in view.

In accordance with the resolutions it was decided to appoint a committee of fifteen members to enlist the co-operation of other commercial bodies and associations in the movement.

Since a common understanding that the Venezuelan dispute would be considered filled the meeting room with members, President Orr called for the report on this subject from the

Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws as soon as he took his gavel. The committee is composed of Francis B. Thurber, Gustav H. Schwab, Stephen W. Carey, and William H. Robertson. In the preparation of its report, it had the aid of Abram S. Hewitt, Carl Schurz, and Chauncey M. Depew.

IN FAVOR OF ARBITRATION  
Report of Committee on Foreign Commerce and Revenue Laws

Mr. Thurber read the report, which was as follows:

To the Chamber of Commerce:

Your Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws respectfully reports that, since the last meeting of the Chamber and the one hundred and twenty-seventh annual celebration of its foundation, at which the continued revival of confidence and the steady improvement in business were subjects of general and just congratulation, a sudden and deplorable check has been given to our growing prosperity by an occurrence which no foresight could have anticipated and from a quarter whence such a blow was least to have been expected. The President of the United States, in his annual message to the Congress, had referred to the pending dispute as to the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, in reference to which the good offices of our Government had been tendered and arbitration had been recommended; but there was nothing to indicate that a solution satisfactory to all parties might not be reasonably expected. The special message of the President on this subject came, therefore, as a sudden and unwelcome surprise to the commercial world, causing the apprehension of war to take the place of the calm spirit of confidence with which the approaching Christmas holidays were anticipated. The losses caused by the rude derangement of business, and by the fall in value of merchandise and of securities are too painfully fresh to require discussion at our hands.

Upon the merits of the controversy between the United States and the Government of Great Britain it would be manifestly impolitic, if not improper, for the Chamber of Commerce to express any opinion while the subject is still under discussion between the responsible representatives of the two powers, but it seems to your committee to be eminently proper and desirable that this Chamber, which may without presumption claim to represent the commercial interests and feelings of the mercantile classes, should express its profound regret that the contingency of war between the two great English-speaking nations should have been suggested as a possible outcome of the pending correspondence in a controversy in which the American people have now, and probably can have, no more than a sentimental and passing interest.

But for the suggestion that an ultimate resort to arms might become necessary, the work of diplomacy would have proceeded without disturbing public confidence, and the ultimate solution have been reached without causing needless ruin to many innocent persons and unmerited distress in many a household in which joy would otherwise have prevailed.

Your committee feels also that the Chamber may properly reiterate its repeated declaration in favor of arbitration as a reasonable and the best method for the settlement of international disputes, and may express its regret that the Government of Great Britain has seen fit to decline, or to limit, the propositions which have heretofore been made by Venezuela, and courteously and wisely reinforced by our Government, for the submission of the boundary dispute to the decision of impartial arbiters, and may voice the hope that Great Britain will yet see that it is alike magnanimous and wise to reopen the question in dispute with a weaker power, and submit to the unbiased judgment of mankind the decision of a question of no great moment in itself, but to which extraneous circumstances have given sufficient importance to raise the issue of peace or war between two powerful and kindred nations, whose intimate relations with each other and whose permanent welfare demand at all times "peace with honor."

It seems to your committee that if the subject should be reviewed by both Governments in the spirit of mutual forbearance, looking rather to the future than to the past, and with the sterling common sense which has heretofore characterized the Anglo-Saxon race and gained for it the primacy of the world, the solution of the pending controversy will not be found to be attended with serious difficulty.

The opportunity for this review will fortunately be presented when the report of the Commissioners created by the Congress of the United States for the purpose of investigating all the facts relating to the disputed boundary line

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shall have been received and communicated in a friendly spirit to both parties to the controversy, in the expectation that it will either form a basis for adjustment by negotiation or for reference to impartial arbitration.

This course rendered the more easy because Great Britain takes no exception to the principles declared in the Monroe doctrine, which indeed, was formulated at the instance and with the approval of the great British Minister, Canning, who "sought to redress the balance of power in Europe, by calling into existence a new world in the West," and because also the President has declared that there can be no objection to a conventional rearrangement of boundaries which may be satisfactory to Venezuela, and that such a result will not be regarded by the United States as infringing upon its rights and interests, or as violating the spirit of the doctrine announced by President Monroe in 1823, and which still has the enthusiastic and unanimous support of the American people.

During the present century about eighty cases of international dispute have been settled by arbitration. In the last twenty years these cases have occurred at the rate of two or three a year. They have covered questions of boundary, of insult to the flag, of property, of personal injury—every question, in fact, with which nations have had to deal, except the one question of actual existence of the national life. In every case the difficulty has been settled for all time, and no war has ever grown out of any of them.

Our country has settled more than forty of these difficulties. We have been literally "the peace nation of the world." Great Britain has settled about a dozen in the same period, and all the nations of Europe have had from one to seven cases. All of the South American Republics, except two, and two of the Central American Republics, have done the same. As between Great Britain and the United States there have been numerous controversies which have been thus settled from 1798 down to the present time. Among these were the St. Croix River boundary, the Passamaquoddy Bay dispute, and the northeastern boundary between the United States and Canada. This left the northwestern boundary between the United States and Canada unsettled, and in 1844 the controversy over this waxed so warm that it was made a party issue in this country. The parallel of 54 minutes 40 seconds was claimed as the northern boundary of the United States, and 54 minutes 40 seconds or fight became the Democratic campaign cry. England contended for the forty-ninth parallel, and this was finally decided in her favor. Then came the Alabama claims and the fisheries dispute, the first being decided in our favor, and the latter against us, each side accepting the decision and paying the award like business men. Then came the seizure of Canadian sealing vessels by the United States in Bering Sea, which was arbitrated, and about \$400,000 awarded to the owners of the seized vessels, which has not been paid, owing to the failure of Congress to make an appropriation therefor, and which we are in honor bound to settle without further delay. The Alaskan boundary remains to be determined, but a convention providing for a survey of part of the line has already been entered into by England and the United States, and it is in a fair way of being settled in an equally reasonable manner.

Your committee being convinced that their views as to a peaceful solution will have the support and sympathy of intelligent and patriotic people on both sides of the Atlantic, recommend to the Chamber the adoption of the following resolution designed to strengthen the efforts of the responsible officials of Great Britain and the United States to preserve the peace, with the aid and assistance of men of all races and creeds who look upon war as the greatest conceivable calamity, and upon peace and commerce as the most powerful agencies in promoting the progress of civilization, the growth of liberty, the spread of religion, and the general diffusion of happiness.

### Mr. Thurber's Remarks

The committee's resolution followed. In support of the report and the resolution Mr. Thurber said:

In submitting this report I would state that when excitement following the President's message was at its height, and fortunes were crumbling in the financial world, it seemed to many members of the Chamber expedient that it should voice through a special meeting the great interests involved.

A call for such a meeting was signed by double the required number of members, but as action by Congress was pending it was deemed advisable to await the regular monthly meeting, and afford an opportunity for sober second thought to assert itself.

Desiring that the Chamber should have the benefit of the best minds and those most experienced in public affairs among our members, your committee sought the advice of the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, the Hon. Carl Schurz, and the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, and we are greatly indebted to those gentlemen for assistance and wise counsel in the preparation of the report.

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Pending the report of the eminent commission authorized by Congress and appointed by the President, your committee has not deemed it advisable to go into the merits of the controversy, but has confined this report to advocating peace and arbitration, and calling public attention to what these forces have accomplished during the present century in adjusting international differences.

In this day and generation public opinion is the court of last resort, and religion and commerce should be allies in advocating the cause of human progress before this court. Public opinion can prevent unloosing the dogs of war, or even drive them back to their kennels if unloosed. This Chamber may well speak with authority in the interest of peace, for it has ever been foremost in upholding the honor of the Nation, as well as responding to the appeals of humanity.

If necessity arises it will not hesitate at any sacrifice of blood or treasure to this end, but until that necessity is clearly apparent let us believe with Tennyson, that

“The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe.

And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law.”

Mr. President. I move the reception and adoption of the report and resolution.

Throughout the reading of the report and resolutions and during Mr. Thurber’s remarks, the meeting was closely attentive, manifesting its approval of expressions of loyalty and National self-respect with gratifying frequency.

THE SPEECH OF MR. SCHURZ  
His Plan to Bring About a Body Which Shall Give Advice

When Mr. Thurber had finished Mr. Schurz arose to second his motion. The meeting greeted Mr. Schurz heartily, and soon warmed to his enthusiasm. He said:

As an honorary member of the Chamber of Commerce I am thankful for the privilege of seconding the resolution offered by the committee. I yield to no one in American feeling of pride, and as an American I maintain that international peace kept in justice and honor is an American principle and an American interest.

As to the President’s recent message on the Venezuela case opinions differ. But I am sure that all good citizens, whether they approve or disapprove of it, and while they would faithfully stand by their country in time of need, sincerely and heartily wish that the pending controversy between the United States and Great Britain be brought to a peaceable issue.

I am well aware of the strange teachings put forth among us by persons that a war from time to time would by no means be a misfortune, but rather a healthy exercise to stir up our patriotism and to keep us from becoming effeminate.

Indeed, there are some of them busily looking around for somebody to fight as the crazed Malay runs amuck looking for somebody to kill.

The idea that the stalwart and hardworking American people, engaged in subduing to civilization an immense continent, need foreign wars to preserve their manhood from dropping into effeminacy, or that their love of country will flag unless stimulated by hatred of somebody else, or that they must have bloodshed and devastation as an outdoor exercise in the place of other sports—such an idea is as preposterous as it is disgraceful and abominable.

Politicians Eager to Plunder

It is also said that there are some American citizens of Irish origin who wish the United States to get into a war with England because they believe that such a war would serve to relieve Ireland of the British connection. We all value the willingness of the Irish-born American citizens to fight for their adopted country if need be, and nobody will deny that their hearty love for their native land is, as such, entirely natural and entitled to respect. But as American citizens, having sworn exclusive allegiance to the United States, not one of them should ever forget that this Republic has a right to expect of all its adopted citizens as to their attitude toward public affairs, especially

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questions of peace or war, the loyal and complete subordination of the interests of their native countries to the interests of the United States.

There are also corrupt politicians eager to plunder the public under a cheap disguise of patriotism, and unscrupulous speculators, looking for gambling and pilfering opportunities in their country's trouble, and wishing for war as the piratical wrecker wishes for fogs or hurricanes. They deserve the detestation of every decent man.

But aside from these classes, it may safely be assumed that all seriously minded American citizens earnestly hope for a continuance of the long-existing friendly relations between this country and Great Britain. Gen. Sherman, whose memory is dear to us all, is reported to have said in his vigorous sway: "You want to know what war is? War is hell." And nobody who has seen war as he had, and as some of us have, will question the truthfulness of his characteristic saying. True, war sometimes develops noble emotions and heroic qualities in individuals or in a people, but war is hell far all that. If our boasted civilization and Christianity are to mean anything, they should mean this: No war is justifiable unless it cause or object stands in just proportion to its cost in blood and destruction, and human misery and waste, and political corruption and social demoralization, and relapse of civilization, and even then it is justifiable only when every expedient of statesmanship to avert it has been thoroughly exhausted.

I shall not discuss now whether those who honestly think that our present difference with Great Britain would, as to cause or object, justify war, or those who think the contrary are right.

I expect them both to co-operate in an earnest endeavor to encourage those expedients of statesmanship by which war may be averted in either case. Confronting a grave emergency we must, as practical men, look at the situation not as it might have been or ought to be, but as it is. For several years our Government has been seeking to bring a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana to a friendly settlement, but without success.

Last Summer the President, through the Secretary of State, in a dispatch reviewing the case at length and containing an elaborate disquisition on the Monroe doctrine, asked the British Government whether it would "consent or decline to submit the Venezuelan question in its entirety to impartial arbitration," calling for "a definite decision." Lord Salisbury, after some delay, replied in a dispatch, also discussing the Monroe doctrine from his point of view, that the Venezuelan question might be in part submitted to arbitration, but he refused to submit it in its entirety as asked for. Thereupon President Cleveland sent a message to Congress recommending appropriations for a commission to be appointed by the Executive, which commission shall make the necessary investigation of the boundary dispute, and report to our Government, and when such report is made and accepted it will, in the President's opinion, be "the duty of the United States to resist by every means the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of any governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela." And Congress, by unanimously voting the appropriation asked for, without qualifications, virtually made the position taken by the President its own.

#### Changed the Situation

This correspondence and this message, by their tone as well as their substance, have essentially changed the situation. It is no longer a mere question of boundary or of the status of the Monroe doctrine, but, after a demand and a call for a definite decision and a definite refusal of the thing demanded and in answer to this something that may be understood as a threat of war, it has assumed the most ticklish form of an international difference—the form of a question of honor.

Questions of fact, of law, of interest, of substantial justice and right it may sometimes be difficult to determine, but there are rules of evidence, of legal construction, of equity, and precedents to aid us. A question of honor is often inaccessible to these aids, for it is a matter of sentiment. Affairs of honor have caused as many follies as affairs of love. It is a strange fact that, while the mediaeval conception of honor, which regarded the duel as the only adequate settlement of a question of this nature, has yielded to more enlightened views in several highly civilized countries, nations are in such cases still apt to rush to arms as the only means of satisfaction.

It is generally said in Great Britain, as well as here, that there will be no war. The belief is born of the wish. It is so general because almost everybody feels that such a war would be a disaster not only calamitous, but also absurd and shameful to both nations. From the bottom of my heart I trust the prediction will prove true. But the prediction itself, with the popular sentiment prompting it, will not be alone sufficient to make it true. Bloody wars have happened in spite of an earnest popular desire for peace on both sides, especially when questions of honor inflamed the controversy. It may be in vain to cry "Peace! Peace!" on both sides of the ocean if we continue to flaunt the red flag in one another's faces.

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The commission just appointed by the Presidents indeed consists of eminent, patriotic, and wise men. They will no doubt conduct their inquiry with conscientious care and fairness. So we think here. But we have to admit that after all it is a one-sided contrivance, and as such lacks an important element of authority. Suppose the report of the commission goes against the British contention. Suppose then we say to Great Britain, "Our investigation shows this and so we decide accordingly. Take this or fight! "How then? It is quite possible that a vast majority of the British people care very little about the strip of territory in dispute, and would have been satisfied to let the whole of it go to arbitration. It is not impossible even that Lord Salisbury himself, in view of the threatening complications in Europe and other parts of the world, and of the manifold interests involved, might at least rather let it be so submitted than have a long quarrel about it.

Time When Commission Reports

But it may be well doubted whether any statesman at the head of the British or any other great Government would think that he could afford to yield what he otherwise would be disposed to yield under a threat of war. Similar circumstances would produce similar effects with us. The fact is, therefore, that however peaceable the popular temper may be on both sides of the water, the critical moment will come at the time when the commission reports, and, if that commission remains one-sided, as it is now, the crisis may become more exciting and dangerous than ever.

But in the meantime there will be something calling for the most earnest attention of the business world on both sides of the Atlantic. While that critical period is impending there will be—who knows how long?—a dark cloud of uncertainty hanging over both nations, an uncertainty liable to be fitfully aggravated on occasion, or even without occasion, by speculative manufacturers of rumors. Every business calculation will be like taking a gambler's chance. The spirit of enterprise will be depressed by vague anxiety as to the future, by the paralysis of apprehension, and I need not tell you, as experienced business men, what all this means as to that confidence which is necessary to set in motion the rich man's money and the poor man's labor, and thus to develop general prosperity. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that this uncertainty be removed, or, at least, lessened as much and as soon as possible, and the peace sentiment prevailing here, as well as in England, of which the friendly message from the Chamber of Commerce in Edinburgh is so cheering an evidence, may perhaps be practically set to work for the accomplishment of that end.

A thought occurred to me when studying President Cleveland's Venezuela message which indeed may well have occurred, at least in general outline, to many others at the same time, because it seems so natural. I was glad to notice that something in the same line was suggested by an English journal. The President has appointed an American commission to inquire into the British claims as to the Venezuela boundary. As I have already pointed out, the findings of that commission will, owing to its one-sided origin, lack an essential element of the moral authority required to command general credit. The authority would be supplied if an equal number of eminent Englishmen designated by the British Government were joined to the commission to co-operate in the examination of the whole case, and if the two parties, to prevent deadlocks between them, agreed upon some distinguished person outside to preside over and direct their deliberations, and to have the casting vote—the joint commission to be not a court of arbitration, and as such to pronounce a final and binding decision of the whole case—the thing which Lord Salisbury objected to—but an advisory council to report the results of its inquiry into the whole case, together with its opinions, findings, and recommendations to the two Governments for their free acceptance or rejection.

Possible Effect of His Plan

It may be said that such an arrangement would not entirely remove the uncertainty as to the first outcome. I believe, however, that it would at least very greatly lessen that uncertainty. I think it possible that the findings and recommendations of a commission so constituted would have high moral authority and carry very great weight with both Governments. They would be likely to furnish, if not a complete and conclusive decision, at least a basis for a friendly agreement. The very appointment of such a joint commission by the two Governments would be apt at once to remove the question of honor, the most dangerous element, from the controversy, and thus go very far to relieve the apprehension of disastrous possibilities which usually has so unsettling and depressing an effect.

I do not know, of course, whether such a plan would be accepted by either Government. I think, however, that each of them could assent to it without the slightest derogation to its dignity, and that if either of them received it

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upon proper presentation, even with an informal manifestation of favor, the way would easily be opened to a mutual understanding concerning it. At any rate, it seems to me worth the while of a public-spirited and patriotic body like this, and of other friends of peace here or abroad to consider its expediency, and at the close of my remarks I shall move a tentative resolution to that effect, in addition to the one now pending.

I repeat, I am for peace—not, indeed, peace at any price, but peace with honor. Let us understand, however, what the honor of this great American Republic consists in. We are a very powerful people—even without an army or navy immediately ready for action. We are in some respects the most powerful people on earth. We enjoy peculiar advantages of inestimable value. We are not only richer than any European nation, in men, in wealth, and in resources yet undeveloped, but we are the only nation that has a free hand, having no dangerous neighbors, and no outlying or exposed possessions to take care of. We are in our continental position substantially unassailable. A hostile navy may destroy what commercial fleet we have, blockade our ports, and even bombard our seaboard towns. This would be painful enough, but it would be only scratching our edges. It would not touch a vital point. No foreign power or possible combination could attack us on land without being overwhelmed on our own soil by immensely superior numbers. We are the best fitted, not perhaps for a war of quick decision, but for a long war. Better than any other nation we can, if need be, live on our own fat. We enjoy the advantages of not having spent our resources during long periods at peace on armaments of tremendous cost without immediate use for them, but we would have those resources unimpaired in time of war to be used during the conflict, substantially unassailable in our continental fastness, and bringing our vast resources into play with the patriotic spirit and the inventive genius and enterprise of our people. We would on sea as well as on land wage offensive as well as defensive warfare, be stronger the second year of a war than the first, and stronger the third than the second, and so on.

Owing to this superiority of our staying power a war with the United States would be to any foreign nation practically a war without end. No foreign power or possible combination in the Old World can, therefore, considering in addition to all this the precarious relations of every one of them with other powers, and its various exposed interests, have the slightest inclination to get into a war with the United States, and none of them will, unless we force to do so. They will on the contrary carefully avoid such a quarrel as long as they can; and we may be confident that without firing a gun, and even without having many guns ready for firing, we shall always see our rights respected and our demands, if they are just and proper, may be, after some diplomatic sparring, at last fully complied with.

#### Rule for Powerful Nation

Now, what is the rule or honor to be observed by a power so strong and so advantageously situated as this republic is? Of course, I do not expect it meekly to pocket real insults, if they should be offered to it. But surely it should not, as our boyish jingoes wish it to do, swagger about among the nations of the world with a chip on its shoulder, and shaking its fist in everybody's face. Of course, it should not tamely submit to real encroachments upon its right.

But surely it should not, whenever its own notions of right or interests collide with the notion of others, fall into hysterics, and act as if it really feared for its own security and its very independence. As a true gentleman, conscious of his strength and his dignity, it should be slow to take offense. In its dealing with other nations it should have scrupulous regard not only for their rights, but also for their self-respects. With all its latent resources for war it should be the great peace power of the world. It should never forget what a proud privilege and what an inestimable blessing it is not to need and not to have big armies or navies to support. It should seek to influence mankind, not by heavy artillery, but by good example and wise counsel. It should see its highest glory, not in battles won, but in wars prevented. It should be so invariably just and fair, so trustworthy, so good-tempered, so conciliatory, that other nations would instinctively turn to it as their mutual friend and the natural adjuster of their differences, thus making it the greatest preserver of the world's peace.

This is not a mere idealistic fancy. It is the natural position of this great Republic among the nations of the earth. It is the noblest vocation and it will be a glorious way for the United States when the good sense and self-respect of the American people see in it their "manifest destiny." It all rests upon peace. Is not this peace with honor?

There has of late been much loose speech about "Americans." Is not this good "Americanism?" It is surely today the Americanism of those who love their country most. And I fervently hope that it will be and ever remain the Americanism of our children and children's children.

Mr. Schurz had enjoyed the sympathy of his audience from the beginning. Applause for him as he finished was long and hearty. Mr. Thurber followed him, saying:

Mr. Chairman: As a matter of information, I would state that when I first read the resolution which Mr. Schurz has just offered, it seemed to me that it might possibly interfere with the free and clear workings of the Commissioners appointed by our Government to investigate this question; but the more I considered it the more it seemed a reasonable and proper step for this Chamber to initiate.

Suppose, for instance, that we do not adopt the resolution, and do not take any steps in that direction, and the commission, which the United States Government has appointed goes on and makes its investigation and reports that in their opinion Venezuela is right and that we only have one recourse, and that is war; it would be too late then for such a step to be initiated as that proposed by Mr. Schurz's resolutions, and hence I am inclined to think that it is a wise and proper step for this Chamber to take to place in the power at its President the appointment of a committee, which can go on and get up such a joint commission as is proposed by the resolutions; and hence, while I have not had time to confer with the other members of our Committee on Foreign Commerce individually, I should favor the adoption of the resolutions offered by Mr. Schurz as a supplementary step to the report and resolutions offered by our committee.

#### CHARLES STEWART SMITH'S IDEA Wants New-York Merchants to Consider What War Would Cost

Mr. Taber then broke in. "Mr. Chairman," he complained, "there is one word in the admirable report of Mr. Thurber that I object to. He says that the Monroe doctrine has met with universal approval of the people of this country. I object to it because it is not true, and I say, also, that it ought not be true, unless we have a navy equal to that of Great Britain and an army ten times the size that it is at the present time."

This stirred up Mr. Matthiessen, who retorted from his standing place in a far corner: "Mr. Chairman, I think that the Monroe doctrine does meet with the approval and hearty support of the people."

As the applause for Mr. Matthiessen subsided, the voice of Charles Stewart Smith was first heard. He said:

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Schurz has expressed an opinion which I believe to be eminently true, that in the event of a war with Great Britain or any foreign power the United States would be stronger the second year, and the third, and the fourth, and so on, than the first. I have no doubt that that is entirely true. But let us see how we shall stand the first year.

I will only occupy five or six minutes of your time; I will be as brief as possible, but I want to call your attention to two documents. One is a report of the Major General commanding the army to the Secretary of War, for 1895, and the other is the report of the Secretary of war for the same year.

#### Quotes from Mr. Tilden's Letter

As a matter of introduction, allow me to quote from a letter written by the Hon. Samuel S. Tilden and published in 1885. He was referring to the state of the revenue of the Government at that time and the paying off of the public debt so rapidly, and comparing that with the desirability of fortifying the wretched and defenseless condition of our harbors and our seacoast; and he said:

"I am of the opinion that the latter [the protection of the harbors] is a paramount necessity, which ought to precede the reduction of the revenue, and ought also to precede an excessive rapidity in the payment of the public debt."

Then he goes on to say: "The property exposed to destruction in the twelve seaports— Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, Newport, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, New-Orleans Galveston, and San

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Francisco—cannot be less in value than \$5,000,000,000. To this must be added a vast amount of property dependent for its use on these seaports.”

I read another extract “The range of the best modern artillery has become so extended that our present fortifications, designed to protect the Harbor of New-York, where two-thirds of the import trade and more than one-half of the export trade of the whole United States is carried on, are too near to the great populations of New-York City, Jersey City, and Brooklyn to be of any value as a protection. To provide effectual defenses would be the work of years.”

Then he goes on to say that it is more than sixty years since the announcement of the Monroe doctrine; and he says at the close of that paragraph, which is the last that I will read:

“It is clear that there ought to be some relation between our assertion of that doctrine and our preparation to maintain it.”

Now, that was the opinion of a very wise man ten years ago. Now let us see what Gen. Miles and the Secretary of War say to-day. Gen. Miles says:

“As the entire system of warfare has changed within a generation, we cannot rely upon the achievements of our fathers or the boasting of our own people to defend our political rights, property, or lives. The condition of this coast is one to tempt the avarice and cupidity of any fourth-rate naval power on the globe, and that it could be occupied by any first-class naval power is a fact apparent to any thoughtful, well-informed citizen.”

He says again: “With all our boasted intelligence, pride of institutions, inventive genius, and superiority in many of the arts, industries, and commercial enterprises, we are as far behind in the modern appliances of war as the people of China or Japan.” And he speaks of the coast defenses as “the wretched, defenseless condition of the coast at the present moment.” He says further: “It is embarrassing for a military officer to acknowledge this condition of affairs and to record these facts. Yet he would do less than his duty to his country did he not endeavor to bring the truth before the Government, in order that it should be fully apprised of the true condition of affairs.”

Again, he says that such was the condition six years ago, and substantially it is the same now. He recommended an appropriation of about ten millions of dollars a year, ten years ago, and in all we have appropriated for these coast defenses a million and a half. A very eminent engineer who has made the coast defenses a study has told me that it would take ten years to properly defend the City of New-York and its harbor; that we could not expend more than ten million a year profitably, and that we ought to calculate for a ten years’ expenditure of ten millions a year in New-York harbor alone.

In 1885 or 1886 the Commanding General recommended an appropriation for twenty-seven seaports of \$97,000,000, and that there be spent in the first year \$21,000,000, and only eight or nine millions a year afterward. As a matter of fact, we have spent a million and a half. And the same language that is used by Gen. Miles is substantially repeated by the Secretary of War this year. He recommends for the harbor of New York 93 guns and a great number of mortars. We have, I believe, 2 guns in position, and we have built 2 twelve-inch, 2 ten-inch, and 5 eight-inch of the 93 required. Of mortars there is a very much less proportion.

Now, Mr. Chairman, before we brag quite so much, the merchants of New-York better consider what in the event of war, which Mr. Schurz has very justly considered as possible, although not probable, is going to be the effect on New-York as a city, and how much money we might be called upon to pay to England’s fleet if it came into our ports.

## HE OPPOSED THE REPORT

### F. C. Moore Said It Reflected on the President of the United States

Mr. Smith’s appeal to the pocket nerve of the meeting brought F. C. Moore, President of the Continental Fire Insurance Company, to his feet. He said:

I am opposed to the resolutions and to the report of the committee, notwithstanding the applause which it received, and especially the applause which followed the eloquent gentleman who so ably advocated it, which, however, may have been divided as a tribute to his talent rather than approval of the sentiments of this resolution. I am opposed to it for two important reasons..

The first is, it is a reflection upon the President of the United States. It is unmistakable in its terms, Mr. President. And there is another important reason, and it would be sufficient for voting it down, it seems to me, and

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

it is this: That to-day there is only one issue before this or any other body of United States citizens; it is the issue of whether or not we will support the Government of the United States. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. President, under the Constitution of the United States President Cleveland did exactly what he is required by the Constitution to do. He expressed his opinion of the relations of this Government with Venezuela and with Great Britain. He was not called upon to express the opinion of this Chamber or the opinion of the majority of the American citizens, but his own, and he did it. It was, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of Congress to do exactly what it did, and it did it, with remarkable and unprecedented unanimity. Now, there is the situation, Mr. President.

Under the Constitution or the United States Congress has the right to make and declare war. Under the same Constitution the President of the United States is the Commander in Chief of the army and navy. When both of them speak it makes no difference what my friend Mr. Schurz thinks about the matter or what this or any other Chamber thinks about the matter; it is the duty of every American citizen to follow the lead and command of the President and of Congress. (Cries of “No! No!” from the Smith section.) If I stand here alone, I want to be recorded as voting in the negative.

Now, Mr. President, let us think for a moment. Why should we talk in this report about the horrors of war? There is not a man in this country or in Great Britain who is not opposed to war, unless he is either a fool or a knave. It is unnecessary to say we are all opposed to war. It would be the greatest calamity of this or any other century, a war with Great Britain. Also it is unnecessary to go into the question of whether this is a one-sided commission or not. I maintain that all of the sentiments expressed in this report are with propriety directed to Great Britain, which has refused to arbitrate, and should not be directed as a slur upon the President of the United States, who invited it.

I want to remind the gentleman who has just taken his seat, and who was instrumental in calling this Chamber together, and for whom we all have such admiration and respect, that the last place where I met him was in the City of Strasburg, and in that city there were 30,000 soldiers, larger than our standing army, and if this Monroe doctrine does not mean just what the President of the United States says it means, you and I will live to see the day when we will have to have a standing army. [Groans from the Smiths.]

Now, as to the sentiment of how much it will cost, or the present condition of the Government for defense, that is not an issue to-day. There is only one really great issue. It is not what we fear. It is what our representatives in Congress and the President—I did not vote for him; I voted against him and spoke against him, but I have learned to admire his ability and his fearlessness, and I am with him in this. And now as far as the money consideration is concerned, it seems to me that that ought not to be mentioned by any body of American citizens.

I would rather see every dollar I have in the world burned up for fuel under the boilers of a battleship than to see this country take any other stand than that which accords with its dignity and self-respect. . .

A. FOSTER HIGGINS'S SPEECH  
He Heartily Approves of the Suggestions of Mr. Schurz

A. Foster Higgins next spoke, following Mr. Moore. He said:

Mr. Chairman. I came here to-day with the distinct determination that if there was any attempt to stigmatize the President or to in any way reflect upon him, I would have something to say. I confess, Sir, an agreeable surprise – not surprise, but an agreeable frame of mind, to read in this report nothing of the sort which my friend, Mr. Moore, has referred to. I do not find in this report any reflection upon the President. There is expressed a regret that he has given such a message, by which our peaceful relations at this time of the year, when we are welcoming the Prince of Peace to the earth, have been rudely disturbed. I cannot believe that there is a man here that can have any other feeling upon that subject than a desire for peace. While I will stand by my country and make as great sacrifices as anybody else, I want to be sure that we are exactly right.

I listened to Mr. Schurz's address with great admiration and with a thrilling respect for him which I never shall lose. I hope his speech may be printed and circulated, not only among the members of this Chamber, but among all who wish a copy of it. It is full of noble sentiment, one that we cannot help but respect, I believe it is preaching to us the proper gospel; it is the gospel of self-respect first, and the same respect for your neighbor.

I do not approach this question with any great respect for Great Britain's position in it. I feel that she is wrong. But be that as it may, that is not a question here before us. I feel as Mr. Schurz has suggested, that we ought to use

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every exertion which any human being is capable of to avert a dreadful calamity which none of us can look upon with any complacency. War is a final resort. It should be a final resort. Every other resort should first be tried. This question involves some very important considerations.

Gentlemen, I came here with the conviction that the commercial spirit is not a proper spirit to follow when you are seeking after patriotism. The commercial spirit leads to a treat deal of demoralization. It leads men to commit injustice to their fellow-men. It leads men to form great corporations by which individual enterprise is crushed out. It leads necessarily to aggressions and to acts which we must regret. Therefore, I do not feel that the commercial spirit is the proper spirit to adopt. It was the commercial spirit which opposed the very improvements in our harbors and defenses which Mr. Smith has referred to. The commercial spirit said we should never need them; that when we actually got into war the genius of the American people would be quite ample for the occasion.

He Agrees with Mr. Schurz

Now I do not want it to be understood we will take anything honorable position. A true and rounded life can only be one that has a noble end. I believe that the American Nation as a nation is exactly the same way. To put us down as money seekers and money hunters, to make it appear that we have nothing to consider but the money question, that we must not do this or that because of the great loss it is going to inflict upon us, is to humiliate this Nation. We have, in my opinion, the greatest destiny that any nation ever had, and my heart thrilled in response to Mr. Schurz when he said our destiny was to establish peace in the world.

What is the cause of this controversy? A poor little weak nation, feeling utterly incapable of dealing with her competitor, comes to us and appeals to us to take up her quarrel. Well, we took it up, and we proposed to Great Britain to arbitrate. Now Great Britain has declined, and acts rather rudely about it; and I may think that she is the aggressor: but Mr. Schurz suggests a very nice remedy, and I feel that the destiny of this country is to hold out its hand to all oppressed nations, and to be constantly ready to extend our aid to every suffering being on the face of the globe. But I feel to-day the inconsistency of our noble position toward little Venezuela when contrasted with the position in view of the awful transactions in Armenia and Turkey. It is something that fills me with shame. I trust, Sir, that it will be the future or this great American Nation to always be ready, and at all cost, to extend its hand toward an oppressed nation or an oppressed individual or a suffering individual, wherever it may be on the face of the globe.

Now, I can add nothing to the remarks which Mr. Schurz has made. They were perfect and complete. They told us of the dreadful peril in which we stand. I cannot look upon that peril with complacency, although, when the time comes that we have to go to war, I shall endeavor to adjust myself to it and stand my portion of the sacrifice; but I feel, as sensible men, we ought to do everything we can to avert such a calamity. I heartily approve of the suggestions of Mr. Schurz.

### G. WALDO SMITH'S VIEWS Says Something on the Line of Remarks of Charles S. Smith

G. Waldo Smith was the next speaker. He said:

Mr. Chairman: I desire to say just one word on the line of remarks of my distinguished friend Charles S. Smith. I sailed out of the harbor of San Francisco by the side of Gen. O. O. Howard only a few years ago, who we then engaged upon work connected with the army, and he said to me that there were eleven powers who have it in their power to send ships by all the fortifications of San Francisco in spite of all that could be done to prevent them and bombard the city.

Gen. O. O. Howard, in command of the Department of the Pacific, having all the resources at his command, says there are eleven powers that can do that work at any moment they attempt it. At this very hour there is a large number of ships at the very strongest calibre, the most powerful and the best that money can command, ready to take steam and enter the harbor of San Francisco and the harbor of Portland and lay those cities in ashes.

It is time enough to talk about enforcing the Monroe doctrine not only over the American Continent, but over the entire hemisphere, when we have some preparation to do what we threaten to do. I will not say whether we are bound to interfere between a country having rights in South America and another country having rights there, whether we are bound in honor to maintain the rights of the weaker against the stronger. I will not raise that

question. I only want to say that for 100 years we have lived in the closest amity of friendship with the British Nation on a line of 3,500 miles in extent, and any gentleman here can cross into any one of those provinces and travel year after year and never know there was a United States of America unless he saw the American flag.

I simply want to ask this question in conclusion: Is there anything in the British Government, and people, with a common history, with common industries, with a common religion, marching on with us arm in arm and shoulder to shoulder in the great work of civilizing the nations, is there anything in their Government which jeopardizes our lives and liberties and the pursuit of happiness and the permanency of republican institutions?

This ended the speeches, and adoption of the report and resolutions followed promptly, with only a few dissenting votes. Before the Chamber proceeded to its other business, Mr. Orr read a friendly cable dispatch from Thomas Clark, Baronet, President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, urging a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The Chamber decided to print Mr. Schurz's speech in pamphlet form for general distribution. It was cabled in full to London last night.

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MR. OLNEY WAS CORRECT  
Earl Granville proposed a General Arbitration  
A MISSTATEMENT BY LORD SALISBURY  
Upon the Accession of the New Ministry the Granville Agreement  
with Venezuela Was Repudiated

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.—The State Department is in a position conclusively to prove the statement of to-day's London Chronicle, that "It is learned on the best authority that Earl Granville, in 1885, virtually concluded with Blanco a treaty containing an arbitration clause covering the Venezuelan international boundary dispute," and that the Marquis of Salisbury, however, in coming into power later in the same year, virtually canceled this clause by limiting the provisions of the treaty to commercial questions. The Chronicle adds that "nothing could have been more unfortunate, inasmuch as the boundary dispute was on the eve of permanent settlement."

The records which Venezuela had already delivered to the United States Government before the Administration took such a firm stand in the matter with England leave no doubt whatever on this point

Gen. Blanco, in 1885, negotiated with Earl Granville a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to supplant the existing convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Venezuela. The new treaty included three paragraphs providing for the arbitration of any and all differences, and related particularly to the boundary dispute. Earl Granville's letter accepting specifically the important clause is dated May 15, 1885, and in its entirety is as follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt on the 12th inst. of your note, dated the 6th inst., respecting the proposed new treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that her Majesty's Government agree to the substitution of the phrase "power" to be chosen by the high contracting parties, instead of "arbitrators" in the article respecting arbitration, and that they further agree that the undertaking to refer differences to arbitration shall include all differences which

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may arise between the high contracting parties, and not those only those which arise on, the interpretation of the treaty.

Her Majesty's Government are also prepared to meet generally the wishes of the Venezuelan Government as to river navigation and coasting trade as connected with it: but I beg leave to point out that this exception to most favored nation or national treatment should not interfere with ocean-going steamers touching consecutively at two or more ports of the republic.

With regard to the arrangements made by Venezuela with Colombia, I have the honor to state that her Majesty's Government will agree that the provisions of the most-favored-nation article proposed by them shall not include special arrangements with regard to local trade entered into by Venezuela with respect to traffic across the land frontier.

I trust that these modifications will meet your views, and that I may shortly hear from you that a formal draft treaty framed on that with Paraguay, with the addition of an article respecting arbitration, and the alteration in the most-favored-nation stipulation now suggested, may be prepared for your approval.

The treaty was fully concluded less than two months afterward, but the Gladstone Government was overthrown at this time on questions wholly disconnected from Venezuelan matters, which were conducted in secret, and Lord Salisbury, succeeding Earl Granville as Foreign Secretary, found it incumbent upon himself to complete the negotiations, which he immediately proceeded to do by sending Gen. Guzman Blanco a note on July 27, absolutely reversing Earl Granville's action. The portion of the note referring to this clause is as follows:

Her Majesty's Government are unable to concur in the assent given by their predecessors in office to the general arbitration article proposed by Venezuela, and they are unable to agree to the inclusion in it of matters other than those arising out of the interpretation or alleged violation of this particular treaty. To engage to refer to arbitration all disputes and controversies whatsoever would be without precedent in the treaties made by Great Britain. Questions might arise such as those involving the title of the British Crown to territory, or other sovereign rights which her Majesty's Government could not pledge themselves beforehand to refer to arbitration.

This letter removed all doubt as to the broad terms of Earl Granville's agreement, for Lord Salisbury distinctly put such a construction on the treaty (which he concedes was assented to) that the title to the territory of the British Crown colony of Guiana had to be arbitrated under its specific terms.

This throws an entirely new and unfavorable light on a portion of Lord Salisbury's retort to Secretary Olney in the latter part of the Foreign Office dispatch of Nov. 26 last, in which he says:

Mr. Olney is mistaken in supposing that in 1886 "a treaty was practically agreed upon containing a general arbitration clause, under which the parties might have submitted the boundary dispute to the decision of a third power or of several powers in amity with both." It is true that Gen. Guzman Blanco proposed that the commercial treaty between the two countries should contain a clause of this nature, but it had reference to future disputes only.

Lord Salisbury deemed proper in this dispatch to underscore the word "future", and it was printed in italics in the Foreign office official document. That there is an equivocation in this statement can hardly be doubted in connection with Salisbury's own earlier letter to Gen. Guzman Blanco and Earl Granville's notes.

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ITS CLAIM IS WORTHLESS  
Great Britain's Pretensions in Venezuela Have No Good Basis  
DISCOVERY BY AN ENGLISH PAPER  
IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE IS FOUND  
The South American Republic's Claim to Disputed Territory Shown to be a Just One

LONDON, Jan. 2.—A special representative of The Daily Chronicle who is now in Washington cables to that paper that he has obtained from a source, which he is pledged not to reveal, the official unpublished correspondence exchanged by Great Britain and Venezuela between November, 1840, when Sir Robert Schomburgk was appointed to delimit the frontier of British Guiana, and April, 1842, when England removed the boundary posts set up by Sir Robert Schomburgk.

Señor Fortique, Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain, wrote to Lord Aberdeen, Colonial Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, in October, 1841, referring to Venezuela's proposal to conclude a treaty on the boundaries, and protesting that before the proposal was answered a sentry-box built on the republic's territory. Señor Fortique again urged that a boundary treaty be entered upon.

Lord Aberdeen replied that he had received Sir Robert Schomburgk's report that he had planted boundary posts at certain points in the country he had surveyed, being fully aware that the demarcation so made was merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between Great Britain and Venezuela. It did not appear, however, that Sir Robert Schomburgk had left any building.

Señor Fortique replied that Sir Robert Schomburgk had planted at the mouth of the Orinoco River several posts. He had also raised the British flag with a show of force and performed other acts of dominion in Venezuela.

Extreme courtesy alone prevented Venezuela from forcibly expelling him from the country.

After some delay, Lord Aberdeen replied to Señor Fortique, confirming his previous statement and adding that much unnecessary inconvenience would result from the removal of the posts, as they would afford the only tangible means by which her Majesty's Government could be prepared to discuss the question of boundaries with Venezuela. The posts were erected for that express purpose, and not, as the Venezuelan Government appeared to apprehend, as indications of dominion and empire on the part of Great Britain.

In the same dispatch Lord Aberdeen expressed pleasure at learning that the Governor of Guiana had assured the Venezuelan emissaries that Great Britain had not occupied Point Barima.

Señor Fortique again wrote to re-insist upon the removal of the posts in January, 1842.

The Chronicle then quotes from the second note of Lord Salisbury to Secretary of State Olney the words:

“At the urgent entreaty of the Venezuelan Government, these two posts were afterward removed, as stated by Mr. Olney, but this concession was made on the distinct understanding that Great Britain did not thereby in any way abandon her claim to that position.”

The Chronicle also quotes from the two documents in which this concession was made.

The first document consists of a dispatch sent in March, 1842, by Henry Light, Governor of Guiana, to Daniel O'Leary, British Consul at Caracas, stating that the Colonial Secretary had ordered

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the Governor to remove the landmarks. The other document is a dispatch from Mr. O'Leary to the Venezuelan Government containing the substance of Gov. Light's dispatch.

The Chronicle remarks that nothing indicates the condition asserted by Lord Salisbury, and adds: "If the above documents are genuine, and their source excludes suspicion, the Schomburgk line is proved worthless as a basis of any territorial claim whatever."

Commenting editorially on the subject, The Chronicle says:

"We are bound to say, assuming, as we are bound to assume, the accuracy of our representative's citations, that they vitiate Lord Salisbury's second dispatch to Secretary Olney, and render it necessary for us to revise our whole view of the situation. Clearly, there can now be no question regarding the Schomburgk line as a ramrod thrust between Guiana and Venezuela. In a word England and the United States have a way out. We look to the statesmen on both sides to enlarge it until there is found complete escape from a situation of the utmost peril."

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#### DISPLEASED WITH SALISBURY

English Papers Hint the Premier Has Hoodwinked the People

LONDON, Jan. 3.—The Pall Mall Gazette says it has no reason to doubt that the dispatches which The Daily Chronicle quotes, containing the official unpublished correspondence exchanged by Great Britain and Venezuela between November, 1840, when Sir Robert Schomburgk was appointed to delimit the frontier of British Guiana, and April, 1842, when England removed the boundary posts set up by Schomburgk, are genuine. The Gazette presumes that Secretary Olney and President Cleveland knew of these letters, and asks why, then, Secretary Olney did not use them to refute Lord Salisbury's second dispatch. "Did he," The Gazette asks, "deliberately prefer to pick a quarrel with Lord Salisbury?"

The St. James's Gazette says: "The British people are not being properly treated by the Government when it is left to the enterprise of a newspaper to discover, in a foreign country, that unpublished official correspondence upon which peace or war may depend, does not justify the statements of our own Foreign Minister."

Mr. Chamberlain, when shown at the Colonial Office a copy of The Chronicle's accusation of cognizance on the part of the Government of the unpublished correspondence, declared that the charge was beneath contempt.

Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., was to-day asked to State his views in regard to the new developments in the Venezuelan dispute growing out of the discoveries of old correspondence by the special representative of The Daily Chronicle now in Washington. Sir Charles said he did not think that The Chronicle's disclosures would in any degree alter the situation. It was obvious, he said, that the Venezuelan Government would have published before this any documents likely to help its case. In regard to the boundary posts along the Schomburgk line mentioned in The Chronicle's dispatches, he said the whole thing depended upon what was the exact position of these posts.

There appeared to be a good deal of ambiguity in the correspondence. A point near the mouth of the Orinoco River seemed to have been in the mind of the Venezuelan Government at the time

the correspondence passed, but he thought that Lord Aberdeen could not have been referring to the same point in his reply to Senhor Forteque, the Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain at that time. He considered that the proposals of Great Britain had never been varied. England had always contended that the site of the old Dutch fort was territory belonging to Great Britain, as the heir or the Dutch. Lord Aberdeen probably had in mind a line further in the interior and away from the sea, concerning which there had always been and still was a willingness to negotiate.

As he understood it, Sir Charles Dilke said Lord Salisbury's position was that in 1885 England was prepared to arbitrate the questions concerning the back country a great deal more freely than she is now, when a portion of the disputed territory is occupied by British subjects who have settled there on the strength of its being under British rule. Before answering the statement made in *The Chronicle*, that the Schomburgk line was worthless, he said he would require to be informed what the Schomburgk line was.

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COMMISSION IN SESSION  
Men to Investigate Venezuela's Boundary Hold a Meeting  
JUSTICE BREWER CHOSEN PRESIDENT  
Credentials Read that the Report Is to be Made Direct to President Cleveland.  
CONSULTATION HAD WITH MR. OLNEY  
The Secretary of State Will Not Take Part In the Inquiry, However  
—To Meet Again Jan. 11

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—The Venezuelan Commission held its first meeting here to-day and organized by electing Justice Brewer President.

Four members at the commission were present. The members assembled at the State Department at 11 o'clock this morning for a discussion of the great work before them. The absentee was Andrew D. White of New-York, who will be in Washington Tuesday. Frederic R. Caudert was the first member of the commission to appear. He reached the State Department shortly after 10:30 o'clock, and was shown into Secretary Olney's office. Fifteen minutes later Justice David S. Brewer and Prof. Daniel S. Gilman arrived together, and at 11 o'clock Chief Justice Richard Alvey, the remaining Commissioner, put in his appearance, having just arrived from Hagerstown, Md.

The four Commissioners remained with Secretary Olney for half an hour, discussing routine matters pertaining to their organization. Mr. Olney will not participate in any way in the work of the commission, and when the Commissioners emerged from his office into the diplomatic reception room he remained behind.

#### Credentials of Commissioners

Each member of the tribunal, with the exception of Prof. White, received his formal certificate of appointment from the President to-day. The form of this credential is peculiar and extremely

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explicit, urging the Commissioners to proceed without delay, pointing out rules for their government, and noting that the report must be made to the President.

The form of the credential is as follows:

To David J. Brewer:

You are hereby appointed member of the commission to investigate and report upon the true location of the divisional line between the territory of the Republic of Venezuela and that of British Guiana.

It is expected that the commission will avail itself of all possible sources of information, will apply to the matter all pertinent rules of municipal and international law, and will make a report to the President of their conclusions, together with the evidence and documents submitted to and considered by them, with as little delay as is compatible with the thorough and impartial consideration of the subject to be dealt with.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington on the 4th day of January, in the year at our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and twentieth.

GROVER CLEVELAND

By the President.

RICHARD OLNEY, Secretary of State.

Upon assembling in the diplomatic room the Commissioners immediately proceeded to the selection of a presiding officer, who will hereafter be designated as President. As was expected, Justice Brewer was chosen unanimously. The fact that he was named first on the list of the commissioners as announced by the President was the basis for this expectation, but Justice Brewer's high standing as a jurist is understood to have been the real reason why he was the choice of his colleagues.

President Brewer proceeded to administer the oath of office to the other Commissioners, and then Commissioner Alvey acted in a like capacity for the President. The form of oath was as follows:

I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance too the same; that I take this obligation freely, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office of member of the commission to investigate and report upon the location of the true divisional line between the territory of the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana.

### The Business Transacted

A motion to appoint a clerk to act for the present temporary session of the commission was adopted, and J. Walter Blanford, private secretary of the Secretary of State, was accordingly designated.

On motion of Mr. Coudert, the matter of the selection of quarters for the commission was left to President Brewer and Commissioner Alvey.

Commissioner Gilman moved that an inquiry be made as to the best map showing the physical characteristics of the country in question and whether it could be reproduced in convenient form for the use of the commission. This was seconded by Commissioner Alvey and adopted, and the commission authorized Commissioner Gilman to make such inquiry.

This concluded all business for the present, and on motion of Commissioner Coudert the commission adjourned to meet Saturday next, Jan. 11, at 10:30 o'clock A.M. (unless the President of the commission selects another date) in the diplomatic room of the Department of State.

It was 12.30 o'clock when the adjournment took place, and the commission had been in session for just one hour. The four Commissioners went back to Secretary Olney's office, and after telling him of what they had done, walked over to the White House to pay their respects to President Cleveland. They spent about fifteen minutes with Mr. Cleveland, and then went to luncheon.

The commission will exercise great care in the selection of a permanent clerk, as this matter is deemed to be of some importance. It is understood that a person who speaks and writes the Dutch, Spanish, and English languages is desired.

### Early Report Improbable

Although the President, in the official appointment of each member of the Venezuela Commission, enjoins upon the commission the duty of making as early a report as possible consistent with thorough examination of the facts bearing upon the divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana and the commission work as quickly as the subject will permit, it is not expected, by those who are familiar with business of this kind, that a report can be made short of three or four months. By the time the commission has been instructed by perusal of the documents in the case and the maps have been examined, the British position will be somewhat changed, and the way out of the contention will be satisfactory to all and humiliating to none.

The reception in England with astonishment of the news sent from this city by the correspondent of *The London Chronicle*, although it has all been taken from correspondence that has not been secret, is regarded as an indication that the subject has been less carefully investigated there than here, and that reliance was placed too completely upon the bumptious arrogance of Chamberlain and the belief that the British people would accept his assurances without going to the trouble to inquire further to see whether he was justified in defying American sentiment for no better reason, perhaps, than to support a determination to acquire a reputation for conducting a vigorous colonial policy. When the Venezuela Commission has completed its work, it is believed that it will have collected the full, fair, and disinterested history of the boundary dispute in existence. It is the opinion of those who have studied the temper of the British press during the last week that there will be strong unofficial pressure brought to bear to induce Great Britain to contribute its share of the history, and that skilled hands will be assigned to put it in such shape that it will be at once a history and an argument.

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### SALISBURY WILL CLIMB DOWN Negligence of Subordinates Will Be Used as a Convenient Ladder

LONDON. Jan. 4—The cable dispatches sent from Washington by the special representative of *The Morning Chronicle* giving the unpublished correspondence anent the British Guiana boundary

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dispute exchanged by Lord Aberdeen, Colonial Secretary in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, and Señor Fortique, the then Venezuelan Minister to England, seem to have burst on the Foreign Office as a surprise.

It is almost incredible that the permanent officials at the Foreign Office, who are responsible for coaching the Prime Minister, would have been ignorant of this correspondence. Yet it is known in official circles that the brief on which Lord Salisbury based his reply to Secretary of State Olney did not mention the dispatches that were cabled to *The Chronicle*.

It is understood that the Prime Minister is deeply chagrined because of this fact. He may mark his displeasure by insisting that certain of the permanent officials shall retire.

A measure like this would be a preliminary to a general surrender, and would afford a convenient bridge for Lord Salisbury's retreat from the position he has assumed.

The Foreign Office will prepare an extensive report on the Venezuelan dispute. This will be accompanied with maps showing the historical details of the territory in dispute. That Lord Salisbury will climb down seems to be assured.

The *Saturday Review* (Independent) advocated the making of concessions to the United States. It quotes from a New-York paper to the effect that it will be better for England to eat crow at home than to eat dirt abroad, and adds: "In view of our enemies on the Continent Lord Salisbury must yield. It's better to eat a deal of some crow than any foreign dirt."

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#### MR. HENRY NORMAN'S REPORTS

Immediately on the receipt in London of the unanimous action of both houses of Congress in response to the message of the President on the question of arbitration of the Venezuelan dispute with Great Britain *The London Chronicle* sent to this country Mr. Henry Norman, an associate editor of that journal. His mission seems to have been to ascertain the real purpose of the American Government and the temper and opinion of the American people, to point out the probable or possible course of events and the policy open to the two Governments respectively, with the consequences likely to follow, and to furnish any information bearing on the differences between the United States and Great Britain or Great Britain and Venezuela that would help to guide either the public opinion or the Government at his own country. His first dispatch to his journal was published on Jan. 2 and proved to be extremely interesting and valuable.

It has appeared proper to those American journalists who have criticised the President, not only to sustain the course of the English Government toward our own at this moment, but to endeavor to prove that in their variegated dealing with Venezuela the successive Ministers of her Majesty have always and in the minutest details been entirely and, so to speak, fatally right. Mr. Norman is not that kind of journalist. He knows his profession and his duty to his conscience too well. Trained by years of travel and investigation in the far East, in novel surroundings among strange peoples, to the exercise of cool and broad judgment on intricate questions affecting the future of Great Britain, he has learned that no Government is infallible and that none can safely shut its eye to the facts when they have been discovered. He knew that the crux of the case of Lord Salisbury, whether in relation

to Venezuela or to the United States, was the Schomburgk line. All on one side of that now famous line Lord Salisbury is ready to arbitrate; all on the other side he claims has been and always will be British territory as to which his Government will not take the decision or the opinion of any one else whatsoever. Since this line brings within British control not only a very wide region of territory rich in gold mines, but the mouth of the Orinoco River, flowing well across the northern end of the continent and affording a base of operations from which the restless British advance could with ease and safety proceed, it is of the last importance that its authority and integrity from the earliest time should be maintained.

Mr. Norman's first discovery was that this is impossible, and he promptly published the fact. He obtained access in Washington to certain unpublished official correspondence between Great Britain and Venezuela between November, 1840, when Sir Robert Schomburgk was appointed to delimit the frontier of British Guiana, and April, 1842, when England removed the boundary posts by him set up. This correspondence showed the following facts: First, that Venezuela had promptly protested against the erection of these posts; second, that Lord Aberdeen had replied that "the demarkation so made was merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between Great Britain and Venezuela," and had subsequently declared that "the posts were not erected, as the Venezuelan Government appeared to apprehend, as indications of dominion and empire on the part of Great Britain"; third, that Lord Aberdeen had expressed pleasure at the assurance of the Governor of British Guiana to Venezuela that "Great Britain had not occupied Point Barima," (commanding the mouth of the Orinoco,) and, finally, that the posts were in part at least removed, and without any condition as to the bearing of their removal on the British claim. The statement closes as follows:

"If the above documents are genuine, and their source excludes suspicion, the Schomburgk line is proved worthless as a basis of any territorial claim whatever."

Commenting editorially on the subject, *The Chronicle* said:

"We are bound to say, assuming, as we are bound to assume, the accuracy of our representative's citations, that they vitiate Lord Salisbury's second dispatch to Secretary Olney, and render it necessary for us to revise our whole view of the situation. Clearly, there can now be no question regarding the Schomburgk line as a ramrod thrust between Guiana and Venezuela. In a word, England and the United States have a way out. We look to the statesmen on both sides to enlarge it until there is found complete escape from a situation of the utmost peril."

Having thus done to his country the very great service of pointing out that the position taken by its Government, and which Lord Salisbury had practically declared would not even be discussed, was untenable, and therefore must not only be discussed at home and abroad, but ought in fairness to be opened to change, Mr. Norman proceeded to enlighten his countrymen as to the real nature and force of American opinion. Passing over certain deductions as to the relations of the East and the West, which are interesting but not conclusive, we call attention, and especially the attention of those who have chosen to regard the policy of the President as purely bellicose, to the following plain statement:

"The Schomburgk line is now proved destitute of any quality of permanence, and it therefore remains to consider the situation as affected by its removal. I can affirm positively that the American Government is, above everything, anxious for arbitration. Whatever may have been its actual result, the intention of President Cleveland's message was amicable. The close entourage of the President to-day scouts the idea that it was not a message of

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peace. But behind it has sprung up a National sentiment which it would be utter madness on the part of the English people to disregard or underestimate. The Monroe doctrine is not worth discussing. All the learned pamphlets, the professors' opinions, and the newspaper discussions of it are labor lost. The fact is that if Venezuela does not come within the four corners of the Monroe doctrine, then the new doctrine, the Olney doctrine, covers it, and American opinion overwhelmingly favors its general principles. Moreover, America demands arbitration as a sacred right, and for this she will fight if needful."

Mr. Norman adds:

"I am astounded at the depth and character of American feeling on this question. Men experienced, staid, elderly, conservative, many holding judicial positions of great responsibility, frankly declare their uncompromising support of this American doctrine. . . No greater mistake would be possible than for England to regard the message as a mere party manoeuvre. If this latter view gains acceptance, the consequences of the mistake may be awful. When I reflect on the possibility of this, and know what I know of American opinion, I am profoundly depressed. Arbitration is demanded by every consideration dearest to civilized mankind."

Mr. Norman recites the various ways in which arbitration can be reached:

"1. An arrangement can be made with Venezuela, and he has assurance that that country would pay the additional indemnity demanded, express regret for the Yuruan incident, and request a renewal of diplomatic relations "if England would agree to a reference of the whole question to any competent tribunal she might select.

"2. Lord Salisbury could offer to join English Commissioners to the American Commissioners.

"3. Lord Salisbury can open negotiations on the report of the American commission should this suggest a *prima facie* case for discussion.

"4. Lord Salisbury can submit the English case, if invited, to the American commission. "Here, again, arbitration appears the inevitable and natural result." Mr. Norman concludes with these grave words: "By declining arbitration in any shape, Lord Salisbury is courting for England the ill will of two continents. Most weighty of all, and this is my most serious but confident conclusion, if he does, the American people will consider fighting the arbitration as fighting for peace."

It is a curious and not altogether pleasing fact that this sober and entirely truthful statement of the purpose of the President and of the real opinion of the American people must come as news, not only to Mr. Norman's readers across the Atlantic, but a certain number who think themselves not the worst informed or least wise of the citizens old New-York.

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THE ONLY PROPER POSITION  
A Republican Supports the President's Attitude in the Venezuelan Controversy

To the Editor of The New-York Times:

Permit me to say a few words upon the Venezuelan question. Though a Republican, I have always been a strong supporter of Mr. Cleveland. I consider his position, in his recent message, the only proper one, but I think the language of the last three paragraphs should have been more temperate, though they were written under great provocation.

The friendly offices of the United States have throughout been offered to England in behalf of arbitration of the boundary line. Venezuela claims to the Essequibo River, but is willing to arbitrate. England claims almost to the Orinoco River, and is willing to arbitrate only a portion of the territory in dispute, claiming absolutely the Schomburgk line or territory about 150 miles west of the Essequibo River; her extreme claim being for territory about 350 miles west of the Venezuelan claim of the Essequibo. The propositions of compromise called the Aberdeen and Granville lines, while drawing back from the Schomburgk line in some places, crossed it, and went beyond in others; but both lines—while giving up some of the sea-coast, which was not of so much importance to England, as with the Island of Trinidad and her Guiana possessions and her fleet, she controlled the mouths of the Orinoco—advanced her territory westward of the Essequibo over 200 miles, and in the territory westward of the Schomburgk line 69 miles; drawing back at the coast, the Granville, 69 miles, and the Aberdeen about 140 miles. These conditions are apparently the only answers Great Britain has vouchsafed to the kindly offices of one of the proudest, most civilized, and most just nations on the earth. One last request was made by the President to England. On July 20, 1895, the President says: “It is my wish to be made acquainted with the fact at such early date as will enable me to lay the whole subject before Congress in my next annual message.” This gave England four months in which to consider and reply. How does England treat a great nation she professes friendship for? Times her reply to reach the President about one week after Congress has assembled, and slaps the President and the American people in the face. Would this Nation have treated England so under any provocation?

England to-day, with her ownership of the fortified Island of Trinidad, directly opposite the westward mouths of the Delta of the Orinoco, and with the possession of Barima, as now asserted by the Schomburgk line, controls absolutely the entrance to the Orinoco, a river belonging to Venezuela beyond dispute, and lying entirely, except its main mouth, in undisputed Venezuelan territory. The Orinoco River stretches westwardly through Venezuela, and, with the Apure, is navigable to the seventieth degree of longitude, or to a point 800 miles westward of the Schomburgk line. It has more than 400 navigable tributaries which traverse almost the entire territory of Venezuela. The Schomburgk line carries England beyond the first range of mountains, and her extreme claim carries her beyond the second range, and within twenty miles of the Orinoco River, at a point 140 miles westward from its mouth. It leaves but one other river or any importance to cross to reach the Isthmus, viz., the Magdalena.

The French began the Panama Canal. They are again agitating its completion. American private enterprise started the Nicaragua Canal, made surveys and some preliminary construction. The hard times came, and several months ago our papers were full of the scheme to introduce a bill in Congress to have the canal built by, or its bonds guaranteed by the United States Government. Instantly the English papers notified us that the United States Government would never be allowed to own and possess the Nicaragua Canal. All inter-ocean canals should be neutral and their neutrality guaranteed by all the Christian nations of the earth, and not only the canals, but a zone around their entrances should also be neutral. I believe we have admitted the neutrality of the Nicaragua Canal under the concession. But the talk in the English papers came with a bad grace from a country that occupies Egypt against the protests of France, and controls the Suez Canal, built by the glory of Frenchmen. When England possesses the limit of her claims she will then she will then be in a position to gather an army that could sweep Venezuela; will not have a mountain range to cross, no difficult river, as she would control the Orinoco with her gunboats, and she would then have navigable rivers on which to transfer her army, supplies, and ammunition to a point over 800 miles

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west of the Schomburgk line, and within 500 miles of the Panama Canal, with the Nicaragua Canal only 276 miles further, and, owning the Island of Jamaica, be only 550 miles from the Atlantic entrance to both canals. When she should desire to conquer Venezuela, at her convenience, she would do so, and then be in striking distance of the two canals, with a base from which to strike. Lord Salisbury says that England does not want Venezuela's territory, and wants to live on terms of friendship with her, but in the same dispatch says that the Monroe doctrine originated in England, that it has not been accepted as international law, and that times have changed. When the march across Venezuela begins—say, in 1910, or before—will the English Ministry at that time say, We did want to live on terms of friendship with Venezuela but the canals have been built and times have again changed?

Is the United States justified in her fears of English aggression? Has England closed the Dardanelles against Russia, the greatest wrong of the nineteenth century? Since the President's message, English papers have taunted us that we have forced England to abandon the Armenians to the fate that may await them, by our attack on England. We have not made any attack. What may happen to what is left of the Armenians results from our resenting England's attack on us. What has happened to thousands of them lies at England's door, and is partly owing to that jealousy of nations which we are trying to avoid on this continent, and primarily to England's demand that the Straits should be closed to Russia.

Did not England invite France to join her in the Egyptian occupation as a temporary measure, both nations to retire when their mission was accomplished? France, probably for good reasons, refused. Did not England go there alone? And now her mission is fulfilled, after France has over and over again protested, she refuses to retire, and the Suez Canal becomes an English canal.

Does not England hold Gibraltar? A thorn in the side of proud Spain.

Does not England hold the mouths of the St. Lawrence, an apparent threat to the great lakes of the United States, though it is not a real one?

Does not England to-day command the mouths of the Orinoco and the entire inland navigation of Venezuela? And does she from this position, with Trinidad and Jamaica, threaten not only the French canal, but alike that of Nicaragua?

Did England's Mosquitoe protectorate mean the same thing?

Have Japan and China no complaints?

Did England force this country to arbitration on the seal industry, a willingness to destroy an industry forever that her colonies could procure a temporary money benefit? She had her legal rights, and arbitrators decided in her favor. To our shame, we have not paid the money. There was not precedent, but it could have been made one, and seal life preserved. No, the laws of God in seal propagation, and the friendship of this country, both set aside that British subjects might not be deprived of small and temporary profit, with the result that seal life will be extinguished. Are we in difference with the Alaskan boundary? These questions did not seem to come up when Russia owned Alaska—only when a friendly power owns it, a power that is so thoroughly pledged to peace that the world stands dumb when it shows fight.

And what does the United States ask? Only arbitration, not an inch of territory. It is willing to give England all that in justice is hers, though it may be against our own interests. Willing to have another point added to the already long list of England's strategic points on our long coast line, and the interoceanic canals, if she is justly entitled to it, just as we stand, calmly watching the gradual fading away of our seal industry, that a court of arbitration, on England's demand of legal right, has given to her, for want of a precedent to save it.

We are told that we, so far away, have no interest in a case that places a power practically within easy striking distance of the canals, the only waterway to be between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, except around the capes, while seal industry must be destroyed in the temporary interest of a colony whose seat of Government is over 3,000 miles away from the home of the seal, and the intervening space not much more than a wilderness, and England herself over 6,000 miles distant from it. Shall the monument raised over the grave of the seal contain these words: "Sacred to the memory of England's friendship and to the mistake of the Almighty in creating seal life and the laws of seal propagation in contravention of England's inflexible international code?"

The United States stands on a doctrine she considers necessary for the preservation of her National life. The moment European nations unite to dispute it, its necessity to us is shown. Only three other nations of Europe—Holland, France, and perhaps Spain—besides England, have any territorial interest on the mainland of this continent. Does Gibraltar tempt Spain to help fasten the iron heel of England on America? Will Egypt and the control of the Suez Canal tempt France to aid England in threatening a second French and the first American canal? Egypt and Cyprus, Venezuela and Jamaica.

The storm of Dec. 18 does not mean hatred to England. Until then the Armenian question was the burning question of the hour. The American heart was close to England, and American wish was that the white squadron, side by side with England's flag, could force the straits, and with shotted guns stop Turkey's outrages. It was England's isolated position that drew the American Nation toward her. Innocent even of suspicion, came the awakening to the fact that England had spurned Americas peaceful offers and had snubbed us.

War there cannot be. The men who made the charge at Balaklava, the most sublime exhibition at bravery the world has ever seen, do not withdraw from a false position train from fear. The men who held the heights at Gettysburg and the men who charged up to the guns where the line of human bravery merged into that at death are brave enough to retreat whenever they realize a false position. Withdraw, England, from your untenable position of not arbitrating anything behind the Schomburgk line, depending upon prescription rights and colonization against only word of protest from a nation that has probably one gun to your one thousand to back its protest. And let the United States withdraw from its utterly untenable position that it shall be the arbitrator, if that is its dictum.

Oh! England, do not let our financial difficulties, nor our troubles here, nor our weakness tempt you to do a wrong, tempt you to refrain from what is right and just. The men of the North who poured out treasure and life to free the slave, and the men of the South—"the footsore Confederate soldiers, who turned their faces southward from Appomattox in April, 1865, ragged, half starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having fought to exhaustion"—these are not the men who trade their country's cause for gold.

And England, "times have changed". The days of wooden vessels and low-power guns have passed away. The time for England's fleet and England's strategic positions, and that system that has justly excited the wonder of the world, to rule the earth, is passing also. They are among the glories at the English Nation. The days when a reputation for aggression and oppression add to a nation's strength and wealth will soon be a thing of the past. The day of iron-clad, high-power guns, and high explosives is with us. The day present is the day of arbitration and of peace. The god of war is giving way to the god of right and justice. You have isolated yourself. You have gradually affronted every nation until only one was left, and her you have just struck. Would it not be well to abandon old lines and take the higher ground? Is not the friendship of nations better than their hate? We have

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been looking forward friendly and sorrowfully to your day of trouble we knew must come if you continued as of old, thankful only that we should not have a hand in it. The question of the Dardanelles, Gibraltar, and of Egypt is for you to determine, not for us to counsel. But keep Guiana, for it is yours by right, and take all of the disputed claim that arbitrators will give you and welcome. Demand that all interoceanic canals shall be neutral and respect It. Keep your strategic positions on our Atlantic coast, for you own them. Keep Canada, for it is yours, and it will be safer to you in the friendship of the United States than if it bristled with English cannon and was defended by the heroes or Inkerman.

But should it be different, and nations nearer your island home than we are come in conflict with your aggressive policy, and war ensue, the struggle will be awful. We may not be there to help, for we are bound to others by bands of friendship in our days of trouble, and our own backs have smarted—though our sympathy will be for you. And should you meet with misfortune and the hand be laid too heavily on your shoulder, you might find the white squadron by your side with shot and shell to stay the hand of the oppressor.

It would not be the first time that parent head has pillowed on the bosom of a sturdy child in time of trouble, and found the strong, vigorous arm entwined around her. If you call this hate, what is friendship?

T. R.

New-York, Jan. 4, 1896.

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NO REBELS IN VENEZUELA  
Every Man a Patriot and Standing by President Crespo  
PEACE PREVAILS IN THE COUNTRY  
Statement Made by Ex-Minister Peraza—English Colonial Office Denies  
That Cannon were Sent to Cuyuni

Bolet Peraza, ex-Minister from Venezuela to the United States, who is now in New-York City, emphatically denies that there is a revolution in his country. He says the report that rebels in Venezuela had formed an alliance with the English is absurd.

My information," said the ex-Minister yesterday, "shows that the country is in complete peace. I have had no advices by cable, but if such a state of affairs existed as is reported, we certainly would have heard of it. Venezuelan newspapers of Dec. 30, to hand, contain no mention of even a possible revolutionary disturbance. Every one of my countrymen is heartily satisfied with the action of the United States and our own Government, and the people are now awaiting patiently, though, of course, anxiously, the result at the deliberations of the commission appointed by President Cleveland to determine the exact boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela.

"I am sure President Crespo or Congress will take no action on this question without first consulting the Government of the United States. Venezuela is thoroughly aware of its responsibilities before the whole civilized world in the impending dispute. The United States listened to our appeal, and nobly upheld our rights. Under the circumstances, the acts attributed to some

Venezuelans in these sensational dispatches are not alone discreditable, but an insult to our common sense and patriotism.

“The report of an alliance between the rebels of Venezuela and the British is to me absurdly ridiculous. There is no revolution in Venezuela to-day. The country, to a man, is now with President Crespo. Internal strife has been abandoned, and all factions have rallied to the Government’s support in the present crisis. I do not believe Venezuela harbors a citizen so base or degraded who would be guilty of such a treasonable act as treating with Britishers against Venezuela.

The home Government and the United States have the support of the whole of Venezuela to-day.”

CANNON NOT SENT TO CUYUNI  
Story Printed in a New-York Newspaper Denied

LONDON, Jan. 9.—The Colonial Office has issued a note, declaring that the statement printed in a New-York newspaper to-day, in an alleged cable dispatch from Caracas. Venezuela, that British troops, with cannon, have arrived at Cuyuni, is absolutely unfounded.

SAYS THERE IS NO REBELLION  
Venezuela Minister Andrade Claims Peace Prevails in His Country

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—The Venezuelan Minister, Señor Andrade, discredits the rumored revolutionary movement reported exclusively by cable to a New-York newspaper which, he claims, has always been inimical to Venezuela, and which has so bitterly opposed President Cleveland’s action in that country’s behalf. The Minister points to the coincidence that the cablegrams alleged to have been detained in transit through Cuba are received simultaneously with the arrival of the overdue mail steamer from La Guayra, and declares that he attaches no importance to these dispatches, except that they confirm his belief that alleged exclusive cable news to this newspaper was invariably unreliable.

Señor Andrade’s official mail from Caracas reached him this morning, and it showed that the entire country was united in its enthusiasm over President Cleveland’s message on the boundary dispute.

Whatever revolutionary sentiments existed before that time were utterly dispelled by the great national joy over President Cleveland’s utterances, and never had the people been more united.

Minister Andrade is confident that he would have been notified by cable if any such alarming condition of affairs had suddenly arisen as reported, and the message would not have been sent by way of Cuba if subject to delay there.

Regarding the reinforcement of the British Guiana police station on the Venezuelan frontier, the Minister said this probably related to the orders which, it was reported, were issued by the British Guiana Legislature, with Mr. Chamberlain’s advice, last October, to send more police to the Cuyuni station, which was situated on the eastern point of the confluence of the Uruan and Cuyuni Rivers. It was in this vicinity that the Uruan incident occurred, for which Great Britain was reported to have demanded an indemnity and sent an ultimatum. It was said at that time that a Maxim gun and several men would be sent to that point, and doubt was expressed that a Maxim gun could ever be transported to that point, as no roads lead through the country and the way is considered practically impassable.

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It was well known, at any rate, that it would take over a month to reach the spot from Demerara, and in the meantime Venezuela had plenty of time to reinforce its guard on the west side of the Cuyuni, opposite the British post, which had been stationed there since 1892. Unless the British crossed the river, which they had hitherto refrained from doing, there would probably be no collision between the two forces. The Venezuelans would, however, undoubtedly resist any encroachment on their undisputed territory.

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GENERAL ARBITRATION DESIRED  
Members of Foreign Affairs Committee Send Their Views to England

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Henry Norman, the special commissioner of The London Daily Chronicle in Washington, cables his paper to-day as follows:

“The sentiment for arbitration is a ball which, once set rolling among a civilized people, cannot be stopped. I take it for granted that in some manner arbitration in the Venezuelan dispute is certain. Therefore my work here is done. But that this temporary evil may prove the germ of a great good, I have desired to add a fresh impetus to the wider movement.

“Now, President Cleveland and Mr. Olney preserve absolute silence, deeming their official positions incompatible with unofficial speech. Who, after them, represents the weightiest influence on American foreign affairs? Obviously the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, I have been at pains to-day to learn the opinions at these gentlemen, and the results I have obtained will, I feel assured, be equally gratifying and potent in England. One member of the Senate Committee, Roger Q. Mills of Texas, I was unable to find. But with this single exception I can present you with the views of the entire committee.

To each member I put this question: “Would it, in your opinion, be well for the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to endeavor to agree upon the constitution of a permanent court or tribunal of arbitration, to which all questions at issue between the two Governments, not involving National autonomy or honor, should be submitted for decision when diplomatic negotiations fail?

First, of course, I called upon Senator Sherman, the veteran Chairman of the Senate committee, a man whose career and personality have won the profoundest regard of his fellow-citizens, and whose words should receive deep respect in England. He replied:

“‘Yes, you may quote me as strongly as you like in an affirmative reply.’ When I requested his own words for publication, he said: ‘I am in favor of the principle of arbitration for all questions that do not involve the autonomy of either of the two countries. I hope that the two Governments will agree upon such a mode of settlement for all controversies.’

“Senator Sherman added that in his opinion Parliament should pass a resolution requiring the Ministry to take steps in this direction. Then, in turn, I called upon every member of the committee. The following opinions were given me by each with authority to publish them:

“Senator William P. Frye of Maine— ‘Two Christian nations so closely allied, and speaking the same language, surely ought not to resort to arms for the settlement of any difficulties involving anything less than their sacred national honor. I am decidedly in favor of arbitration.’

“Senator C. K. Davis of Minnesota – ‘I should approve of a convention between the two countries to the effect that all controversies not involving the honor of either, or the established policy of either, should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration, to be constituted by the parties as the controversies arise, so far as the personnel of that tribunal is concerned, the convention providing in a general way that such tribunals should be established for each particular case as occasion for it might present itself.’

“Senator Don Cameron of Pennsylvania— ‘The principle of arbitration is both wise and humane, and the adoption of it by the two great English-speaking nations of the world would have great influence upon other civilized nations. It would be well at this particular time, for both America and England to consider the subject seriously and practically, and I hope this will be done.’

“Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois— ‘The time has come in the history of the world when great nations should settle all controversies between them by arbitration and not by war. I should rejoice if practical steps were taken by both Governments to this end.’

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts— ‘I am, of course, in favor of settling the Venezuelan question by arbitration, and I believe equally that all questions which can properly be disposed of by arbitration should be dealt with in that way by two such nations as the United States and Great Britain, and, if possible, by some general arrangement.’

“All the foregoing are Republicans. The following are Democrats:

“Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama— ‘I am in favor of the principle of international arbitration in settlement of disputes that properly fall within the purview of that method of settlement. I am in favor of the organization, by consent of what I may call the Christian powers, and of all other powers that can be induced to enter into the agreement, of a court or board of arbitration to which the Governments would agree that questions of the sort indicated should be submitted after the failure of diplomatic efforts to settle them; the personnel of such a board to be selected on each occasion that arises by agreement between the two contending powers, and, failing such agreement, they should agree upon a neutral power with authority to name the members of the board.’

“Senator George Gray of Delaware referred me to his words, which I recently cabled, as covering the question, adding the assurance of his entire sympathy.

“Senator David Turple of Indiana— ‘I think the constitution of a tribunal mutually appointed and agreed upon by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, to which could be referred disputed questions between the two powers, other than those relating to their autonomy and national sovereignty, would be of great service, not only to the two nations interested, but also to mankind, who would accept such action as a model to be followed and an example to be imitated.’

“Senator John W. Daniels of Virginia— ‘I would regard it as a great achievement and in harmony with the aspirations of the two peoples, their mutual interests, and their closer friendship. All my mind goes forward to the belief that it would be well to create such a machine.’

“Except for the accidental absence of Senator Mills, the above are the sentiments of the entire Senate committee.

“The House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs consists of nine Republicans and six Democrats. The time at my disposal, the House having adjourned early, did not permit me to see

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each member personally. But Robert H. Hitt of Illinois, the Chairman, is a veteran diplomatist, having been Secretary of the American Embassy in Paris and for years the Assistant Secretary of State here.

“Him I found most sympathetic. Replying to the above question, he said: ‘It would be the best work they could do for the two nations and for mankind. And it should, if possible, be made to imply, if not pledge, their endeavor to so settle all the disputes they have, not only with one another, but with all other nations.’

“I asked if I might regard him as expressing the sentiments of the entire committee, and he said: ‘Not only of the committee, but of the whole House of Representatives. For the conciliation of interests and the wise search for right results we are all agreed here.’

“He told me how Gen. Grant, the greatest fighting President America has ever had, and whom he accompanied officially during his European trip, never lost an opportunity to urge crowned heads and Prime Ministers to adopt arbitration instead of war. President Grant was keenly interested in the treaty of Washington of 1871, by which all outstanding differences were arbitrated, and it was chiefly owing to his zeal that this treaty was brought about.

“The above represents the weightiest body of opinion that could possibly be secured in the United States. In it there is not a single dissenting voice, and these are the men to whose consideration any question between England and America would be first submitted and by whose decision the Senate and House would probably be guided. It is Impossible to believe that British sentiment will not be moved to respond to such remarkable unanimity and such enlightened utterances. If not, then the world will see that America is ahead of England in the most striking characteristic of a civilized people.

“I must add that the expressions of opinion at the Capitol towards The Chronicle’s work in explaining American sentiment were of such a cordial, and, indeed, flattering nature, that you would not desire me to publicly repeat them.

“It is cabled to-day that the British Guiana police have occupied the extreme limits of the territory claimed by Venezuela. The American Government has brought heavy pressure to bear to prevent the Venezuelan Government from committing any overt act and thus precipitate a hostile situation. Therefore it is imperatively necessary that the British Government instantly deny and repudiate such a monstrous and fatal act as the armed occupation of territory while the question of arbitration is pending.

“My work here is done. I propose to leave Washington immediately. The Schomburgk line is now abandoned. The English public, understanding the American attitude, has changed its own attitude, and nothing blocks the way to a prompt settlement, not only of the Venezuelan, but of all other matters, and they are numerous, now pending and creating international discord, and thereby placing our relations upon an amicable footing for the future. My last words shall be, and they must surely express British, no less than American sentiment, that the nation desiring arbitration is in a civilized attitude, and that the nation refusing it is in an uncivilized attitude.”

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### An Overhasty Representative and a Pushing Senator from Kansas

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—The publication of dispatches in a New-York newspaper, representing that the British had sent an armed force out upon the Venezuelan border, and that there was a serious revolution in Venezuela, aided and abetted by the British, was the cause of the introduction in the House to-day of a somewhat fiery resolution by Mr. Livingston of Georgia. If Mr. Livingston had waited a day he would have learned that there was absolutely nothing in the alarming report of warlike operations in the disputed territory. His resolution is as follows:

That the President of the United States is hereby requested to forthwith ascertain whether Great Britain is advancing her outposts on the territory in dispute between her colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela, or is reinforcing posts heretofore established, with troops, police, or ordnance, and should the President become cognizant of the fact that a British military or police force is advancing to invade or reinforce, or since the 17th day of December last has invaded or reinforced posts formerly occupied within said disputed territory, he demand the immediate withdrawal of said soldiers and the reduction of the police force in said territory to not a greater number occupying the British outposts on the aforesaid 17th day of December, 1895.

Mr. Boutelle (Rep., Me.) objected to consideration of the resolution, and it went to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Another Venezuelan resolution was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Baker of Kansas, reaffirming the Monroe doctrine and making additions thereto. Mr. Baker does not accept the Senate tradition that new members of that body should not be heard except on roll calls, for a year at least after having sworn in. He had a good deal to say yesterday in the Republican Caucus, and to-day he attracted considerable attention his advocacy at his resolution. He is in favor of war if necessary to maintain the principles of the Monroe doctrine.

Mr. Baker's resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the United States of America will regard it as an unfriendly act for any foreign power, without our consent, by war, treaty, purchase, or otherwise, to extend its territorial limits in the Western Hemisphere, on either of the American continents, or to, or over, any of the islands adjacent thereto, which this country seems necessary or proper for its self-preservation. And the United States of America reserves the right to be sole judge of this necessity.

Resolved, That the principle herein enunciated is founded upon the law of self-preservation which from necessity, adheres in, and belongs to, every civilized nation as a sovereign and inalienable right; and this principle is attested by Washington's farewell address and by President Monroe's ever memorable message of Dec. 2, 1823.

In closing his speech, Mr. Baker declared that the United States would maintain the position announced in his resolution by war, if necessary, in order that peace might come.

"We shall not," he said, "invite or provoke war. The justice of our cause will challenge and command the admiration of the civilized world; but, if it does come, we will triumph in a cause which history will bless; and when the shock of fierce contending armies shall be heard no more, then we shall behold greater America, united, prosperous, and free, still the wonder and marvel of the world, matchless an unconquerable."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

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A CONFERENCE PROPOSED  
Lord Playfair's Plan for Settling the Venezuelan Dispute  
ARBITRATION THE END IN VIEW  
*The London Post* Indorses the Suggestion of *The London Times* for a Full  
Statement of the British Claim

LONDON, Jan. 10.—The Chronicle to-morrow will publish the report at an interview with Lord Playfair, in which he suggests that a conference be held between American and English delegates for the purpose of defining the Monroe doctrine and of carrying through a system of arbitration.

The Morning Post tomorrow, will say it believes the suggestion made by The Times that red tape be laid aside by the Government and a statement made of the British claim anent the Guiana frontier dispute, would be supported cordially by the people of Great Britain.

In an interview to-day N. G. Burch, the Venezuelan Consul here, said that if the United States wished to make the Venezuelan High Commission unassailable it should appoint one or two European members, because of the necessity of an exhaustive study of European archives.

Mr. Burch said he was inclined to believe that the present situation would lead to an interchange of ideas that would result in the resumption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela. He added that it was obvious that a war would be very disastrous to Venezuela, even though Venezuela should be backed by the United States.

He did not believe, however, that the United States would be so ill-advised as to make Venezuela the scene of war, for in that case the protection of the United States would be disastrous to the country's interests, whatever might be the result of the conflict.

He was of the opinion that the intervention of the United States would conduce to an intelligent, mutual understanding between the disputants for a specific settlement.

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THE ESSEQUIBO THE BOUNDARY  
Old Maps, an Authority in England, Show This the True Line Between  
Guiana and Venezuela

M. Carey & Sons of Philadelphia published, in 1821, an atlas which was a reproduction, essentially, of a London work edited by M. Lavoisne. In 1823 H. C. Carey and I. Lea, the successor of M. Carey & Sons, published an American atlas, the maps, with the exception of the United States, following closely after Lavoisne's Atlas. The New-York Times reproduces a map from each atlas, in both of which the Essequibo River is given as the boundary between Dutch Guiana and Spanish Guiana. Lavoisne's atlas was considered in England, at that day, a good authority, as the large number of editions it went through shows. Not alone in a geographical sense, but historically, this atlas was accepted as an authority.

In the historical part of Lavoisne's atlas Guiana is described as follows:

“Guyana—This name belongs to the great extent of country between the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which was formerly divided into Spanish, Dutch, French, and Portuguese Guyana. Spanish Guyana now forms part of the Republic of Venezuela, Portuguese Guyana is comprehended within the Kingdom of Brazil, Dutch Guyana, or as most frequently called, Surinaum, extends from the Essequibo to the Maroni. . . French Guiana, or Cayenne, extends along the coast from the Maroni to the Oyapuk.”

Any student of history can thus clearly see that the rivers in each instance formed the boundary lines. By reference to the map, though, it will be seen that a small part of the territory of Dutch Guiana extended to the westward of the Essequibo and was defined by a line drawn from Cape Nassau to a point on the Cuyuni or Guayani River, a short distance above its junction with the Essequibo Venezuela lays claim to this small piece of territory, and the text of Lavoisne's atlas bears out its claim.

It may be noted though, that none of the gold mines are found in this small strip. The exceedingly valuable gold mines of the eastern part of Venezuela are located south of the Cuyuni River and between it and the Mazaruni. These mines have been “exploited by the authority of the Governor of British Guiana,” as officially expressed in a bulletin of the Venezuelan Government, being on the British side of the so-called Schomburgk line. The small piece of territory above described not being of special value it is doubtful if either party to the controversy would make strenuous claim to it as such.

But Venezuela will undoubtedly interpose strong objections to any occupancy of territory by the English on the west bank of the Essequibo, at or near its mouth, on the ground that such occupancy would give control of the river. Thus Venezuela would be deprived of means of access to that great extent of her territory which form the bulk of what was known as Spanish Guiana. This territory is all drained by the tributaries of the Essequibo, which all flow into that river from the west, or Venezuelan side, there being none from the east, or British Guiana side. It is thus obvious that in taking the Essequibo River as the boundary, it was the intent to give access to the country drained by its tributaries. Part of this country is even outside of the boundary claimed by England, and it is practically valueless, unless access can be had to it by means or the Essequibo and its tributaries, the only practicable means possible.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE BOUNDARY  
England's Claim in Venezuela Again Proved Without Foundation

BURLINGTON, Vt., Jan. 13.—Seneca Haselton, ex-Minister to Venezuela, has furnished The Free Press a statement regarding the boundary of Guiana, in which he gives new facts bearing upon the point of legitimate jurisdiction over the territory at the mouth of the Orinoco River, now occupied by the British. He quotes from the works of Robert Montgomery Martin, published in 1834-5 after about ten years of travel and research, entitled the “History of the British Colonies,” in

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the preparation of which he had the assistance of many public officials and numerous other men resident in England and the colonies.

The colony of British Guiana is carefully treated. Its western boundary is situated somewhere on the coast between the Pomeroon River and the Barima River. The colony is further described as extending about 200 miles along the coast westward from the Coventy River and so, by inference, stopping considerably east of the mouth of the Barima. The Parish of Trinity, the most westerly of British Guiana, is described as extending to the Pomeroon River, and "as far as the British settlements extend."

The author had apparently never heard that any one claimed that British Guiana extended to the Amacoio. He describes the colony, it may be added, as lying to the eastward of the sixtieth parallel of west longitude, a description which distinctly excludes Point Barima. In 1836-7 Mr. Martin was given access to the Blue Books and to other official sources of information, with a view to the preparation of a work compassing the end desired by the House of Commons. The author's right to designate his work as official was unquestioned. But, in the "History of the Colonies of the British Empire," published in 1836, the boundaries of Western British Guiana are again stated as in the earlier work.

When Mr. Martin began his researches not more than ten years had elapsed since the cession from Holland to England of the colonies which constitute British Guiana, and when the history appeared twenty-five years had passed since the transfer of 1814. The actual extent of Dutch occupation was to Mr. Martin and Sir Robert Keer Porter a matter of comparatively easy determination, and the discovery of new evidence of an unambiguous character is necessary to warrant a more extensive British claim at this day that was made in the years 1830 to 1840.

"The British right to the entire territory embraced within the Schomburgk line is," Mr. Haselton says, "open to serious question. The occupation in 1855 of Point Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, was on the fact of it and act of aggression upon the territory of the American republic, and in view of the traditional and well-known policy of this country, the refusal to submit the right to such occupation to the judgment of impartial arbitration cannot be regarded but as an act of unfriendliness to the United States. Lord Salisbury did not in his reply to Secretary Olney refuse in precise terms to submit any territory within the Schomburgk line to arbitration, and the way to an impartial determination of existing British rights seems yet open."

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#### LORD SALISBURY'S POLICY

The semi-official announcement made in *The London Standard* this morning, and which we published yesterday, is extremely important. The significant part is as follows:

Urged by friendly public opinion in the United States to place before the world as soon as may be the British case as regards the controversy with Venezuela, the Cabinet on Saturday decided to respond to this amicable invitation by publishing the material documents in its possession bearing thereon. . .

“Lord Salisbury, as we announce elsewhere, has decided not to wait for the meeting of Parliament, but will publish, as soon as they can be got ready, all the documents in his possession bearing upon the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.”

The explanation offered by *The Standard* for the action on the part of the British Government is the spirit in which the American people received the troubles that during the past fortnight have crowded on England from all parts of the globe. We have no doubt that this spirit has appeared very grateful to the English, as *The Standard* says, “at a moment when communities less generous thought, apparently, that a favorable opportunity had arisen for adopting a tone of insult, if not of menace.” But the “magnanimous attitude of the American Nation” ought not to have surprised our English friends. It was not only entirely consistent with the course at our Government regarding the Venezuelan question, but one essential motive of that course was a strong desire for the safe and permanent friendship of the two peoples. This became perfectly plain to Mr. Norman when he observed the people and the Government on our own shores. It is becoming plain to an increasing number of Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic, and Lord Salisbury and his associates in the Cabinet appear to understand it. They are now realizing that all that the American Government from first to last asked was a fair, impartial determination of the rights of Venezuela and Great Britain, without the slightest intervention or influence by the United States. In that request there was manifest nothing but a friendly spirit

When Lord Salisbury, possibly, and as now appears, probably, with defective information as to some important points in the history of the conduct of the British Government, saw fit to decline somewhat brusquely the request of the United States, Mr. Cleveland expressed very plainly his opinion as to what position the Government, should Congress concur, would take. The statement excited the people of both countries. But now that time has been given for the cooling of passion, and for the clearer perception of the actual elements of the situation, a new light has broken upon the mind of the English people and their Government. After their first hot assertion that the United States had “no interest” in the Venezuelan dispute, they have come to realize that across the ocean there was a powerful, stable, peaceful Nation which, without direct selfish interest, in the simple cause of justice to a weak neighbor, was capable of proceeding to extreme measures. That is a position which Englishmen can understand, and which in their hearts they are sure, so soon as they do understand it, to respect. Any difference arising from momentary misapprehension of the real purpose of the United States Government assumes an entirely changed character when that purpose becomes plain.

The policy announced by *The Standard* as agreed upon by the British Cabinet is a manly manifestation of a friendly disposition, which will be cordially welcomed in the United States, and will strengthen the sentiment of mutual respect which the two peoples must in the long run entertain for each other.

It is inevitable that on the American side this sentiment should find expression at the moment when England is facing the storm of jealousy, resentment, and possible animosity that has recently burst from all parts of Europe. We do not conceal from ourselves the elements in the character and in the policy of the English nation that have aroused these feelings. But we cannot forget that in the history of Europe the names of the English sovereigns Elizabeth and William and the commander and statesman Wellington, in his time greater than his sovereign, are associated with the rescue of Western Europe from three successive attempts at despotic rule. And there is too much English blood in our veins to permit us to think that a great people with whom we have been, or are, on the verge of a controversy, are to be despised or hated because by us they are not feared.

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SALISBURY IS YIELDING  
The British Premier Making Advances to Venezuela.  
A JOINT COMMISSION PROPOSED  
The Boundary Dispute May Yet Be Referred to a Third Power for Settlement—Authors  
Acted Without Authority

LONDON, Jan. 13.—It is learned upon good authority that Lord Salisbury is endeavoring, through a neutral power, to resume direct negotiations with Venezuela, proposing the appointment of a joint commission to delimit the disputed frontier.

The joint commission failing to reach a complete agreement, the points in dispute are to be referred to a third power.

The committee of the Society of Authors has examined into the circumstances of the issuing of the address of British literary men to their confreres in America; appealing to the latter to use their influence to prevent a war, and declares that the signers of the address are alone answerable.

The use of the society's paper, on which the address was issued, was unauthorized. The committee avows the friendly feelings of the society for the Americans, but says it is of the opinion that action in international questions does not belong to the society's corporate powers.

The Standard will tomorrow say it is pleased by the exchanges of diplomatic expressions of good-will between the United States and Great Britain, and again argues that a way must be found to reconcile England's view of her rights in Guiana with the sensibilities of the people of the United States. It will add: "It must be only a work of time to effect a satisfactory settlement. The simplest way would be a direct agreement with Venezuela. It is obvious that we should have the good-will of the United States in such a solution."

The Daily News reiterates the importance of finding an honorable escape from the Venezuelan difficulty, and says:

"If things are allowed to continue as they are now, there may be a war, no matter how many excellent people may be horrified at the idea. Lord Salisbury has never declined to arbitrate. It was upon the scope, not the principle, of reference that he and Venezuela failed to agree. We believe that Lord Salisbury has clearly shown that Venezuela is in the wrong, but we are not impartial judges. The stronger the British case, the more eager should Lord Salisbury be to submit it to a competent court. Surely, we are willing to make a sentimental sacrifice for the sake of retaining the friendship of the United States. We expect something more from Lord Salisbury than an argumentative victory on paper."

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VIEWS OF HENRY NORMAN

What the London Correspondent Says of the Venezuelan Matter  
POORER CASE THAN ENGLAND THOUGHT  
Lesson Taught that There Is a Strong American Feeling to be Respected

Henry Norman the assistant editor of The London Daily Chronicle, spent yesterday in this city. His recent work in Washington as special correspondent for his paper on the Venezuelan boundary question has given widespread prominence to his name.

He was the first and last of the correspondents of English newspapers in this country who took the trouble to explore the archives of the State Department at Washington in order to see for himself what claims had been put forward by England and Venezuela, respectively, during the past fifty years in regard to the true boundaries of Guiana. One of the earliest results of his labors was to show how Aberdeen, the English Foreign Secretary in the early forties, had distinctly repudiated the line drawn by Sir Robert Schomburgk. In Lord Aberdeen's phrase, this line was not meant as a permanent boundary, but as a tentative line to serve as a basis for future negotiations.

Mr. Norman is a thin, wiry man, about five feet ten inches in height. His face has a hardy paleness, his nose is strong, his eyes are clear, a good gray color, and look you straight in the face. He wears a pointed Vandyke beard, and talks fluently and rapidly. He walked nervously, though not impatiently, across the floor of the parlor at the Waldorf, as he explained his mission to this country, and gave his views upon the present European situation to a group of reporters who had called upon him.

"Two weeks ago," he began, "The Daily Chronicle was alone among English papers in declaring the Schomburgk line to be absolutely without validity. The dispatches sent from Washington were the first knowledge which Englishmen in general had that the Schomburgk line had been repudiated as a definite boundary by a former Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

"Everybody has now accepted this view, which is a great gain in the interests of peace. The Schomburgk line not having any special sanction is no longer a line to fight for. In other words, like most other questions of boundary disputes where the title is not very clear, the respective territories of Great Britain and Venezuela are peculiarly within the class of cases which can be properly settled by arbitration.

"The London Times having come around to this view, as I see by this morning's dispatches, simply means that the English Government has accepted this side of the case. You cannot make it too clear that The Times is nearly always inspired by the British Foreign Office. It has a peculiar and unique character in that everything about foreign affairs printed in it is read every day in every foreign office in Europe. While other London papers are, in a sense, its rivals, we are all rather proud of its position in this respect. So that if The Times puts forward the view that there is nothing sacred about the Schomburgk line, it means that the British Government has abandoned its former position as untenable."

Mr. Norman was asked what the effect of the President's message to Congress was in England.

"I was in England at the time," he replied, "and it was certainly startling. The language of diplomacy is a peculiar tongue. When you want to declare war you use a peculiar phrase. The diplomatists of Europe read into Mr. Cleveland's message more than I believe it meant to convey. If one European power had used such language to another the next day an order would have been issued for the mobilization of the troops.

"Of course, we all know that Mr. Cleveland's message meant nothing of this kind. I do not believe that it was in any sense of the term an electioneering move. At the same time, while

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American politics are what they are, any decided action on the part of the President must tend to strengthen or weaken the party in power.

My candid opinion is that the English Government has since discovered that it has a poorer case than it thought it had. At the same time, the British side of the case is still known only to its Foreign Office, and I have no means of information about it different from any reader of the newspapers.

“While the immediate effect of Mr. Cleveland’s message and Mr. Olney’s dispatch may have been to cause some little bitterness between England and the United States, I am convinced that a year hence the transactions will have the happiest outcome. It will teach English people that there is a public opinion in America entirely apart and distinct from that telegraphed to our papers from New-York City.

“Opinion in this city is too much swayed by commercial considerations. Perhaps this has deluded Englishmen into thinking that Americans were altogether devoted to the pursuit of the almighty dollar. You may rest assured that Englishmen will never in future labor under this error. They will have proper respect for the sentiment of the United States, as a whole, on all questions affecting the territorial integrity of the Western Hemisphere,

“One thing showed by the recent international episode is that you cannot get up a war feeling in England against the United States. Hatred of the United States simply does not exist in England. I am sorry to say that the converse of this statement is not true. There is a feeling of great hostility here in some quarters, especially in the younger generation. Perhaps, a good deal of it is due to the school histories where the two wars with England are part of the Nation’s glory. It is a very grave pity that the younger generations at the same race and with the same speech should be brought up with any feeling of antagonism to England.”

. . . Mr. Norman will sail to-morrow morning by the White Star steamship Majestic. He was unexpectedly recalled to London just as he was about to take a well-earned month’s vacation in this country.

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ABERDEEN’S “IMPORTANT LETTER”  
It Has Been Published Before and Was Not Worth Copyrighting

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14. —Senator Cabot Lodge and other well informed persons on the Venezuelan question at the Capitol and elsewhere, are laughing over the copyrighted London cable of The Chicago Associated Press, purporting to transmit to American readers the text of an “important letter” of Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Fortique, of date Jan. 31, 1842.

The absurdity of this alleged “discovery” will be at once apparent when it is mentioned that the substance of this letter is repeatedly quoted in Senate Executive Document No. 226, Fiftieth Congress, first session, laid before the Senate by Mr. Cleveland July 26, 1888, (Pages 77-183, and elsewhere,) and that the entire letter (which, by the way, The Chicago Associated Press misquotes) was read in open Senate by Mr. Lodge in his speech on the Venezuelan boundary question, Dec. 30, (Congressional Record, Page 420.) Why at this late day this ancient and well-known document should be copyrighted is as much of a mystery as the reason why some of the newspapers of the

same organization on the 4th of last July applied for a copyright on a fac-simile reprint of the Declaration of Independence.

“This letter,” said Senator Lodge this morning, “is not new to those who have studied the Venezuelan question. Nor does it in any measure strengthen the British case. The language of the letter of Lord Aberdeen is quite plain, and there can be no doubt about the meaning when he says that ‘her Majesty’s Government must not be understood to abandon any portion of the rights of Great Britain over the territory which was formerly had by the Dutch in Guiana.’ No one disputes the rights of Great Britain to that territory, but the dispute arises out of the encroachments on territory that the Dutch did not possess, and to which she had no claim. The letter simply adds to the strength of the case of Venezuela, and shows that at no time did the British Government claim what it is now claiming as English territory.

“A few weeks later (after the Aberdeen letter of Jan. 31, 1842,) the marks referred to were removed. In other words, the British Government of that day disavowed the Schomburgk line, within which we are now told Great Britain cannot assent to arbitration. It requires half a century, however, to bring into clearer relief just what really was intended in reference to the Schomburgk line as a mere ‘preliminary step’ to future negotiations. Lord Aberdeen repudiated the Schomburgk line in 1841. In 1890 Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, repudiated the act of his predecessor, Lord Aberdeen. We can see in this way how that line from being the mere suggestion of an explorer, based on natural objects, has now become an immutable right beyond which discussion is out of the question. No new rights have come to England or to Venezuela since the declaration of President Monroe. They have the rights of Spain and Holland respectively, nothing more and nothing less, and are entitled to exactly what those inherited rights give them.”

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GOV. HEMMING’S POWERS  
Report that He Is Authorized to Treat with Venezuela  
WILL SAIL FOR GUIANA FEB. 26  
Strong Movement In England in Favor of a General Arbitration Treaty  
with the United States

LONDON, Jan. 14.—The Chronicle will say to-morrow it has reason to believe that Sir Augustus Hemming, the new Governor of British Guiana, will have authority to treat with Venezuela, if the latter wishes. He will sail for his post of duty Feb. 26. Thus there will be ample time for Venezuela to announce whether she desires to resume negotiations on the boundary matter, and whether she will send delegates to England.

In reply to inquiries made at the Venezuelan Consulate here as to the truth of The Chronicle’s statement, it was said that the Consulate had no knowledge on the subject. It was added that the situation as affecting Great Britain and Venezuela had only assumed a new phase, and that the statement relative to the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries were mere rumors.

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In its issue to-morrow *The Graphic* will say it has authority to deny the report that Great Britain has offered money to Venezuela in return for the latter's acceptance of the Schomburgk line as marking the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana.

The story is denied elsewhere.

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ENGLAND MAY BE HEARD  
Venezuelan Commission Wants Evidence from Both Sides  
NOTICES SENT TO THE TWO NATIONS  
Britain Respectfully Asked to Furnish Proof of Ownership of Disputed Territory  
INVESTIGATION HOSTILE TO NO ONE  
Whatever the Decision, the United States Will Make No Material Gain—  
Justice Is Promised

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.—The members of the Venezuelan Commission met to-day at 11:30 A.M, in their temporary quarters in the building partly occupied by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Justice Brewer presided. The selection of S. Mallet Prevost of New-York as the executive officer of the commission was formally ratified. Mr. Prevost was not present, but it was stated that he would take hold of his duties next Wednesday.

The commission gave out for publication the following letter addressed to Secretary Olney last week, inviting information from the two Governments chiefly interested in the boundary controversy:

OFFICE OF THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 15. 1896.

The Hon. Secretary of State.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to state that the commission appointed by the President of the United States "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana" has organized by the election of David J. Brewer as its President, and is entering upon the immediate discharge of its duties.

In so doing, it has, after careful consideration, concluded to address you on the question of securing, so far as possible, the friendly co-operation and aid of the two nations which are directly interested in the now pending boundary differences.

It must have suggested itself to you, as it no doubt has to the President, that this commission, thus authorized to ascertain and report the boundary line between two foreign nations, bears only a remote resemblance to those tribunals of an international character of which we have had several examples in the past. They were constituted by or with the consent of the disputants themselves, and were authorized by the parties immediately concerned to pronounce a final judgment. The questions at issue were presented by the advocates of the various interests, upon whose diligence and skill the tribunal might safely rely for all the data and the arguments essential to the formation of an intelligent judgment. Their functions were therefore confined to the exercise of judicial powers, and they might fairly expect to reach a result satisfactory to their own consciences, while it commanded the respect of those whose interests were directly involved.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

The present commission, neither by the mode of its appointment nor by the nature of its duties, may be said to belong to tribunals of this character. Its duty will be discharged if it will diligently and fairly seek to inform the Executive of certain facts touching a large extent of territory in which the United States has no direct interest.

Whatever may be the conclusion reached, no territorial aggrandizement, nor material gain in any form, can accrue to the United States. The sole concern of our Government is the peaceful solution of a controversy between two friendly powers for the just and honorable settlement of the title to disputed territory and the protection of the United States against any fresh acquisitions in our hemisphere on the part of any European State.

It has seemed proper to the commission, under these circumstances, to suggest to you the expediency of calling the attention of the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to the appointment of the commission and explaining both its nature and object. It may be that they will see a way, entirely consistent with their own sense of international propriety, to give the commission the aid that it is no doubt in their power to furnish in the way of documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, or the like. It is scarcely necessary to say that if either should deem it appropriate to designate an agent or attorney whose duty it would be to see that no such proofs were omitted or overlooked, the commission would be grateful for such evidence of good will, and for the valuable results which would be likely to follow therefrom.

An act of either Government in the direction here suggested might be accomplished by an express reservation as to her claims, and should not be deemed an abandonment or impairment of any position heretofore expressed.

In other words, and in lawyers' phrase, each might be willing to act the part of an *amicus curiae*, and to throw light upon difficult and complex questions of fact, which should be examined as carefully as the magnitude of the subject demands.

The purposes of the pending investigation are certainly hostile to none, nor can it be of advantage to any that the machinery devised by the Government of the United States to secure the desired information should fail of its purpose.

DAVID J. BREWER, President

To this communication Secretary Olney replied, stating that he had communicated the suggestions of the commission to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, and to Minister Andrade, the Venezuelan representative, for transmission to their respective Governments.

The commission then adjourned till Friday next, it being the understanding that Friday is to be the business day of the commission. The only employes so far determined upon are the Secretary, (or executive officer,) one stenographer, and a doorkeeper and messenger.

The commission, finding that in New-England and elsewhere there are collections of ancient maps, desires it to be understood that any documents of this kind intrusted to them for their information will be carefully preserved and returned to the owners.

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THE FEELING IN BRITISH GUIANA  
A Good Deal of Excitement Shown over the Boundary Dispute

*Special Correspondence to The United Press*

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana, Jan. 4.—A good deal of excitement is now shown here with regard to the boundary dispute, and the cable company's office, where the public telegrams are

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posted daily, presents quite an animated appearance. Here and there groups of men assemble and discuss every scrap of intelligence which comes to hand, while many of the principal merchants have the messages copied by a clerk or porter as soon as it is possible to gain access to the board on which the bulletins are posted.

It must be remembered that the population of British Guiana is what is known as a "mixed one", and while the British section of the community places implicit confidence in the strength of the Imperial Government to assert her rights, or, at least, to take by might what territory she has claimed, subjects of other countries, who, perhaps, have more at stake, are not by any means so sanguine, knowing, as they do, that only the other day Great Britain doubted her right to the greater portion of the territory she now claims.

Indeed, it was only after the auriferous wealth of the territory had been discovered that the Government raised the question as to whether it had a claim to the lands of the northwest districts and the upper reaches of the River Cuyani, while it is a notorious fact that while the gold fever was at its height, the Government of the colony, acting upon instructions from the Imperial Government, caused it to be clearly understood that all applications for mining licenses were granted and must be accepted upon the conditions that in the event of a settlement of the boundary question the land for which these licenses were granted might be found to be Venezuelan territory, and that no claim for compensation could be brought against the Government of British Guiana.

At the opening of the legislative session on the 3d inst. the Administrator referred to the boundary question in the most guarded terms'. He said: "The Court at its meeting on Nov. 1 last year, with praiseworthy liberality and wisdom undertook to provide the funds necessary in case of emergency, to insure, as far as was in the power of this colony, the security of its borders and the maintenance of peace and order within its rightful possessions, and an undertaking was given by me in the name of the Government that only in case of necessity would use be made of that vote. In communicating the result of the Court's deliberate action to the Secretary at State, this was clearly set out, and the position of affairs was held to necessitate a certain addition to the police force and its armament. Orders have, therefore, been received and issued to this effect, and on two separate occasions has the Minister expressed his satisfaction at the action taken by this honorable Court. Members will, I trust, view the events which have taken place since the vote was passed as rendering it necessary and expedient, for the present at all events, for this Government to maintain a certain reserve in treating this matter, and while I assure them that the Government will, as soon as possible, give them more explicit particulars in this connection, I would appeal to the sound sense and good judgment which characterized their deliberations to continue the confidence they have so willingly extended to the administration, on the assurance that it will be most carefully respected."

The subject was then allowed to drop.

The following day Col. McInnis, Inspector General of the British Guiana Police constabulary, left Georgetown for the British outpost at Yuruan, on, it is reported, a visit of inspection, at the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Col. McInnis is accompanied by Lieut. Godfrey Fawcett, a young sapper attached to the East Indian Corps, but who is here on some secret mission in connection with the Colonial Office; also by Dr. Boase of the Colonial Medical Staff, Mr. Michael McTurk, Magistrate for the Northwest District, and a number of other men.

Within the past few days some eighty additional constables have been drafted from Georgetown to the northwest district of the contested territory, and the medical officers are now engaged in "passing" another hundred men on the military-police force, for service within the disputed territory.

A report is current here that on Christmas Eve last, Mr. Michael McTurk, Magistrate, caused a large number of the United States flags to be taken down at Bartica, in the interior of this colony. It appears that the residents of Bartica had decided to decorate the streets in view of a visit of the Administrator, and among the decorations displayed, the Star-Spangled Banner was much in evidence. On the arrival of Mr. McTurk and Capt. Baker, Inspector of Prisons, the people were requested to haul down all the American flags, and this was done. The matter has created considerable dissatisfaction here, not so much from any importance to be attached to the display of bad taste, but as demonstrating the meanness of the mind that suggested it.

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MUST NOT PROVOKE WAR  
Senator Wolcott Strongly Opposes the Davis Resolution  
COLORADO STATESMAN IS FOR PEACE  
The Monroe Doctrine Does Not Apply to the Venezuela Case—  
England Should Be Our Ally, Not Our Foe

WASHINGTON. Jan. 22.—The Monroe doctrine had another inning in the Senate to-day when Mr. Wolcott made his promised speech in opposition to the position of the President and Congress on the Venezuelan boundary matter.

The essence of Mr. Wolcott's carefully prepared address is that the Monroe doctrine has no application to the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela, that the National heart has not been fired by the President's stand, and that it would be a good thing for civilization if Great Britain could increase its possessions in South America.

Mr. Wolcott is always an entertaining talker, and to-day he invested his remarks with sufficient force and oratorical skill to entertain the many people who had gathered to listen to him. There was evident appreciation of his statement that the phraseology of the Davis resolution reported by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was objectionable and calculated to accentuate the strained relations now existing between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Wolcott's views are not shared by any considerable portion of the Senate.

Mr. Wolcott had to wait until after considerable routine business had been transacted before he made his speech. He began by saying:

The extraordinary message of the President of the United States, having reference to a dispute exclusively between Great Britain and Venezuela, both friendly powers, was practically indorsed by both Houses of Congress. The responsibilities, therefore, which his action may have entailed, rest as well upon the legislative as the Executive departments of the Government, and are equally shared by all political parties. The recommendations of the President that a commission be appointed to inquire into the points of difference between the two Governments concerned, and to enlighten this country as to the true divisional line separating Venezuela and British Guiana, were followed by Congress, and that commission, eminent in ability, and lacking only the joint sanction of the parties in interest, which sanction alone can give it vitality or usefulness, has only qualified.

The resolution which the Committee on Foreign Relations has reported to this body, the effect at which may be, in my opinion, most far-reaching as affecting our policy and relations toward other and friendly Governments, requires some discussion and careful investigation before we commit ourselves to its declarations.

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Continuing, Mr. Wolcott contended that the so-called Monroe doctrine has been mis-applied in the pending controversy: that so much of President Monroe's message as referred to the colonization of portions of America by European powers could have no applicability to any boundary dispute now existing in South America; that the hostility to the extension by European powers of their systems to any portion of this hemisphere, as expressed in that message, had especial reference to the systems of Government which were based on the divine right of Kings and which were directed to the overthrow of all republics wherever existing; that the Monroe doctrine was in no wise intended as insisting upon republican forms of government in this hemisphere, or as committing this Government to maintain the doctrine outside its own borders, or except as its own integrity might be affected; that this country is embarking upon a new and different policy from the one laid down by our fathers, and that from 1821 until now Congress has uniformly declined to define the so-called Monroe doctrine or to adopt it as a rule of action.

He said existing conditions made it difficult to dispassionately discuss the Monroe doctrine at this time. It was not an easy or a gracious task to take a position which apparently involved in the slightest degree the abandonment of that patriotic fervor which animated the breast of every citizen where our National pride or our country's honor was in question. There had been much tension for the past few weeks. The letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Bayard was from a diplomatic point of view, almost incendiary.

The President's message glowed with the possibilities of war. Members of both houses of Congress, not to be outdone, followed the President's suggestion as to the appointment of a commission with feverish haste. Just what the commission was to do, or how it was to do it, Mr. Wolcott added, nobody knew, but it had been created, and it now stood more a menace than a guarantee of peace.

### Fired the National Heart

The efforts of the Government to fire the National heart had not been unavailing, nor was the work difficult. This country, he said, had had but two wars, except our own civil conflict and a war of conquest with the weak Government of Mexico. Both of them were with Great Britain, and, while the past eighty years had seen an entire readjustment of all our relations with the mother country, a readjustment which ought to make future war with her out of the question, there were still lurking some traces of the traditional resentment

Mr. Wolcott entered into an exhaustive review of the origin and meaning of the Monroe doctrine and of its application by the United States.

He added:

Not only was the Monroe doctrine intended simply as a declaration of limited scope and purpose, but the circumstances under which it was given to the world were far different from that which now exist; and under present conditions its assertion and maintenance to the extent claimed by the President have largely ceased to be of paramount importance. It is essentially a doctrine of self-defense, promulgated for our own preservation and for no other purpose.

The concern of President Monroe was not lest monarchies should be established in this hemisphere. He expressly recognized existing Governments and welcomed the empire of Dom Pedro in Brazil and Iturbide in Mexico as freely as the Governments of Bolivar; he protested not against despotic government, but against the forcible extension by the dreaded Holy Alliance in this Western world, of which he stood in well-grounded fear. The fear was then real and the danger threatening. To-day, how different the picture! We have helped ourselves to what land we needed; our own borders are defined, our Government eternally planted on the solid rock; our institutions

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free; our people intelligent and lovers of liberty and devoted to free institutions. No danger threatens us from without. We are menaced by no foreign foe.

And vast as are our resources, intelligent as are our people, we possess an element of strength even greater than those advantages afford us; and that is that nobody wants us. We are not desirable subjects for other countries. There is not a nation in the whole world that would take one of our sovereign States a gift with its people.

It is idle to talk seriously of our integrity or perpetuity being threatened by an adjustment of boundary between Great Britain and Venezuela. That which once seemed a danger and evoked the utterance of the Monroe doctrine has passed forever away, and has left nothing to vex us but the pride of expression to which we still cling.

Then he spoke of the South American Republic in the severest terms. He said:

Instead of developing into self-respecting republics, based upon law, advancing in morals and civilization, the people of South America have shown themselves so far, almost without exception, utterly unfitted for self-government. Their so-called republics are largely and usually military despotisms based on force and relying on blood-shedding and assassination for their establishment and for their brief continuances, extending only until the ruler should have amassed from the oppression of the people a fortune sufficient to enable him to live in luxury in Europe when he escapes or abdicates, or until some other revolutionist shall be able by violence to seize the reins of government. The rulers are despots and suffrage a farce.

There was no reason, Mr. Wolcott said, why the United States should help such people. He continued:

Whatever of advancement and of progress for the human race the centuries shall bring us must largely come, in my opinion, through the spread of the religion of Christ, and the dominance of the English-speaking peoples, and whenever you find both, you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. Blood is thicker than water, and until some just quarrel divides us, which heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same lineage, traditions, and tongue stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace, and awaiting the coming of the day when "Nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Mr. Wolcott's speech was applauded by the people in the galleries.

Senhor Mendonca, the Brazilian Minister, was in the Senate Chamber during the delivery of the address.

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CHAMBERLAIN ON GUIANA  
Great Britain Desires Only What She Possesses in America  
BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER  
Discussion over South America Might Be Diverted to Concerted Action  
in Behalf of the Armenians

LONDON, Jan. 25.—The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, delivered a speech at Birmingham this evening. He congratulated the country upon having at the head of its affairs Lord Salisbury, whose judgment and resolution had placed him the very first among the European statesmen.

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Referring to the Guiana boundary dispute, Mr. Chamberlain said it had been trivial until it was suddenly elevated to grave importance by the intervention of the United States. There seemed to be some misapprehension on both sides. The opinion seemed to have prevailed in England that American statesmen wished to pick a quarrel while the Americans seemed to have thought that the British were disposed to impugn the Monroe doctrine, which they rightly held to be the most important to their own security.

They also seemed to have thought that the British were disposed to deal in a harsh and arbitrary manner with the smaller State. He believed that the American people and all that is best in the United States would regard with horror a needless war with their own blood and kindred. He also believed that President Cleveland, whose acquaintance he had the honor of making while he was in America, and who had a high reputation for straightforward, honorable dealing, would never drive the two kindred nations to strife.

On the other hand, the Americans could be assured from the utterances of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Arthur Balfour, the First Lord of the Treasury, that Great Britain had no desire for a single inch of American territory beyond what she already rightfully possessed. All that was necessary to settle the trouble was more time and fuller knowledge.

Meanwhile he would re-echo and reciprocate from the bottom of his heart Wolcott's noble words. "Blood is thicker than water." [Loud cheers.] That would always be the sentiment of every Briton. The two nations were more closely allied in sentiment and interest than any others, and while the British looked with horror on anything approaching fratricidal strife, they looked with pleasure upon the possibility of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack floating together in defense of a common cause sanctioned by community of sentiment.

He added that, while the Continental nations regarded the sufferings of the Armenians with comparative indifference, the United Kingdom and the United States felt the deepest sympathy and indignation.

Mr. Chamberlain paid a tribute to the excellence of the American missions, and declared that the Americans were also interested in the sufferings of humanity for humanity's sake, and not for any territorial ambition. Mr. Chamberlain concluded by saying:

"Would it were possible that instead of wasting breath in a petty South American boundary dispute we could count on the powerful support of the United States in enforcing the representations which hitherto we have fruitlessly made in behalf of those who are suffering by Turkish tyranny and Turkish fanaticism." [Cheers.]

He concluded by declaring that the condition of Armenia was a danger and disgrace to Europe, but he did not believe that the resources of civilization had been entirely exhausted.

Upon the conclusion of his address, Mr. Chamberlain was greeted with prolonged cheering.

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GREAT WEALTH IN VENEZUELA  
Glowing Description of the Riches of the Disputed Territory on the  
Borders of British Guiana

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27—The last number of *The South American Magazine*, published in London, contains a glowing account of the riches of the disputed territory on the borders of Venezuela and British Guiana. It states that but for the recent extraordinary action of the President of the United States, the immense value the colony would have remained comparatively unknown to the world, notwithstanding it contains some of the richest and most easily worked gold fields in the world.

The colony, it is said, was within fourteen days of a pleasant steamship journey from England, and its population numbered 289,000, of which 12,000 were Portuguese and 4,000 were English, the balance consisting of negroes, Indians, and East Indian coolies. The climate of the country was extremely salubrious, and the great primeval forests contained immense stocks of valuable wood. Communication into the Interior was chiefly by means of steamships along the Essequibo. The country would probably prove to be the richest gold-producing country ever discovered.

In 1884 a few negroes and Indians went into the interior and brought down 250 ounces of gold. In 1889-90 the exports of gold from the colony were 32,332 ounces, and in 1894-5 they amounted to 134,047 ounces, making a total production of raw gold in a little over ten years of upward of £3,000,000 sterling. Up to the present time alluvial gold had been the only gold produced in the colony; but now they were preparing to attack the reefs, and machinery for that purpose was being rapidly shipped. The property of the British Guiana Development Syndicate was served by a Government fleet of steamers, a waterway existing between their own port and Georgetown. Their property had produced some of the richest deposits of gold found in Guiana, and yet nine-tenths thereof was as yet comparatively unexplored.

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STANLEY SAYS WE'RE RIGHT  
The African Explorer Writes About the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute

Henry M. Stanley, the African explorer, now a member of the British Parliament, has written a letter to Major J. B. Pond of this city, touching on the Venezuelan question. In the course of it, he says:

Now, on this Venezuelan subject, I am entirely on the side of America, but I must admit that I am not surprised that the English papers backed up Lord Salisbury and differ from me. Taught by the virulent remarks of your journals, I had, of course, devoted much time to understand it, whereas English editors were exceedingly ill informed about the matter. Then there are two or three injudicious remarks in Olney's dispatch which put British backs up, but after reflection it is wonderful how many have come round to my opinion that whatever the transgressions of Olney may be there is a great deal of justice in the American demand. I feel quite sure now that so much is admitted it will not be long before the opinion becomes general that we were in the wrong in refusing arbitration, while the more I think of Olney's dispatch the more impressed I am that Olney could scarcely have written otherwise than he did.

For I argue that had he contented himself with the usual suave tone of diplomacy he would not have succeeded in rousing the attention of the Nation to the necessity of settlement. His dispatch would have lain quietly buried in the archives of the Foreign Office, whereas now every Englishman knows sufficiently of the subject to distinguish right from wrong, and while there is still a majority who take the dispatch to be an affront to British dignity, there is a minority increasing in numbers who think that British honor would be best consulted by considering the justice done to Venezuela, and that British interests would be promoted by acquiescing with the American demand.

Mr. Stanley assured Major Pond that there existed in England, in spite of the Venezuelan episode, only the friendliest feelings toward America. It would be a long time, though, he said, before England forgave the German Kaiser his dispatch to President Kruger on the Jameson capture.

[5 February 1896]

THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION  
Great Britain Should, and Probably Will, Submit It to Arbitration

**The North American Review** for February prints an able, conservative, and temperate review of the Venezuelan question by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who was one of the United States delegates to the Pan-American Conference. Mr. Carnegie says:

Great Britain has, therefore, necessarily acquired lands "by hook or by crook" in any part of the world, as the United States has acquired land adjoining her by just the same means. Our Indian treaties and subsidies, our Mexican war, would readily give us illustration, but with the United States we are not now concerned. It is from England's similar policy we have to draw, and no finer illustration of the modus operandi can be given than her dealings with Venezuela. She begins

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modestly by claiming a boundary; Venezuela requests her to submit her claims to arbitration; this is refused; the matter rests a while, when it appears that the boundary of England has been shifted a good deal and embraces more territory adjoining Venezuela; another remonstrance from Venezuela, and another rest. When the question revives, Britain discovers she was mistaken again and did not claim enough, and her third claim extends far beyond the second. Finally, there is a fourth line drawn, which reaches over valuable auriferous deposits and really lands Great Britain on the banks of the Orinoco.

This was rather too much, and Venezuela asked the good offices of the United States to beg Great Britain to submit the question to peaceful arbitration. This Great Britain agreed to do in 1885 through Lord Granville. There would have been no Venezuela dispute had the doctrine of continuous foreign policy been adhered to, but the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is the one man wholly responsible for all that has occurred to embitter English-speaking men, actually refused to carry out the agreement of his predecessor to arbitrate the whole question. . .

This is certainly one of the most flagrant exercises of brute force against a weak power which can be adduced to illustrate the propensity of the English-speaking race to absorb as much of the land of the world as it possibly can, and this policy in the case of Venezuela would have been triumphantly successful had the question remained one between the very weak Lamb and the very strong Wolf. I do not mean to hold Great Britain up to peculiar opprobrium. What the race in Great Britain would do, the race upon this side would do, and no doubt has done—although it is but just to say that the natural instinct leading to abrupt appeal to force is somewhat modified in the American, through inter-mixture of blood with races less strongly possessed of the dominating spirit. He offers arbitration. I present this instance of the powerful grasping from the weak, not as an English trait, but as a race trait.

Successive American Governments have done their best, to bring Great Britain back to its promise to arbitrate, made by Lord Granville in 1885, but without avail. Secretaries of State Bayard, Blaine and Gresham, in successive Administrations, have gently intimated to Great Britain that this was the only honorable course she could pursue, and that the United States would be greatly pleased if she fulfilled her agreement. It was, therefore, impossible for President Cleveland's Administration to turn its back upon the cause of weak Venezuela, even it had so disposed. Previous Governments having listened to her appeal, and being convinced of the justice of her request for arbitration, which, as we see, Britain had herself acknowledged, the United States was bound to call upon Great Britain for a definite answer, whether or no she were willing to fulfill her honorable engagement and submit her claims to an impartial judge for peaceful settlement, as she had agreed to do in 1885.

The precise form adopted in doing this does not touch the principle involved, but it is well frankly to admit that public opinion in the United States to-day favors the view that the menacing part of the President's message had better been omitted. Asking Britain to carry out what she had agreed to do through Lord Granville, and standing for arbitration, the President's position was impregnable, and bound to win. Had he stopped with asking Congress for authority to appoint a commission to ascertain the true boundary between Britain and Venezuela, solely for the guidance of the United States, the most potent part of his message as published would have been tenfold more potent, left to the imagination unsaid. . .

Peaceful arbitration is the great gain of this century. It was my office to introduce to Mr. Cleveland, then President of the United States, as he is now, the delegation from the British Parliament urging arbitration. In the conferences I had with him previous to his receiving the deputation, I found him as strong a supporter of that policy as I ever met. I do not wonder at his

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outburst, knowing how deeply this man feels upon that question; it is to him so precious, it constitutes so great an advance over arbitrament by war that—even if we have to fight, that any nation rejecting it may suffer—I believe he feels that it would be our duty to do so, believing that the nation which rejects arbitration in a boundary dispute deserves the execration of mankind.

It is only necessary for the people on both sides of the Atlantic to keep in mind that above all other considerations connected with this, in itself, most trivial dispute, there stands imperiled the Christian substitute of peaceful arbitration for barbarous war. The dangerous stage has been already reached and passed. There will be no war between the United States and Great Britain either upon the Venezuelan question or upon any other, because, the first has already planted itself upon the rock of arbitration, and the other is slowly but steadily moving toward its acceptance.

No Government can live in Britain which dares squarely to persist in rejecting arbitration in a boundary dispute upon the American continent. There is too much religion, too much conscience, too much sincere desire for peace and good-will among men, and far too much genuine kindly feeling among the people, from Queen to peasant, for their “kin beyond the sea,” to permit an Government to commit so great a crime.

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ALL CALM IN BRITISH GUIANA  
No Excitement over the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Mail advices and newspapers from Demerara, British Guiana, dated Jan. 22, received at the Bureau of American Republics to-day, show that no excitement exists there over the Venezuelan boundary dispute, the colonists feeling assured that England will fully protect their interests, as English capital is involved throughout the territory. The newspapers, while still attacking what they call “Clevelandism,” as applied to the Monroe doctrine, are more guarded in their comment than a few weeks ago, and nothing creeps into their news columns indicative of trouble with Venezuela, pending the dispute’s settlement.

One of the papers distinctly recognizes the helplessness of the colony in the matter, and declares that the local militia force is designed for service exclusively within the colony, protection from assaults without resting wholly with the Imperial Government. This paper two months ago was urgently demanding great increases in the militia, to occupy the disputed territory and resist encroachments.

The monthly meeting of the Legislature, which occurred Jan. 21, lasted only an hour, and was altogether devoted to eulogies of the departing Attorney General, who had been transferred as Chief Justice to Hongkong. The Acting Governor, however, warned the members that the February session would be devoted, to very important measures, of the nature of which he gave no intimation, but as the new Governor was to be expected at that time, it was presumed that the Imperial Government’s policy would be made known. While the colonists are apparently confident of imperial protection, they are seriously divided in their opinions as to the forms it will take.

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SEÑOR ANDRADE AMUSED  
The Claims of Clement Markham on Venezuela's Boundary  
DISPROVED BY TREATIES ON RECORD  
Minister Andrade Shows the Absurdity of the Statements Inspired by  
the Salisbury Government.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—Minister Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, was amused to-day by the claim set forth by Commander Clement Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society, in **The London Times**, to England's so-called indisputable rights to all the Essequibo basin to the westward of the already abandoned Schomburgk line. The Minister says the article, coming from an officer of the British Government, is so misleading in its conclusions, which are reached from utterly false premises, that any one who has considered the official documents in the case would see the absurdity of it, but the public generally might be apt to attach some importance to the statements, which apparently are inspired by the Salisbury Government.

By the treaty of Munster of 1648, between Spain and Holland, Spain's right up to the Essequibo was recognized, and by the treaty of 1713 with Spain Great Britain obligated herself to defend Spain's provinces as fixed by the Munster convention. With this understanding, Commander Markham's reference to the treaty of 1814 takes a new light, directly opposite to his claim. That treaty was between Great Britain and the Netherlands, by which the latter surrendered to the former "the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice."

Commander Markham's claim that the establishment of Essequibo in this treaty included all waters draining into the Essequibo River was the British contention, until Schomburgk threw out part of it, and Lords Granville and Rosebery abandoned most of the remainder.

It only rests with Venezuela to prove before arbitrators, or to the Venezuelan Commission appointed by President Cleveland, that "the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice" were small groups of Dutch plantations at the mouths of rivers of those names, not extending back from the coast, and for the most part not even occupied as late as 1839—twenty-five years after the treaty which gave them to England by conquest from Holland. The exact limits and ownership of all these plantations are matters of record, upon which Venezuela is confident that British aggressions, which never succeeded until by force in the last sixteen years, will be proved unwarranted.

Señor Andrade and all the Venezuelan officials have repeatedly called attention to the significant fact that, while England has put forth all sorts of claims, no valid evidence of right in their support has ever been shown. Venezuela, on the other hand, has courted a study of the facts, and has never ceased her efforts to have the matter investigated by any impartial tribunal.

Señor Andrade this morning received from English sources a copy of the official report of Gov. Light of British Guiana, delivered to Parliament in 1839, accompanied by a map of the Crown Surveyor, showing the exact extent of all British possessions on the South American mainland at that time. The settlements of Essequibo did not extend over twenty miles above the mouth of that river, and were confined exclusively to its eastern bank, in territory which Venezuela does not dispute, and never has disputed. Some Dutch plantations, most of them abandoned, are shown on the Guiana coast between the Essequibo and Pomaron, but these were confessedly of doubtful legality at the time.

The preparation of Venezuelan evidence for the use of the commission appointed by President Cleveland is nearly completed and it will be presented in about ten days.

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### THE MONROE DOCTRINE AS IT IS Senator Allen Delivers a Speech on the Venezuelan Question

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—Mr. Allen (Pop., Neb.) addressed the Senate to-day on the subject of the Monroe doctrine. He said that he would consider the doctrine as an original proposition. It was a doctrine as old as the Government itself, and it arose out of, and was based upon, a prime necessity of all human government. No nation had ever existed or could exist without adopting and applying, in its foreign relations, the doctrine of self-preservation generally ascribed to Monroe, and known as the Monroe doctrine. The Government of the United States was to determine the question of the application of the doctrine.

When the commission appointed by the President reported, it would be ample time for the United States to act. If it should then determine that the action of Great Britain in acquiring territory in Venezuela would imperil this Government by imperiling the rights of Venezuela, it would become the duty of this Government to marshal all the resources of its people to resist the threatened or actual invasion. If, on the other hand, we should determine, after due investigation and deliberation, that our interests would not be imperiled, it would be our duty to abstain from any interference with the action of Great Britain. He felt confident, however, that the dispute over the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana was not for the primary purpose of obtaining territory, but for the purpose of gaining control of the Orinoco River, which leads into one of the richest portions of South America. If this were true, it would be our duty to repel the aggressive action of that nation.

It was to be hoped that the people of Venezuela would not be over-elated at the attitude this country had taken; it was to be hoped that they would not be deceived by the language used in this chamber; it was to be hoped that their conduct would be conservative, and that nothing would be said or done by them in consequence of the friendly spirit manifested toward them by this country that would lead to rash or inconsiderate action.

In conclusion, Mr. Allen said:

If, unhappily, the time shall come, which God grant it may not, that American valor must again be displayed on the field of battle in defense of American institutions, and against foreign greed and aggrandizement, we may confidently expect the sons of America to march under the flag of the free, consecrated by the blood of a hundred years ago, to permanent and glorious victory. Then for every Grant there will be a Lee; for every Sherman a Johnston; for every Thomas a Jackson; for every Sheridan a Stuart, and Mason and Dixon's line will be blotted from the map of the United States, and true Americans, North and South, welded by the blood of the Revolution, the war of 1812, and the war with Mexico, renewed by the estrangement of 1861, as lovers renew and intensify their affection by estrangement; soothed and sustained by a united and splendid American womanhood, will give to the world a lesson in valor that it has never known before. And when the end comes, as it surely will come, and the storm that has rocked us in a great civil strife for renewed American freedom shall have subsided, and the Nation

shall arise once more from the ashes of its deadly conflict with the enemies of human liberty, crowned with a new glory and encircled with a new halo, shall we not place the songs of our recent civil strife with the sacred memories of other days.

Mr. Allen's closing words were applauded heartily.

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ITS FIRST MONTH OF WORK  
The Venezuelan Commission in Session Once Again  
YESTERDAY'S MEETING OF THE BOARD  
Delay in Receiving Required Information from Venezuela and  
Great Britain Is Unavoidable

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—The Venezuelan Commission turned the first month of its existence at its regular weekly meeting to-day, all the members being in attendance except Frederic H. Coudert of New-York.

Considerable progress has been made in the preliminary study of the case since the last meeting. Justice Brewer and Judge Alvey have temporarily abandoned their court duties and devoted their entire time to the accumulation and examination of evidence. Andrew D. White and Judge Alvey have pursued a systematic search through the vast collection of the Congressional Library, developing unexpected and valuable side lights on the contention, as well as data bearing directly upon the problem of finding the true divisional line, while Justice Brewer has been working over the documents and books of reference presented by the State Department.

Secretary Malet-Prevost has kept the clerical staff of the commission busy all the week in the voluminous correspondence with libraries and individuals possessing desirable information, and the card catalogue of references has already reached healthy proportions.

The delay in receiving the Venezuelan case has caused the commission some annoyance, but as an average of twenty-two days must elapse for reply to a communication to Venezuela and as the commission's formal request to Great Britain and Venezuela was not dispatched until Jan. 15, the answer of the latter Government cannot be expected for another week.

Minister Andrade this morning received official mail from Caracas dated as late as Jan. 30, inclosing a decree of Jan. 10 constituting a commission to prepare the evidence for transmission. Minister Rojas of Foreign Affairs assured the Minister that the immediate delay would be amply compensated for in the end, as the documents submitted would be arranged for facility of examination by means of notes and cross-references, the local commission having been directed to classify in a synthetical manner the spirit and character of the papers in their relation to points of the controversy and to each other. Minister Andrade thinks the documents may come by the next steamer, or that, at any rate, he will be authorized to present all the papers in his possession.

Up to this morning nothing had been heard from Great Britain, but the members of the commission incline to the opinion that the report to Parliament will contain an exhaustive exposition of the British argument in such a shape as to be readily considered.

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Justin Winsor, the Librarian of Harvard College, who had been requested by the commission to come to Washington as an expert, appeared before that body and gave much valuable information on geographical subjects. He has been a deep student in cartography, and for several hours the Commissioners cross-examined him with excellent results.

Marcus Baker, the principal United States Government map expert, was also present at to-day's session, and will follow up the commission's ideas as to map-making in the geological survey which, by permission of the Secretary of the Interior, has been selected for that purpose. The great map upon which the commission will eventually draw "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana" is now in the course of preparation, and will be an elaborate affair. It will show only natural features, and will be of a composite nature, its accuracy being verified by reducing various authentic maps to the same scale and taking the coinciding data.

Commissioner Coudert came down from New-York a little later, but in time to take part in most of the proceedings. He will return home to-night, but the other four Commissioners will work in Washington to-morrow an next week, holding no formal meeting, however, until next Friday.

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AGAINST ENGLAND'S CLAIM  
Brazil Not in Sympathy with Great Britain's Position  
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND APPLAUDED  
The Assertion of the American Doctrine Commended by Leaders  
of the Brazilian Congress  
ACTION IN THE SENATE OF THE REPUBLIC  
Attitude of the United States on Venezuelan Question Indorsed—  
Great Britain's Course Denounced

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—Those sensitive Americans who are irritated because a President of the United States in the year 1896 ventured to assert a doctrine of National interest that would be a warning to European nations that we shall not regard with indifference attempts, open or covert, to extend foreign claims to territory or to establish foreign modes of government on this continent, and who grow enthusiastic in their contempt for the young republics of South America, find in the utterances of sympathizing newspaper writers in a few South American papers what they accept as proof that in Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Chile, and Venezuela there is no fondness for us, as republicans or as human beings; that Southern republics are republican only in name, and that the people of those countries turn to Europe rather than to the United States for ideas, trade, money, and for friendship.

This sort of American opinion comes, of course, from those who choose to be exasperated because the President reiterated the Monroe doctrine, and possibly because the assertion of it may have impaired the value for a short time of some of the speculative undertakings with which half-hearted Americans may sometimes be connected, and which possibly lead them to be willing to sacrifice American feeling for profit. But the accusations are important, according to their truth or falsity. Venezuela may not be republican as the United States is. Chile may fall short of our

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understanding of what a republic should be. Brazil may be not fully settled under a republican form. But such as are the others, and such as is Brazil, there is, no doubt, in all of those countries that were under Spanish or Portuguese control a few years ago, a very strong sympathy with the republican feeling in the United States and a desire that the people of those countries shall by and by enjoy all the freedom that is now enjoyed by our people. Brazil, in forming a republic, adopted our Constitution with a few slight modifications. The people have friendly to the United States ever since before Dom Pedro was deposed. With all the South American States, Brazil has regarded with great concern the development of the controversy about the application of the Monroe doctrine.

### **Brazil in Hearty Accord**

President Cleveland sent his message on the Venezuela situation to the Congress on Dec. 17. Very promptly after it was made known, the Minister of Brazil sent by cable to his Government about 1,500 words of the most important statements contained in the communication. Owing to delays in the telegraphic service, the dispatch was not published in Rio until Dec. 19.

Immediately upon the meeting of the Senate, on the 19th, a resolution congratulating President Cleveland was adopted by a unanimous vote. This action was taken on the same day on which the United States Senate approved the message and passed the bill authorizing the commission asked for by President Cleveland. At the meeting of the House of Deputies, on the same day, Senhor Francisco Glycerico introduced a resolution congratulating the House of Representatives upon the Venezuelan message of the President. In submitting his resolution, Senhor Glycerico spoke as follows:

Mr. President: This morning's papers contain telegrams giving a summary of the message addressed by President Cleveland to the United States Congress. According to that summary, the message is an explicit application of the Monroe doctrine, a doctrine which denies to the European powers the right to meddle in matters which concern the sovereignty of the nations of this continent.

The Brazilian Senate, to which, under our legislative system, belongs the initiative in matters relating to international relations, has just passed a resolution congratulating President Cleveland on this act and assuring him of its political support and complete adherence to the Monroe doctrine.

The Chamber, not departing from the lines of conduct observed by it on such subjects, has concurred in offering its political support to the vote of the Senate, offering likewise its most express and sincere approbation of that doctrine of international policy set forth in so timely a manner to the nations of this continent by the distinguished President of the United States. [Applause.]

### **What the Doctrine Means to Brazil**

Our own country has at this moment controversies of exceptional importance with European powers on our continent. It is very clear, then, that the vote of this Chamber will only concern the nature and application of the Monroe doctrine, and repeat the assurance of our sympathy with it without in any way associating it with the patriotic sentiments entertained with respect to our own international questions.

I do not make this declaration in order to lessen the force of the political sentiment expressed in the motion I am about to present, but to put in a clearer light that it is the confirmed conviction of the Brazilians that the honor of its flag, the dignity of its institutions, and the sovereignty of its territory are, above everything else, superior to the hard contingencies involved in the efficiency of our resources [General applause.]

My opinion is an opinion inspired less by the enthusiasm of the moment—although that would be quite justifiable—than by a sentiment of political conservatism, which reminds me that the nations of the world enjoy internal peace and the respect of others for their political independence and their territorial integrity in proportion as the idea is fixed in the public mind that the depositaries of its confidence do not lay the bases of its material

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greatness by sacrificing in the slightest degree its moral grandeur, but that they lay them securely and only in the sentiment of national honor and civic duty.

The resolution of the Senate, like that which I am about to submit to the consideration of the Chamber, expresses no sentiment of aggression, but rather indorses that doctrine of American policy which recognizes and proclaims the abstract principle of defense of the territorial sovereignty of this continent

The people of the United States expect that the good sense and prudence of the other nations will concur in that doctrine, having an equal interest with themselves in its support, as an element of peace throughout the civilized world. And we mean offense to no one in offering to the leading American power the assurances of our solidarity with it in respect to the territorial sovereignty of the Western Continent.

The resolution offered by Senhor Glycerico, the leader of the uncompromising Republicans, who constitute the great majority in that body, is as follows:

“The Chamber of Deputies of the United States of Brazil congratulates the House of Representatives of the American Union on the dignified message of President Cleveland, who so nobly defends the rights, the sovereignty, and the liberty of the American nations involved in the Monroe doctrine.”

The resolution was submitted and passed unanimously and without discussion.

### **The Extreme Republican View**

O Paiz, the organ of the extreme Republican Party in Brazil, in its Issue of Dec. 20, after giving its readers a summary of the leading points of President Cleveland's message in relation to the dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, made the following remarks:

The English, with their usual arrogance, which is born of the false presumption that everything not already the property of the United Kingdom is destined, sooner or later, to become so, have invaded the territory of Venezuela, attracted by the rich deposits of gold along the banks of the Orinoco.

The check given to these adventurers by Gen. Crespo has embittered the relations of the two Governments, and Great Britain began to take steps to make its usurpation effective, appealing to the higher interests of civilization, when President Cleveland, through the Ambassador of the United States in London, expressed to the English Government the extreme displeasure that such threatened conquest was exciting in the American people, and proposed, as the solution most worthy of the power of England and the dignity of Venezuela, that all the points of this prolonged and dangerous controversy be submitted to impartial arbitration.

The British Government was not disposed to accept the proposition of Mr. Olney, made through Mr. Bayard, and, fearing the loss of those valuable deposits of gold that made so large a figure in its covetous eyes, insisted on its policy of occupation and abuse of superior power, that had withstood the conciliatory advances of Gen. Crespo and had forgotten the precedents by former English diplomats in the Bering Sea and Alabama questions.

This obstinacy of the British Government in excluding all doubts in regard to the lawfulness of its title to the territory which it occupies by force is aggravated in the face of the civilized world by the impertinent ultimatum with which it is accompanied, usually a measure of last resort, but which, in British diplomacy, has become an ordinary proceeding.

This abuse of force on the part of the Cabinet of St. James has excited the surprise, not only of the American, but also of the European press, including a portion of the English journals, all of which find reasons to fear the evil results of this easy way at settling disputed questions by a threat of force.

### **The British Ultimatum**

The ultimatum addressed to Gen. Crespo, demanding indemnification for the ill treatment of an English subject in a territory which England claims as its own, simply because it has taken possession of it and established a police station in it, but which Venezuela regards as its property, seeing in the English occupation nothing more than a

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threatened robbery and an attack on its sovereignty—that ultimatum, we say, may possibly cause Great Britain to lose its arrogance of conquest, that shocking audacity which, by the voice of its cannon, would drown the protests of nations feeble in military force but jealous of their honor.

The individual in question was imprisoned while the Venezuelan forces were sweeping by force from their territory the intruding adventurers who had taken possession of the gold mines.

The region in which the act took place had not been considered as part of the contested territory, but the English, as soon as they discovered the precious metal, considered it as their property, in the name of civilization and of the profits which, by right should belong to the English capital employed there in mining. England demanded satisfaction for the repulse of the adventurers and indemnification for the imprisoned.

If Gen. Crespo should pay the amount demanded by the English Government, that act would be a recognition of the rights of Great Britain in the territory which he considered as belonging to Venezuela. For this reason he refuses to comply with the ultimatum, a refusal about which the opinion of the Government of the United States is not yet known. The English Government at once issued orders for the forces stationed in Guiana to invade the Venezuelan frontier, and has ordered the assembling of a fleet of twelve vessels to enforce the rights of the British Crown to the gold of Venezuela by taking possession of the Custom Houses of that country.

The lion of England plants his paws upon American territory; and before this barefaced attempt at confiscation and pillage, wade under the ridiculous pretext of a service done to humanity, of this abuse of avarice and superior military power practiced on a free nation, the illustrious President Cleveland, who had already proposed arbitration as the only honorable means of settling disputes of this kind between nations who prize their honor, and have in the solution no other interest than the recognition of the right, resolved to protest against the extortion, and put a stop to the robbery, in the name of Monroe, in the name of the integrity of free and independent America.

### **A Continental Defiance**

This act of the eminent statesman embodies a solemn defiance, addressed by the whole continent against the policy of robbery and usurping insolence which certain powers, particularly England, have employed against the American nations. The Monroe doctrine is a declaration that European powers shall not extend their possessions by a tax upon the integrity and sovereignty of the independent American nations. Up to this time that doctrine has not taken a practical form. The fact that there had not yet arisen a man strong enough to make an application of it gave the European powers the pretext for affirming that the Monroe doctrine had not yet received international sanction, as if the right of a nation to the integrity of its own territory was not a natural corollary of its autonomy, of its very political existence and constitutional sovereignty. Now, however, President Cleveland proposes to make the ideal of Monroe of practical and sensible effect.

Our duty, the duty of all men on this continent oppressed by the cupidity and force of avaricious Europeans, is to give our most hearty support to the act of this great statesman, who has with unquestioned courage, undertaken, for once at least, to muzzle the hungry lion of England. We have nothing to do with the particular interests that constitute the motive of this action. Whatever may have been the sentiment or ideas which inspired it, it is grand in itself, reveals a superior intelligence, a strong will; is the declaration of a powerful race, the triumphant champions of America.

The Congress of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, in passing yesterday, unanimously, the resolution of congratulation addressed to the American Congress, expressed the sentiments of the whole Brazilian nation, and embodied its protest against any attempt that may be made to encroach upon its own dominion. As America must be for Americans, so Brazil must be for Brazilians. Let all the Governments learn from Cleveland to protect their own independence, respect each other's sovereignty, and repel all usurpers.

The author of the foregoing is one of the Senators from Rio de Janeiro in the Brazilian Senate, and the leader of the uncompromising Republicans in that body.

### **The Only Opposition**

The only opposition to Brazil's making common cause with the United States in opposition to British aggressions in America comes from a small body of political malcontents, discredited

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partisans of the naval revolt, who have done penance without repentance, and hate the United States because, by its action, their cause was lost. This clique finds its mouthpiece in an organ which is the property of English interests, whose pages contain whole columns from its confrere in New-York, The Evening Post, and in The Rio News, edited by a half-breed Canadian-American, who, after being disappointed in his pretensions and tenders to the provisional Government, is the recognized slanderer of the new republic, paid and maintained by the English colony in Rio.

The speech of Senhor Ramiro Barcellos, in the Brazilian Senate, on the 21st of December, 1895, upon the reception by that body of a communication from the Minister of Foreign Affairs informing the Senate that he had sent by telegraph to the Congress of the United States the resolutions passed by both bodies of the Brazilian Congress, congratulating the American Congress on the message of President Cleveland, was another expression of sympathy and approval.

#### **Senhor Barcellos's Speech**

After repelling insinuations made that the passage of the resolutions had been inspired rather by the enthusiasm of the moment or in obedience to the plans of a political clique, the Senator entered upon his subject as follows:

The Senate, the country, and all the American nations well understand that the supreme ideal of England is the absorption of this planet. [Interjection by another Senator: "Dieu et mon droit."] The absorption of the entire planet is her aim, and the evidence of it is that, under the different administrations of her Government, whether by one party or the other, that policy is continually pursued, day after day, methodically, little by little, so that, of the other nations of the planet do not adopt serious measures to put a barrier to the realization of that ideal, it will sooner or later be carried into effect.

The policy supported by all republicans of defending America from the crafty encroachment of European nations dates not from to-day, but from the earliest times of the Republic, and above all, of establishing a strong league between the different American nations to put a stop to the absorption of their territory and of maintaining their political integrity. This, too, has been the policy of the republican Government long since firmly settled in the spirit of the statesmen of our country. The spirit, then, that inspired those resolutions was not the inspiration of a moment, as is charged, but the expression of an idea already firmly lodged in our international political spirit.

It is well, then, to show that not alone in Brazil is this the dominant idea; it is manifested as well in all the American nations: and not alone in the small and feeble ones, but in the very North American Republic, because it is evident that, without that unanimity of policy, the powerful European nations will, little by little, and in their own interests, solve the problems that now threaten to crush them. The great social question of getting rid of the excess of their population, and, at the same time, preserving their political dominion over their citizens who settle in distant lands; in a word, pocketing two profits at once.

The consequence to us of not defending ourselves from the operation of that policy whose purposes are no secret, because they are constantly translated into acts, will be our return to our former colonial condition. We are still a feeble nation, just beginning our national existence; from a commercial point of view a colony, still dependent upon Europe, and if we allow ourselves to be absorbed politically, we shall go back to our primitive condition.

This is the simple truth, and while we act as public men we must not only have the present before our eyes, but must provide for the future, and observe the attitude of foreign nations toward us. Nothing could be plainer than this, and yet the attempt has been purposely made to distort its interpretation, and falsify its spirit. A nation, our neighbor, a very feeble nation, without military resources, is suffering from the violent aggression of a nation powerful, strong among the strongest.

#### **The English Attitude**

This great nation that is violating the rights of the weaker rejects the arbitration proposed for the settlement of the contested boundary, and, strangely enough, while pursuing this course with Venezuela, proposes the same

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method of solution for its dispute with us—that is, to settle a question of ownership that was never before in dispute, of territory that has never been beyond our dominion.

Now when the case is presented of a sister and friendly nation which, under the shadow of a threat, receives the protection of a North American republic, it was clearly our duty to congratulate the strong nation which, in all disinterestedness, and standing by the principles of its international policy, removes from the region of theory to the dominion of fact those principles which it is the duty of all of us to adopt. [Applause.]

It was in pursuance of this duty that the Senate gave its unanimous support to a message of the American President and now does not hesitate to affirm to the press or to any one, whoever he may be. Let us, then, have no insinuations, hypocritically breathed to create political discord, in the presence of a great international question involving the pride and dignity of the Brazilian nation.

This act of the Congress must be considered and accepted by the President of the Republic as an act of solidarity, because no Brazilian would do it the injustice of supposing that such a body could put itself in opposition to the national interests.

He must believe that it is inspired by no other than a patriotic sentiment, especially in regard to this gravest of questions, both from its nature and from the results it may produce.

This is the view that must be taken of the action of the Senate, and I declare it aloud to all, and particularly to the press, whose Influence In these questions is very strong, in order that this wise and patriotic action of the Congress of the Republic of the United States of Brazil may not lose one iota of its merit.

### Senhor Nilo Pecanha's Address

Senhor Nilo Pecanha, in the Brazilian House of Deputies on Dec. 23. made a speech on the message of President Cleveland. He said, in part, as follows:

So precarious, so painful, and so grave is to-day the situation in regard to the international policy of the country, so pressing are the problems in which the honor of our country is involved, that every parliamentary effort to strengthen, protect, and encourage the right of Brazil is worth a crusade in the cause of civic honor.

The message of President Cleveland has closed forever for the people of America the period of diplomatic hypocrisies. To North America has fallen the good fortune of consecrating the doctrine on which rests the sovereignty, the support of the independence and territorial integrity of the New World. To the higher conquests of maritime law and to the settled principles of internationalism, the Americans are now associated a determined and heroic movement, are rallying to the banner of a weak nation, and repelling the advances of British rapine. It is not enough that we concur in the sentiment of the North American President, and, as Americans, applaud the resistance offered by Venezuela; we must take part in the dispute, interested as we are, neighbors as we are, as a nation whose interests may become compromised in the hazards and course of this important struggle.

I offer to the Chamber a copy of *The New-York Times*, which contains a map of the territory claimed by the English in Venezuela, and a history of the pending question, as once understood by Lord Aberdeen, as now interpreted by Lord Granville, and showing the ever increasing pretensions, the usurping tendencies of the European invader.

The Venezuelans concede the territory lying between the Pomarons and the Cuyuni Rivers, and the English insist more strongly than ever on the Schomburgk line extending from the Orinoco to the end of the Roraima chain.

But will not this same line, if prolonged toward the south, enter Brazilian territory reaching as far as Pirara, and perhaps to Fort San Joaquin, on the Rio Branco, territory that is indisputably Brazilian? If the North Americans claim in the name of Monroe the right to mark the boundary line between the two countries, why should not we be prepared for the various possible solutions of the question, and thus avoid a second attack upon the integrity of our dear country?

Will not British effrontery pretend that the Schomburgk line shall be applied to Brazil as well as to Venezuela? That shall never be. The Government of the republic must, in this as in all other international questions, speak to foreign nations as the mouthpiece of a proud, free, and civilized people.

I regret that the President of the republic has not yet replied to the British proposition of arbitration in the question of Trinidad. Is his Excellency in doubt as to the matter? Does his Excellency think that it is a proper time to disregard the opinion of the country, which entire and unanimous, will never accept arbitration in regard to that which is indisputably and sacredly our own?

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The public spirit is under a painful impression, and the fear is hanging over it that in this affair we may be as unsuccessful as we have been in other questions equally grave, equally stirring.

The course of a certain part of the press, too, is making a disagreeable impression on the public mind. Were that press not Brazilian, one would say that its utterances were inspired by English influences; were it not the traditional defender of the nation and of the glory of the republic, it might be thought to be interested in the defeat of our great cause. It talks about the intervention of the United States. The policy of intervention is European, it is hostile to liberty, and almost always ready to impose the ignominious collar of annexation and protectorates. Witness the congress of Verona, of Leybach, and of Trappau. Behold its criminal interference in the affairs of Naples, and the unjustifiable attack upon the autonomy of Spain. That was the sinister policy of the imperial regime in Europe.

Ask the Brazilian journalist who fought for emancipation on which side England was found in the struggle which determined the fate of slavery in the United States.

Let him remember the patriotic proclamation, full of passion and of eloquence:

“We heard upon the high seas the whistle of a man-of-war, built by a confederacy of slave traders, backed by English gold, sailing from an English port, manned by English sailors, with the connivance of English officials, and that in spite of the royal declaration of neutrality.”

Let our President reply to England as England replied to America: “The arbitration proposed is offensive to the dignity of our country.”

If there is sympathy for Great Britain to be discovered in Brazil, or dislike for the United States, it is not revealed in any of these speeches, provoked by President Cleveland’s message.

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**LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE  
Senator Smith of New-Jersey Discusses the Monroe Doctrine  
GIVES EXCELLENT ADVICE TO CONGRESS  
Opposes the Sewell and Davis Resolutions—He Is Satisfied  
the Administration Knows What It Is About**

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—Senator Smith of New-Jersey to-day made his promised speech on the Monroe doctrine. It was a strong and earnest appeal to the Senate to leave the Venezuela matter for the present to the Administration, which, Mr. Smith said, was fully competent to handle it.

In opening his speech, Mr. Smith said it was not his intention to attempt a definition of what was known as the Monroe doctrine, nor to analyze the various arguments which had been made upon the question of National policy raised by the President’s message. He would say at the outset that he was opposed to the adoption of the resolution introduced by his colleague, and he was quite as strongly opposed to the adoption of the resolution introduced by the Senator from Minnesota, and reported in an amended form by the Committee on Foreign Relations, and would supplement these two assertions with the remark that he had little sympathy with the position assumed by the Senator from Colorado. Mr. Smith, in giving his reasons for his attitude in the matter, said:

There is no occasion for any action of any kind upon this subject by this body at this time. We have done all that either prudence can justify or patriotism demand. We have met the situation outlined to us by the President in such a manner as to show that there is no division of sentiment in the Government of the United States when any question of National honor is

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involved. So much we have done unanimously in both houses without regard to party lines or personal feelings, because to have faltered or delayed would have been a violation of our plain duty to the American people. By entering upon a discussion of what we have already done, and by reopening the question which we have already answered, we could only succeed in nullifying, or, at least, qualifying, the action we have already taken.

Congress received Dec. 17 from the President a message outlining the position of this country as it related to the existing controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela. In that message the President pointed out, with his usual clearness of vision and characteristic vigor of expression, the bearing of that difficulty upon the welfare, integrity, and best interests of this Nation. He insisted, rightfully, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the United States were concerned in a controversy which might result in the seizure of American territory by a European Government. He proved conclusively from official correspondence the obvious desire of Great Britain to enlarge, so far as may be within its power, the domain of British Guiana. He directed attention to the efforts which have been made to induce Great Britain to submit the question of a boundary line between its possessions and Venezuela to arbitration. He laid particular stress upon the fact that all such efforts had been in vain.

Both houses have done all that the President and Secretary of State, charged with the responsibility of diplomatic negotiations with other powers, desired, and all that the people expected.

It is not only unnecessary, but unwise, to either qualify or intensify our action thus taken in response to both an executive and a public demand. This is the first and chief reason why I am opposed to the resolutions introduced by my colleague, as well as those recommended by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Nor can I agree with my colleague when he says that "this action was premature and inopportune, in view of the business and financial condition of the country." Such a confession is only stultification. If every act of a President of the United States involving National honor or National disgrace can only be taken with propriety when the business and financial condition is such as to warrant it, then great indeed must be the indignation of my colleague when he contemplates the conduct of George Washington, James Madison, and, above all, the many and most "inopportune" acts of Abraham Lincoln.

I will not make reply in any sense to the remarks submitted by the brilliant Senator from Colorado. I cannot, however, refrain from saying that, in his admiration of the courage and persistence which have always characterized the English race, he may have overlooked or misjudged some of the causes which have in times past induced the exhibition of those admirable qualities.

No harm can result from lauding the deeds of English sailors and English soldiers. But, Sir, for one, I prefer to contemplate the achievements of Washington, of Greene, of Putnam, of Allen, of Jackson, of Paul Jones, and even of Lafayette to those of Clive, Wellington, Nelson, and the others whose acts have made so deep an impression upon the mind and heart of the Senator from Colorado.

This country, Sir, owes nothing to England. If ties of kindred have been broken she was the aggressor. From the very beginning of the attempt of the noble men who achieved American independence to the present day the attitude of a Great Britain toward this Nation has been one first of contempt then of hostility, then of submission to force of arms, and since that time of ever increasing jealousy, until it became the part of wisdom and prudence to assume the

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condescending and patronizing attitude perfectly typified in the language of Lord Salisbury in his letter to our Secretary of State.

I come now, Mr. President, to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Minnesota upon behalf of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I oppose the adoption of these upon the broad ground that there is no occasion or necessity for such definition of the Monroe doctrine by this body at this time. I do not object to the strong American position outlined by these resolutions, neither do I see much to criticise in their language when applied simply and solely to the Venezuelan controversy. But I do insist that it is the height of folly to attempt to provide in this way for all cases trenching upon the principle represented by the Monroe doctrine, which may arise in the future.

The only reason I have yet heard advanced for making a specific and official definition of the doctrine at this time is that foreign powers should not be enabled to say, as the Premier of Great Britain did say in his communication to the Secretary of State, that the principle had never been officially promulgated. It is insisted that we must not leave to them the privilege of excuse upon the ground that they have never heard of it. I am not prepared, Mr. President, to admit that this necessity has existed for a moment since President Monroe made his famous declaration, but even granting that this may have been so until very recently, it does seem to me very plain that such necessity does not exist to-day. The ringing message of the President of the United States, promptly supported by the unanimous vote of both houses of Congress, and by the unanimous sentiment of the country, is sufficient notice to every power in the civilized world that the Monroe doctrine is a fixed principle of this Government, to be maintained in all cases and at all hazards.

Now, consider for a moment the attitude of our own people. They upheld the President and Congress in emphasizing and applying this great National principle to the case in hand, but signs multiply that their common sense does not and will not approve of unnecessary and unwarranted action upon our part. We showed by our prompt co-operation our satisfaction with the position assumed by the President. We did all that he asked or desired, and turned the whole subject back, in accordance with his suggestion, into the proper diplomatic channels. The problem is now where it should be, in the hands of the President and Secretary of State. Every one of us knows and the people know that in the interest of both patriotism and prudence, it could not be in a better place.

The patriotic sentiment of the United States is great and powerful, but it is not greater or more potent than the conservative common sense which characterizes our whole people. For one, I believe that they are satisfied. The most popular thing we could do to-day, and probably in the present condition of affairs the most beneficial thing we could do, would be to pass the necessary appropriation bills and go home. The mere fact that we are in session is a menace to the revival of business and the return of prosperity.

As a Democrat, I might, for partisan reasons, rejoice in such a condition, while one branch of Congress contains an overwhelming Republican majority, and the other is controlled by a combination of Republicans and Populists; but as a citizen, professing to possess some portion of the common sense characteristic at my countrymen, I deplore it.

Others may consider it a patriotic duty to remain here for the sole purpose of emphasizing devotion to the lost cause of silver, and of listening to discussions of an unjust and unwise tariff revision, which every Senator knows cannot be enacted into law, but I, for one, am free to say that I see no necessity for such action and feel no call to such duty. Of all the resolutions that

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have been introduced, or may be introduced, I can think of but one for which I would cheerfully and gladly give my vote, and that is to adjourn sine die.

If circumstances permitted us to take this course, I am confident the whole country would rise up and call us blessed; but since they do not, I suppose there is nothing to do but remain here, subject to the dominion of a Republican-Populistic combination, and bear as best we can the just reprobation sure to be visited upon this body as a whole by the great majority of thinking American people.

The Republicans did not relish Mr. Smith's concluding words.

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### THE QUEEN'S FRIENDLY WORDS

The expressions in the Queen's speech yesterday referring to the Venezuelan question were of an extremely friendly character, and it is, perhaps, not unwarrantable to infer that the Queen herself may have had somewhat more direct personal influence in framing them than she is accustomed to exert. We quote from the speech:

"The Government of the United States have expressed a wish to co-operate in terminating the differences which have existed for many years between my Government and the Republic of Venezuela upon the boundary of that country and my colony of British Guiana. I have expressed my sympathy with the desire to come to an equitable arrangement, and I trust that further negotiations will lead to a satisfactory settlement."

In one sense this language is sufficiently guarded, and is properly so, but its spirit is beyond criticism. It distinctly recognizes as the motive of the United States "the desire to come to an equitable arrangement," and it describes the proposition of the United States as due "a wish to co-operate." So formal, dignified, and candid a statement must be accepted as promising the removal or all serious obstacles to a peaceful adjustment.

What will be the exact course or objective of the "further negotiations" to which the Queen refers with confidence cannot yet be stated. But, as we have frequently pointed out, there have been kept open from the start by the Government of the United States several ways in which fair negotiation might easily and with honor to all concerned attain a "satisfactory settlement." We have entire confidence that when that result shall have been reached the respect of the world for the purposes of the United States and the principles by which they are guided will be strengthened, and that both peace and justice in the relations of our country and our continent with other countries will rest on a foundation firmer than ever.

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HARCOURT ON MONROE DOCTRINE  
Balfour's Reply to His Appeal for Arbitration About Guiana  
QUEEN'S SPEECH DEBATE

LONDON. Feb. 11.—The House of Commons after listening to the Queen's speech in the House of Lords resumed its sitting at 4 o'clock, the usual hour of assembling, except on Wednesdays when the House meets at noon. The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, entered the House shortly after it had been called to order and was vociferously cheered.

The Right Hon. George J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced that Feb. 13 the Government would introduce a bill providing for the construction of works for naval purposes. The announcement was received with cheers from all sections of the House.

George J. Goschen, Jr., son of the Right Hon. George J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty and member for the East Grinstead Division of Sussex, moved the address in reply to the speech from the throne, and the motion was seconded by Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, member for Wigtownshire.

Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late Ministry, and leader of the Opposition in the House, said he had never in all his experience met such critical circumstances as those with which they were now confronted. It was in the highest degree desirable, he said, that the misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States over the Monroe doctrine should be removed in both countries at the earliest possible moment.

The Government of the United States had expressed a desire to co-operate in a friendly solution of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, and he was rejoiced to see in the speech from the throne that the prospect was welcomed.

The only practical question remaining was whether in the Venezuelan difficulty there had been any invasion of the rights of the United States, as upon that point no pronouncement had been made by the United States Government. It was, in his judgment, a doubtful question, whether the United States could not justly co-operate in the settlement of the Venezuelan difference in default of that Government's having in its possession all of the information bearing thereon, which was at England's disposal.

Sir William said:

I think the speech from the throne holds out the hope that the question is ready for immediate settlement. No criticism of such a conclusion shall fall from my lips. Every member must feel deep responsibility in speaking on the subject, and take care that no word shall embarrass the Government in seeking a settlement. All the members ought to endeavor to aid in anything tending to smooth the ruffled feelings of England and America. [Cries of "Hear," "Hear."]

Among the leading causes of irritation was the notion that arose in America that there was a disposition on the part of Great Britain to question the Monroe doctrine, for which Americans have an affectionate and passionate attachment. That notion is now disclaimed and dispelled. The Monroe doctrine is not a doctrine of international law, but a principle of national policy akin to what in the last century was called the balance of power, on which Great Britain had interposed in Belgium, Greece, and many other places.

The United States, following the wise teachings of Washington, have declared that they would not interfere in European affairs, but it is their fixed policy to oppose the invasion of the territorial and political rights of the

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American States. That is the Monroe doctrine. I cannot understand why England's feelings should be ruffled by them.

I rejoice to hear that the United States wish to co-operate to settle the Venezuelan dispute. There has been a great deal of newspaper talk that the irritating intervention of the United States ought to be resented. The Government does not resent or repel this intervention. On the contrary, they announce that they are willing to co-operate. It has been said that the United States Commission is offensive to Great Britain. That is not the view of the Government, for Mr. Goschen, at Bristol, declared that he did not think there was cause for complaint. That was a complete acceptance of the commission. [Cries of "Hear," "Hear."]

I regret the delay in the publication of the case of Great Britain, and demand that a prompt and honorable conclusion of the affair be arrived at.

It cannot be denied that the ownership of a portion of the disputed territory is doubtful, though people who are the most ignorant of the matter pronounce on the ownership with the greatest confidence. It is the business of diplomacy to settle the matter. It is not creditable that the question should be allowed to fester until it shall break into a dangerous sore, breeding bad blood between the two great nations.

It is the first duty of the Government to adopt a measure without delay to heal the trouble. [Cheers.] The country without distinction of party demands the earliest solution of the question. ["Hear," "Hear."] There are two methods of settlement. One by an amicable convention setting aside archive research. If that cannot be attained, what objection can there be to a reference to arbitration of a third power? [Cheers.]

The United States and Great Britain, to their honor, profess to be great advocates of arbitration throughout the world. There are questions beyond the reach of arbitration. This is not one of them. According to Lord Salisbury's dispatch of November, it is a question of the limitation of arbitration. You ought not to be too strict and arbitrary. It is not for one party to a dispute to define what is in dispute. If you chose to lay down a definite line excluding the extreme claims of one party, do you think it reasonable that the other side should be left open so you may gain by arbitration while they may gain nothing?

Believing that both Governments are sincerely anxious to co-operate, it ought to be the object of every man on both sides of the Atlantic to do what he can to bring about a settlement ["Hear, hear?"] Diplomatic punctilios over past transactions ought not to stand in the way. The question is far too grave for party considerations. We must obliterate past controversies and apply our minds solely and singly to the question as it now stands, make known to the world that sincere justice shall be done, and adapt the best means to see it done.

Upon the conclusion of his speech Sir William was greeted with cheers.

The Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Government leader in the House, followed Sir William Vernon Harcourt. He said:

Sir William has attacked some opinions that were never held by the Ministerial side. We never suggested for a moment that the United States intended to insult Great Britain in inquiring into the Venezuela boundary matter. The Government does not see any reasons for offering any criticism of the Monroe doctrine.

So far from looking at the appointment of the American commission as an insult, the United States Government having appealed to us in ordinary diplomatic intercourse to aid them with all the information at our disposal, at the earliest moment we shall give it, but when Sir William Vernon-Harcourt says that the Venezuelan boundary is in obscurity, and no clear view can be taken, let me remind him that since 1844 England has made serious and honest attempts to get it settled, for reasons not connected with English politics, ambition, or greed. Each attempt failed. We will not be prevented now by diplomatic punctilios or false pride from trying to finally settle it. [Cheers.]

There may be interests altogether apart from the future settlement of boundaries. We owe duties to our children in the colonies which we must perform. Unless they are defended we would not deserve the confidence of the country.

It is impossible to foresee what general conclusions the American Commission or those who are inquiring into the British case here may arrive at, but I am certain that everyone, American or British, who is impartially considering the subject will be convinced that there never has been and is not now the slightest intention on the part of England to violently attack the substance or sense of the Monroe doctrine. No illegitimate ambition, nor unworthy greed for territory or desire to step beyond the due limits or frontiers of the empire has ever animated the British policy throughout this long controversy.

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I can only add that I shall rejoice, that the country, and the public opinion of the world will rejoice, if out of this toil shall spring the good fruit of a general system of arbitration. If that shall be the result of these controversies, I shall feel that all the evil done will have been more than compensated for and that a permanent guarantee of the good will of the English-speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic will have been obtained for all time. . . [Cheers.]

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**ENGLAND WILL FURNISH EVIDENCE  
Lord Salisbury Replies Courteously to the Venezuelan Commission's Suggestion**

LONDON, Feb. 11.—A parliamentary paper has been issued containing the correspondence between Great Britain and the United States since 1887 relative to the boundary of British Guiana. This correspondence shows that the successive Ministries have taken the position described by the Earl of Kimberley in 1895, namely, that Great Britain declines to arbitrate the question of the ownership of the settled parts of the territory claimed by Venezuela, and does not accept a material modification of the provisional boundary of 1886.

On the other hand, she is willing to concede without arbitration a large part of the territory comprised in Venezuela's extreme claim, and to arbitrate the question of the ownership of the intermediate zone.

The correspondence concludes with recent dispatches exchanged by Secretary of State Olney and Lord Salisbury. The first of these dispatches, sent through Ambassador Bayard Feb. 3, informed Lord Salisbury that the American commission had been formed and was sitting at Washington, and that being in no wise an arbitration tribunal, having had its duty limited to ascertaining the facts, it had suggested to Mr. Olney that it would be grateful for such assistance as could be obtainable through the co-operation of Great Britain and Venezuela.

Therefore, Mr. Olney applied to his Lordship, if entirely consistent with his sense of international propriety, to furnish such documentary proof, historical narrative in the unpublished archives, and other evidence within the power of the Government, and also any facilities conveniently possible.

The dispatch quotes part of Justice Brewer's letter to Secretary Olney, and concludes that the purpose of the investigation is certainly hostile to none, nor can it advantage any that the effort to procure the desired information should fail of its purpose, the sole concern of the United States being a peaceful solution of a controversy between friendly powers.

Lord Salisbury replied Feb. 7, that any information at the command of the Government upon any subject of inquiry occupying the attention of the Government of the United States readily would be placed at the disposal of the President. He announced the collection of documents for Parliamentary proceeding, and promised Mr. Bayard advance copies as soon as they are complete.

Mr. Bayard replied Feb. 10, thanking Lord Salisbury, and assuring him that the United States Government would appreciate his courtesy.

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VENEZUELA COMMISSION PLEASED  
Effect of England's Agreement to Submit Evidence—Documents Here and Abroad

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14.—At their regular weekly meeting to-day, the members of the Venezuelan Commission expressed themselves as highly gratified with assurances that Great Britain would submit its evidence for consideration. This announcement at the opening of Parliament and the assurance cabled by Ambassador Bayard, of which the commission was notified are expected to facilitate its labors in a great degree, and make the decision when reached practically unimpeachable.

However complete the two cases may be found, it is still likely that experts sent abroad by the commission may be able to develop important documents which will at least throw valuable side lights on the controversy, and the idea that it will be necessary for the Secretary, and perhaps some at the members, to visit Europe has not been abandoned.

Justin Winsor of Harvard College, called in as cartographic expert, spent several days here last week in consultation with officers of the United States Geological Survey, who have charge of the commission's maps. The chart upon which the commission will mark its true divisional line has been completed, and was laid before the meeting to-day.

It is claimed to be the most perfect map of the northern part of South America in existence. Justices Brewer and Alvey and Andrew D. White have been constantly at work on the case, and have had frequent consultations in the commission's offices. Mr. Coudert in New-York and Prof. Gilman in Baltimore have also been corresponding almost daily with the Secretary.

All the members of the commission were present at to-day's meeting. Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, submitted a card catalogue he had made of the publications in the library bearing on British Guiana and the boundary dispute, numbering between 500 and 600 references. Mr. Spofford also presented a review of bibliography on the subject, consisting of over 100 additional works not in the Congressional Library's possession, but must be sought elsewhere.

As the commission has determined to leave no possible evidence unsought, this gave them a new idea of the magnitude of their task. Marcus Baker, the commission's map expert, was also consulted this morning in reference to the enlargement of portions of the adopted map and other details.

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ENGLAND'S CLAIM ON VENEZUELA  
The Statement of the British Case Is Now Being Printed

LONDON, Feb. 15.—The debate in the House of Commons on the address in reply to the Queen's speech will close on Thursday. According to **The Pall Mall Gazette**, the debate on Mr. Jones's Venezuela arbitration amendment will elicit from the Ministers a declaration that there is a cordial

entente with Washington regarding the procedure to be followed in deciding the claims of Great Britain.

The statement of the British case in the Venezuela dispute prepared by Sir Frederick Pollock, Corpus Professor at Jurisprudence at Oxford University, is now being printed. It opens with a long history of the Guiana settlements, Spanish, Dutch, and English, and gives numerous quotations from authorities. A succession of maps is followed by a precis of the British case. It concludes with an appendix of references to the text and a number of documents.

Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society who are supposed to know say that the book will present nothing new of importance.

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VENEZUELA AND COMMONS  
Debate on Call for Arbitration Hushed at Balfour's Request  
ATTACK ON SALISBURY'S DISPATCH  
Harcourt Defends the American Manner of Pressing for a Settlement  
of the Question— English Friendship.

LONDON, Feb. 17.—L. Atherley-Jones, (Radical) member for Northwest Durham, moved an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, deploring the absence from the speech from the throne of an assurance that the whole boundary dispute with Venezuela will be referred to arbitration in accordance with the suggestion of the United States.

Mr. Atherley-Jones declared that Great Britain had seven times changed the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, and asked how it could be claimed that the territory in dispute could be outside the pale of arbitration. He reviewed the question in all its aspects since 1814.

Before the motion could be seconded, the Right Hon. A. S. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Government leader in the House, interposed, and appealed to the House, on his responsibility as a Minister of the Crown, not to continue the debate.

He declared that the continuation of the debate would not serve the purpose Mr. Atherley-Jones had in view as it would not make an honorable solution of the difficulty easier. He therefore hoped that the House, realizing how grave the issues were, would not further discuss on this occasion the policy that had been or would be pursued.

William Allan, (Advanced Radical,) member for Gateshead, then seconded the amendment. The whole matter, he declared, was a tempest in a teacup. Gold, as usual, was at the bottom of the trouble.

The whole country in dispute was a nest of yellow fever and was not worth fighting for.

Henry Labouchere, the Radical leader, said that after the statement made by Mr. Balfour, it was impossible to continue the debate. [Cries of "Hear, hear!"] He hoped he might take it that the dispute would be speedily settled to the satisfaction of both countries.

John Dillon (Anti-Parnellite), member for East Mayo, followed Mr. Labouchere. He said he trusted that no appeal from the Government would induce the mover of the amendment to

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withdraw his motion. The American people, he added, ought to have some indication of the intensity of the feeling existing in the House of Commons against the mere suggestion of a war with the United States.

The action of the American Government had been most patient and forbearing, and it ought to be made known to the Americans that Lord Salisbury's dispatch to Secretary Olney did not represent the feeling of the people of this country. He was glad to note the recent improved tone of public opinion. Even Lord Salisbury had turned his attention to insulting a somewhat smaller nation than the United States.

In the view of nine-tenths of the people of Ireland the whole question ought to be submitted to unlimited arbitration. If the Ministry tried to plunge the country into a war for an unjust cause by refusing to grant arbitration, he had the right to claim that there would arise from millions of Englishmen and Irishmen a voice of the strongest possible condemnation. [Cries of "Hear, hear!"]

Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, the Liberal leader in the House, said he was glad that the amendment had been moved in the interests of arbitration, but he did not think he could insist that the amendment was the best way to attain the end in view.

Of course, such an amendment could not be accepted by the Government, and must, if pressed to a division, be lost by a large majority. If that happened, it would go forth to America that the House had pronounced against arbitration, although he was convinced that that was the end that all wished to be attained. [Cries of "Hear, hear!"]

What the House had to do was to show that there was no difference of opinion on the subject. He was perfectly certain that both inside and outside the House the consensus of opinion was in favor of peaceful arbitration. Their main object ought to be to express such opinion.

It could not be done by joining issue on the amendment. He took the opportunity to deprecate the language sometimes used alleging that President Cleveland had acted from election motives. There seemed to be a tendency in some quarters to think that the United States had acted in a sudden, offensive manner.

As a matter of fact they had been pressing for a settlement of the question for the last ten years, always in a most friendly spirit. [Cries of "Hear," "Hear."] Every effort ought to be made to remove all causes of irritation.

He trusted that no further delay would occur, and that everything would be done to bring about a speedy settlement. Sir William further said that the points of difference between Great Britain and the United States were insignificant and could easily be settled by the Cabinets of both countries, but if the populace on both sides were allowed to raise excitement through ignorance of the real matters at issue there would be great danger of strife.

He appealed to Mr. Atherley-Jones to withdraw his amendment, which was done, the Speaker checking an attempt on the part of the Irish members to continue the discussion.

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GUIANA BOUNDARY BROIL  
A Joint British and American Commission in Preparation  
SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT SECURE

### A Board of Conciliation, Rather Than of Arbitration, Expected from the Negotiations Now in Progress

LONDON, Feb. 18.—**The Central News** says that the appointment of a joint British and American Commission to settle the Venezuelan boundary dispute was suggested diplomatically a week ago. The matter has not yet assumed definite shape.

The Right Hon. John Morley, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is contesting in the Liberal interest the seat in the House of Commons for the Montrose Burghs, delivered a speech at Forfar to-day. In the course of his remarks he said he rejoiced that there was every indication of a solution of the Guiana boundary dispute by the appointment of a joint commission.

**The Daily News** will to-morrow say that the negotiations now in progress between the United States and Great Britain will result, according to the expectation of the best informed circles, in a satisfactory settlement of the Venezuelan dispute.

The paper gives the lines on which the negotiations are proceeding. They are virtually identical with the suggestions made by Mr. G. W. Smalley, the American correspondent of *The Times*, for the appointment of a joint commission.

**The News** adds that the commission will serve rather as a board of conciliation than as an arbitration board. It is understood that before agreeing to the scheme which, as a last resort, would involve arbitration, Lord Salisbury would require an agreement regarding the settled districts.

**The News** remarks that the United States seems to assume a quasi suzerainty over Venezuela, which is a distinct advantage to Great Britain. It concludes that a settlement on the foregoing lines would be honorable to both countries, and would be heartily applauded by all parties here.

The newspapers to-day are variously commenting on the amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech moved in the House of Commons by L. Atherley Jones, deploring the absence from the speech from the throne of any expression favorable to arbitration of the Venezuelan dispute, and also upon the proposal cabled to **The Times** by its American correspondent G. W. Smalley, for a joint commission, consisting of two British and two American commissioners, to inquire into and report the facts to their respective Governments. Mr. Smalley's suggestion is supposed to have originated in the Washington Cabinet.

**The St. James's Gazette** praises Mr. Balfour's tact in ending the debate on Mr. Jones's amendment yesterday, and repudiates Sir William Vernon Harcourt's utterances in favor of arbitration, declaring that the Opposition leader asserts that England is favorable to arbitration, but neglects to say what is to be arbitrated. Mr. Smalley's proposition, **The Gazette** says, is equally as ambiguous as Sir William Harcourt's assertion.

**The Westminster Gazette** is in thorough sympathy with the purpose of Mr. Jones's amendment, but believes that it should not have been pushed, because its certain rejection would have induced belief in America that Parliament was opposed to arbitration. Such an impression, in view of the delicate negotiations pending, **The Gazette** says, would have been deplorable.

**The Pall Mall Gazette** expresses its approval of the plan for the settlement of the Venezuelan dispute cabled to **The Times** by its American correspondent. **The Globe** opposes the proposition.

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### “ACTUAL SETTLERS” IN VENEZUELA

The objection of the British Government to an unlimited arbitration of the question of boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela has been narrowed down to an exceedingly fine point. It has been so amply shown that no validity attaches to “the Schomburgk line” by the man who drew it or by the Government in behalf of which he drew it that it can no longer be said to cut any figure in the dispute. The contention which has taken its place is undoubtedly the real contention. It is a comfort to come upon it stripped of all disguises. It is that, in the uncertainty about the boundary, a considerable number of British subjects have settled in the disputed territory, and that the British Government is bound to protect them.

This contention is not put forward quite nakedly by the British Government. Indeed, it is not really presentable. But it is unofficially put forward by the volunteer representatives of that Government on both sides of the ocean. Merely to state it is to show how untenable it is. Indeed, the mere statement of it indicates that the actual settlers in question have settled upon Venezuelan territory, which they either knew or suspected to be such, in the expectation that the British Government would back them up without any regard to the merits of the case. The position that the British Government cannot abandon its subjects tends to justify this expectation. It is, moreover, reinforced by argumentation tending to show the injustice of exposing the subjects of a highly civilized Government to the jurisdiction of a half-civilized Government.

Merely to state this contention, we repeat, shows how untenable it is. It shows also how the contention is not even producible before a board of arbitration or any other tribunal of justice. No international tribunal could be expected to find that, Venezuela being half civilized and Great Britain highly civilized, territory occupied by people who preferred being British subjects to being Venezuelan citizens should be awarded to Great Britain, however clearly it was proved that Venezuela was entitled to it. The proper answer to these people is not the British answer that half-civilized nations have no rights that highly civilized nations are bound to respect. It is that people who settle upon disputed territory do so at the risk that it may be found to belong to the power of which they are not the subjects, and that an argument that the nation to which the land belongs is “half civilized,” while the nation to which it does not belong is highly civilized, is irrelevant and impertinent.

The claim which Great Britain unofficially sets up to the territory in dispute would be equally good to the City of Caracas if a sufficient number of British settlers could be found there. Evidently it is not a claim that could be put in before a commission of impartial arbitrators. It is the claim of “Outlanders,” and the same in South America and in South Africa. In South Africa Jameson undertook to make it good by force of arms, which indeed is the only appropriate method. But he failed because the “half-civilized” Kruger and his forces were ready for the “highly civilized” British raiders, and captured all those whom they did not kill. Evidently Lord Salisbury could not venture to submit to an international tribunal the argument which his apologists venture to publish.

[20 February 1896]

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ENGLAND'S CASE MADE UP  
Sir Frederick Pollock's Report on the Venezuelan Controversy  
THE RECORDS OF HOLLAND AND SPAIN  
Great Britain's Contentions Said to be Fully Maintained by  
Newly Discovered Evidence

LONDON, March 4.—**The St. James's Gazette** publishes two columns of matter which it claims is a summary of the report made by Sir Frederick Pollock for submission to Parliament on the Venezuelan matter. **The Gazette** says that, besides having at his disposal documents in possession of the British Colonial and Foreign Offices, Sir Frederick Pollock has drawn freely upon information made accessible to the British Government by the keepers of the archives of Spain and Holland.

The material supplied by Holland covers the period from the latter part of the sixteenth century to the second decade of the nineteenth century, and the Spanish documents cover the period since the first ascent of the Amazon by Orellana, in 1542, and from the first ascent of the Orinoco by Juan Martinez, until Venezuela, in 1830, assumed independent existence.

The evidence includes the particulars and circumstances in which the British took possession of the whole of the Dutch West India colonies in 1781, 1796, and 1803, and the treaties under which these transferences were ratified, the first one being concluded in 1814, to which Spain was a party. The evidence also includes the story of the correspondence and negotiations with the various interested Governments by Venezuela from 1840 down to the present time.

The information supplied by the Colonial Office comprises that collected by the successive Governors of the territory since the administration of Col. Nicholson, in 1803, as regards the extent and character of the Dutch occupation and exploration of the interior, and also the details of the Venezuelan incursions into British territory between the Orinoco and the Cuyuni, the attempts of American concessionaires to establish themselves in British Guiana, the steps taken to maintain British ownership, and the work done by Great Britain to ascertain the natural and geographic boundary without prejudice to strict territorial rights beyond such boundary. These documents, accompanied by important maps bearing thereon, show a British case of overwhelming strength against Venezuelan pretensions at ownership to the west bank of the Essequibo.

The report shows that the Dutch, from the earliest times, had possession of the Coast of Guiana as far north as the mouth of the Orinoco, such possession implying the right of ownership of the Hinterland, a right exercised by the Dutch, who, in the sixteenth century, had coffee, cotton and sugar plantations far up the rivers, and prospected for gold and silver in the basin of the Cuyuni. The early Dutch maps give the northwest boundary, starting from Barima Point, and taking a northwesterly course inland, roughly parallel with the Orinoco, to the confluence of the Caroni and the Orinoco. One of these maps, prepared for Louis XV of France by the King's Geographer, Do Lisle, and printed in Amsterdam in 1774 shows the line of partition according to the bull issued by Pope Alexander I allotting the whole of South America west of the Amazons to Spain, and the whole of the territory on east of the Amazons to Portugal. To the west of this is a large section extending from the Amazon to the mouth of the Orinoco marked "Guyana." This is divided in two, the Dutch part extending from Barima to the River Mariwini, and the French part from the Marawini to Cape Nord, on the delta of the Amazon. The Spanish settlement of St. Thome, on the

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Orinoco, appears on this map, but the Dutch line from Barima is identical with the line representing the extreme British claim. The Essequibo is expressly taken out of the limits of the Spanish settlements, not only by the line mentioned, but by the words "Essequibe aux Holland."

Sir Frederick Pollock proves that that Spaniards at no time established themselves in Guiana proper until they overran part of the British territory to the Cuyuni in and since 1858. They got no further than the Orinoco.

The fact that St. Thome is marked on the French map as the extreme limit of their stations is borne out by a Dutch map, which in 1789 was prepared for the Committee of Colonies of the Batavian Republic by Major von Blouchenroeder. This map shows that the Dutch frontier begins at Barima, from which a straight line is drawn inland with the words above it "Ancien poste Hollandais sur les lirnites de possessions Espagnoles." This map was prepared to assist the statesmen who were negotiating the cession of the Dutch colonies in South America to Great Britain. Sir Frederick Pollock gives details showing that it was upon the basis of this and similar maps that the cession was defeated.

Correspondence taken from the archives shows that when the Spanish showed themselves In the Cuyuni Valley the Dutch Government vigorously protested to Spain against the encroachments of her subjects upon Dutch territory. The archives show that Spain did not answer the protest of the Dutch Government. Certainly Spain did not assert her ownership of the region in question. The States General of Holland in 1759 and in 1769 set forth the Dutch territorial rights and demanded reparation for Spanish violation thereof. The correspondence shows that the Dutch asserted ownership of the entire watershed of the Essequibo and laid great stress upon their rights to the Cuyuni, upon the upper reaches of which stream they had established gold diggings and had been on terms of intercourse with the Indian tribes there for 150 years in making researches.

The evidence which Spain placed at the disposal of the Foreign Office shows that Spain did not rebut the claim made by the Dutch to the territory throughout the basin of the Cuyuni. The Spanish Government, however, condemned proposals made by the Governor of Guyana, who sought to push the Dutch out of the Cuyuni basin on the ground that they were too audacious in having attempted to show that the Province of Dutch Guiana was more extensive than was actually the case. This decision was ratified by the Spanish Council of State, though no reparation was made to the Dutch for the interference of the Spanish in their territory.

The Dutch archives are so well kept that Sir Frederick Pollock has been able to make an irrefragable case for British ownership of the Cuyuni basin as having been inherited from the Dutch, though no absolute evidence is adducible to show how far the Dutch held the country between the natural geographical delimitation known as the Schomburgk line and the bank of the Orinoco.

The report, after exhausting the evidence prior to English acquisition of the country, deals with the more recent diplomatic aspects of the cases which are not summarized.

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LITTLE NEW DISCOVERED  
England Has Found Nothing Not Known to the Commission

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

WASHINGTON, March 4.—The cablegram giving a summary of the British brief in the boundary dispute, prepared by Prof. Sir Frederick Pollock, was read with deep interest by members of the Venezuelan Commission in town to-day.

Entirely without prejudice to the merits of the case, which of course cannot be weighed until all the evidence accompanying Prof. Pollock's argument is disclosed, the Commissioners are evidently gratified that the British Government, with all the resources it has enjoyed for securing evidence, has apparently not obtained much if any more testimony than the commission has been able to collect here during its short but energetic existence. In addition to the maps mentioned by Prof. Pollock, all of which have been accessible to the cartographic expert of the commission, Justin Wilson of Harvard, the latter official has made an exhaustive study of between 250 and 300 charts bearing directly upon the geographic phases of the controversy. The commission has also been able to refer to nearly 300 volumes relating to the dispute found in the Congressional Library, and through its agents has examined essential portions of more than 150 rare volumes in public and private collections in America, among others at the Lenox Library, New-York, and at the Harvard Library.

The Government of Venezuela had already furnished to the State Department before the United States intervened in the affair last July, most of the correspondence which had been carried on with Great Britain, and complete copies of all the documents are promised by Venezuela before the end of this week.

Secretary Malet-Prevost, after reading the dispatch to-day, said: "The brief abstract of Sir Frederick Pollock's report is interesting as showing the care with which the case for Great Britain has been prepared, and the orderly and able manner in which it will be presented. The cable summary is, however, too general in its character to enable me to say positively what new matter it may present for the consideration of the commission. I can, of course, say nothing with regard to the statements of fact which he makes. It is evident, however, that the sources from which he draws the information upon which those conclusions and statements are based are in a great measure the same as those which the commission has been investigating in the preliminary work in which it has been engaged.

"The cabled report makes no references to new matter, excepting possibly to such portions of the diplomatic correspondence between Great Britain and Venezuela as may not have been communicate to our Government, and excepting also any private reports which the various Governors or British Guiana may have from time to time made to the Colonial office. As, however, those reports have, to a certain extent, formed the basis for various historical work, it may be that the information which they convey has in a great measure been already considered.

"At all events nothing definitely can be said until the report itself is received. That it will be of valuable assistance in the consideration of the case there can be no doubt, and the commission awaits its receipt with great interest."

At the Venezuelan Legation the statement of the British case was declared to be pitifully weak and easily disposed of. Minister Andrade said it did not contain any argument which had not already been fully met and disproved in documents furnished to Secretaries Bayard and Gresham by the Venezuelan Government. All the arguments now presented by Sir Frederick Pollock which had not been included in Lord Salisbury's letters of Nov. 26 last, leading to President Cleveland's special message, had already been abandoned by British statesmen.

It was preposterous now for Great Britain to attempt to go behind the treaty of Munster to show that the Dutch had settlements in Guiana, for up to that time Holland was a Spanish dependency, just as Guiana was. With the recognition of the independence of the Dutch by the

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treaty of Munster in 1648 the Essequibo became the Eastern boundary of Spanish possessions, and by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, England obligated herself to enforce that boundary.

The Dutch colonies did not pass to England until 1796, and from that time until 1836—forty years—every English map, cyclopedia, history, or other work hearing on Guiana, gave either the Essequibo or the Pomaron as the western English limit. Barima at the mouth of the Orinoco may have been occupied by the Dutch when Spain was the sovereign of Holland, as shown by early maps, but Minister Andrade notes that Sir Frederick Pollock has found no map giving the Dutch that point after the treaty of Munster.

No fear is expressed by the members of the Legation as to the result of the Venezuelan Commission's labours. They are confident that the decision will be entirely in conformity with the Venezuelan contention.

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VENEZUELAN BLUE BOOK  
Documents Sustaining the British Contention About Guiana  
SPANISH AND DUTCH SETTLEMENT  
Possession Acknowledged by the Treaty of Munster Which Great Britain Has Inherited

LONDON, March 6.—The expected Venezuelan Blue Book, which is entitled “Documents and Correspondence Relating to the Question of the Boundary of Guiana and Venezuela,” will be issued by the Government to-night. The volume consists of 443 folio pages, with a separate book containing nine maps. The book opens with forty pages, comprising a preliminary statement dealing with the history of the territories from 1520 until the issuance of her Majesty's memorandum to Venezuela in March, 1890. The book is divided into historic periods, from the earliest time to 1648, from 1648 to 1796, and from 1796 to 1840. After that period references are made to various claims and dispatches and the report concludes with a brief summary. The preliminary matter is summarized as follows:

The purpose of the present statement [the book says,] is to explain a general outline of the position of Great Britain in the long-pending dispute with Venezuela, as regards the boundary between British Guiana and that country.

The territories now known as British Guiana and Venezuela had been discovered before 1520. Between the date of their discovery and 1648 the Spaniards and the Dutch occupied portions of this territory, the extent of such occupation by each country to be a matter of consideration.

In 1580 the United Provinces of the Netherlands threw off their allegiance to the Spanish crown and war ensued, which lasted almost uninterruptedly for seventy years. In January 1648, peace was concluded by the treaty of Munster, by which Spain acknowledged the independence of the Netherlands and the two countries respectively confirmed their then possessions on the South American continent. From 1648 to 1796, with the exception of the interval between 1781 and 1783, the Dutch remained in possession of the territory they had occupied prior to the treaty of Munster, and extended their settlements within it.

In 1796, the territory now known as British Guiana was acquired by Great Britain. That acquisition was recognized and confirmed by a treaty concluded in 1814. In 1810, Venezuela revolted, but her independent existence apart from the United States of Colombia, by which she was for a time merged, did not commence until

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1830, and was not formally recognized by Spain until 1845. It is therefore held that the following conclusions have been clearly established:

First—That prior to 1590, the Dutch had established themselves on the coast of Guiana.

Second—That prior to 1596, the Spaniards had established no settlements in Guiana.

Third—That by 1648, the Dutch settlements in Guiana extended along the coast the whole way from the River Maroni to the Barima, and inland to various points in the interior upon the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima, their tributaries.

Fourth—That up to 1725 the only settlement of Spaniards in Guiana was San Thome de Guayana, on the south bank of the Orinoco, originally founded in 1596, at a site shown on the sketch map.

Fifth—That between 1723 and 1790 the only additional settlements founded by Spaniards in Guiana were those established by the Capuchin Missions south of the Orinoco, in the direction of the River Yuruari, and two villages on the Upper Orinoco, several hundred miles above San Thome de Guayana.

Sixth—That Dutch occupation to the extent above indicated was perfectly well known in Spain, and that the attempts of the Spanish to dispossess the Dutch had wholly failed.

Seventh—That subsequently to 1796, Great Britain has continuously remained in possession and her subjects have occupied further portions of the territory to which the Dutch established their title.

From the first settlements to 1648, [the report continues,] the Dutch appear to have been the first. Early in the sixteenth century they turned their attention to Guiana, and there is abundant evidence from Spanish sources that during the latter half of the century, prior to 1590, the Dutch established themselves on the coast of Guiana. In 1595 the English explorer, Capt. Charles Leigh, found the Dutch established near the mouth of the Orinoco, a fact which is confirmed from Spanish sources. The first settlement by Spain in Guiana was in 1596, when Antonio de la Hoz Berrio founded San Thome de Guayana on the south bank of the Orinoco. A dispatch from Roque de Montes, Treasurer of Cumana, to the King of Spain, dated April, 1596, shows that the Spaniards did not then hold any part of Guiana.

In the early part of the seventeenth century the various companies which were afterwards merged in the Great West India Company were employed in colonizing Guiana, and had established several settlements there before 1614, and the existence of these settlements was officially reported to Spain.

The following extracts from memoranda on Guayana which were deliberated upon by the Spanish Privy Council are dated 1614. They say in regard to the Dutch settlements then existing: “It is well clear that those coasts belong to them, far from the River Maranon to the River Orinoco, and there are three or four more settlements which are very flourishing and from which they derive much utility and very good profit, with the mouths of those two rivers, making themselves masters of the possessions and fruits of the natives.”

These records show that the Dutch had at this time firmly settled themselves along the coast as far as the Orinoco.

### **Spain's Only Settlement in Guiana**

In 1621 a charter of the Dutch West India Company granted by the States General of Holland and reaffirmed in 1637 gave Orinoco as the limit of the company's territorial jurisdiction. From secret reports on the dominions of Spain in America addressed to the Spanish Government under a date of a few years before the conclusion of the treaty of Munster, it appears that the Dutch settlements extended from close to the Amazonas to the Orinoco. The whole of this is therefore clear: That prior to the date of the treaty of Munster the Dutch settlements, to the knowledge of the Spanish Government, extended on the coast as far as the Barima and the River Amacura. The treaty concluded between Spain and the Netherlands in January, 1648, confirmed the Dutch in all the possessions they had acquired in South America and gave them liberty to make fresh acquisitions wherever the Spaniards were not already established.

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At the date of that treaty Spain had only one settlement in Guiana—San Thome de Guayana. After the treaty of Munster fresh negotiations were again issued by the States General to the Dutch West India Company, in which Orinoco was again treated as the limit of Dutch jurisdiction. From 1648 to 1796 the Dutch colonies on the Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Morocco were reported as flourishing greatly and attracting fresh immigration, bidding fair to become the most flourishing of the tropical plantations in America. About 1664 Fathers Llauri and Vergara were sent to explore Guiana, with a view to seeing whether a Jesuit mission should be founded. They reported that the province had been abandoned by the Spaniards.

In 1684 the Dutch commander of Essequibo recommended that a strong little post be established at Barima, in place of a small watch house. By 1700 posts were established by the Dutch at places along the coast and in the interior. Three of the latter posts are named in the records, one being beyond Cuyuni. In 1714 the provisions of the Treaty of Munster expressly confirmed the Treaty of Utrecht. At that date Spain had no possession of any territory in Guiana beyond part of the right bank of the Orinoco. No Spanish settlements or missions existed in any other part of Guiana. The Dutch upon the coast extended along the Orinoco into the interior to the watersheds of the Essequibo, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, and Amacura.

In 1730 the Dutch West India Company, by public notice, prohibited trade on the Rivers Massaruni and Cuyuni, except to its own agents. Between 1730 and 1790 a number of Capuchin missions established by the Spaniards were entirely confined to the district between the Orinoco and Yuruari. From reports made from time to time by the Director General of the Dutch Colony, it appears that about 1748 the Spaniards were attempting to encroach on the Dutch territory in the neighborhood of the affluents of the Cuyuni. Thereupon the Director General dispatched an emissary to remonstrate with the Spaniards, who were reported to have replied that the whole of America belonged to Spain. These attempts of the Spaniards to extend their territory were entirely confined to the Cuyuni, adjoining the district already occupied by the Capuchin missions. A report of the Spanish Commandant of Guiana states that in 1750 the Dutch were in the interior on the Cuyuni, and at the mouth of the River Curumo, which flows into said river.

Between 1750 and 1752 the Capuchin Fathers from the missions applied to the Dutch Government for permission to trade in Dutch Cuyuni. They were refused. In 1755 the Dutch, in order to prevent encroachments by the Spaniards on the territory of Yuruay, which they considered indisputably Dutch territory, established a post 150 miles higher up the Cuyuni.

The position of this post is shown on a sketch map. The same year the Spanish commandant on the Orinoco complained to the Dutch of disorders at Barima, showing that the Dutch then had jurisdiction there.

In 1758, as appears from a Spanish official report, a question having arisen regarding the rights of fishing, the Dutch claimed that their dominion extended from the ship's mouth or grand mouth of the Orinoco, and that they were entitled to fish in that part of the river. From a report of Gov. Cumana, in 1761, to the King of Spain, it clearly appears that with the exception of the Fort San Thome de Guayana and the missions, the Spaniards had occupied territory on the right bank of the Orinoco, and that the local Spanish authorities had been engaged in ineffectual attempts to induce the Government to fortify the Orinoco at Angostura, so as to prevent the Dutch and Caribs from ascending the river. The report gives the names that were then known of sixteen villages or missions. Not one of the missions was extended.

Coming to 1772, Spanish claims to the greater part of Guiana are raised in a report from the commandant of the province. An extract taken from the archives of the Indias proceeds to state that

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the boundaries of this province and the Guayana boundaries are one. It is bounded on the north by the Lower Orinoco, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Amazons, and on the west by the Rio Negro, etc.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that this claim included the whole Dutch settlements and French Guiana right down to the Amazon River, an extent of territory that Spain never attempted to occupy or even claim, unless the pretensions that the whole of America belonged to the Spanish King, by virtue of the Papal bull of 1496, can be regarded as a claim.

In 1781 the British captured Dutch Guiana and marked the boundary upon the coast to the westward of Point Barima. A map of the newly acquired colony, drafted on the spot, and published in London in 1783, gives the name Barima to the River Amacura, and makes it the western boundary of the colony. The colony was restored to the Dutch in 1793 and again captured by the English in 1796. The English then marked the boundaries again.

This summary of events conclusively establishes that during the whole period from 1648 to 1796 the Dutch had uninterrupted possession of the entire coast line, from the River Corentin to Barima. During the same period they explored the upper portions of nearly all the rivers to a considerable extent, and made settlements in the adjacent districts. Prior to 1723 there was no settlement by the Spaniards in the territory, except at San Thome de Guayana, which was originally situated at about the spot indicated on the sketch map, and twice subsequently removed further up the river, and that between 1724 and 1796 the Capuchin Missions, established south of the Orinoco, gradually extended southward and eastward toward the Dutch territory, the furthest point occupied by the Spaniards being the village of Tumeremo, founded about 1788. Before 1796 Dutch settlements existed far up the Cuyuni, while a Dutch fort was established near Yuruari, at about the spot marked upon the sketch map. The Dutch had full control of the whole basin of the Cuyuni, and, with the exception of their settlement at San Thome de Guayana and the missions, the Spaniards exercised no authority nor dominion whatever over the territory now in dispute.

### **Spanish Commissioner's Report**

The third period, 1796 to 1840, opens with a quotation from the report of Spanish Commissioner Requena in July, 1802. After pointing out that the territory between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers belonged to Spain by right of discovery, he proceeds to state that the coasts had been abandoned by the Spaniards for more than a century, and that the Dutch and French had founded colonies on them unopposed by Spain. He warned the Government that the Dutch were advancing up the Essequibo, and might advance from the Cuyuni and Caroni to the Orinoco and take possession of the lower part of that river. This reference to the position of the Dutch on the Cuyuni is another of the many instances showing conclusively that their establishment on the Cuyuni was perfectly well known to the Spaniards for many years prior to 1802.

A report to the commander of the British forces in the West Indies in 1802 shows that the Spanish occupation was confined at most entirely to the northern bank of the Orinoco. For about 130 miles from Barima on the right bank there was no existing Spanish settlement or occupation of Old Guiana. The original site of the fort of San Thome de Guayana still remained unoccupied. In 1810 a careful report of the condition of Spanish Guiana sent by the Junta Superior to the King fully confirms the previous statements of the condition of Spanish enterprise in the district. The report states that the Governor never took a single step toward carrying out the design to settle the lower part of the Orinoco or to establish a Spanish village with a fort on the right bank.

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In 1810 Venezuela declared her independence of the crown of Spain. In 1814 treaties were made between Great Britain and the Netherlands. The colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were retained by Great Britain. Negotiations at the same time between Great Britain and Spain resulted in a treaty by which the Spanish Government engaged that in the event of the commerce of the Spanish-American possessions being opened to foreign nations British commerce should be admitted to trade with those possessions as a most favored nation.

Had any question existed of the right of Spain to ally portion of the territory long known as a Dutch colony it would have been raised then.

In 1817 Gen. Bolivar, President of Colombia, with which Venezuela was then incorporated, issued an order from his headquarters at Angostura saying that the Governor of Guayana must be considered not only the governor or the fort at Old Guayana, but also as Military Governor of the Orinoco to its mouth. In 1827 an official report upon the extent and situation of the crown lands of the colony gave the boundary of the colony recognized at that date as follows: On the north the seacoast from the mouth of the River Abari to Cape Barima, near the mouth of the Orinoco, and on the west a line running north and south from Cape Barima into the interior.

In 1831, in the course of an investigation connected with certain trials for murder, the jurisdiction of Great Britain had to be investigated. The evidence given clearly established that grants of land had been made for considerable distances up the Essequibo, Massaruni, and Cuyuni Rivers, and that Dutch settlements and forts extended still further along these rivers. It was also shown that in the districts in question the Crown of Great Britain exercised all the rights by which nations usually indicate claims over territorial possessions, and further, that there had been continuous control over the Indians by the British.

About 1831, a report was made by the second Fiscal of the Colony to the Lieutenant Governor, describing the effective control which had been exercised over the Indians by their protectors and the Post holders. These reports established clearly that the Indian tribes inhabiting the country in submission, owed allegiance to Great Britain. During this period British missionaries, from time to time, visited the various parts of the colonies and their reports show that the Spanish frontier was at the head of the Cuyuni and Massaruni Rivers.

From the facts detailed in this chapter, it is clearly established that Great Britain, on becoming possessor of the colony, succeeded to all the rights of the Dutch. After 1796, Great Britain extended her settlements and continuously exercised over the territory originally claimed by the Dutch all those rights by which nations usually indicate a claim of territorial possession. Neither Spain nor Venezuela after the latter's independence had either possession of or dominion over the territory in question.

A part of the fourth period after 1840 opens with an explanation that the first Schomburgk map in 1839 was not official, but an actual line prepared on the commission's survey. In 1840 and 1842 it came to the knowledge of the Government that six years before correspondence had passed between the Venezuelan authorities and the British Consul at Caracas in which the latter, at the request of the British Vice-Consul at Angostura, proposed to Venezuela that they erect a beacon on Cape Barima in order to guide ships in the neighborhood of the Orinoco. This correspondence was in no way authorized. The British Government had no knowledge of it until it was communicated to them. Venezuela never returned a reply to the proposal. This was a period of discussions.

The first overture was made by Venezuela in January, 1841, remonstrating at Schomburgk's placing boundary posts at certain points. The statement here refers to Minister Fortique's remonstrance and Lord Aberdeen's reply, resulting in the removal of Schomburgk's posts. It quotes

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Lord Aberdeen's declaration of January, 1842, that the removal of the posts must not be understood as meaning that Great Britain abandoned any portion of her rights to the territory formerly held by the Dutch. In 1843, Venezuela renewed her application for a speedy conclusion of a treaty. Minister Fortique's note of January, 1844, presented the first formal statement claiming that the territory of Venezuela extended to the Essequibo.

The main grounds of the claim were that Spain was the first discoverer and occupant of the New World, that the Spaniards at an early date, occupied and explored Orinoco and all the contiguous country on the Barima, Moroco, and Pomaroom; that at the time of the treaty of Munster the Dutch had no possessions in Guiana, at least on the northern, and western side of the Essequibo; that the Spanish dominion extended as far as the Essequibo, and that any possession of the Dutch westward of the river was a usurpation unapproved by Spain. After giving a summary of Lord Aberdeen's reply to the preceding, a historic statement of the Dutch claims is quoted as proof that Venezuela's based pretensions upon allegations relative to the Spanish and Dutch occupations are conclusively proved erroneous.

In 1870 Señor Calcano readvances the claims on the same grounds as those of Señor Fortique, upon the addition, that the former relied upon the bull of Pope Alexander VI as imparting fresh and most valuable recognition, which, at the time it was issued, he said, was of decisive significance. Señor Calcano further alleged that the Capuchins occupied the space between the Orinoco, Cape Nassau, the sea and the river Caroni. There is no trace of such occupation. The royal warrant of 1736, defining the sphere of missionary enterprise in Guiana has been quoted as authority for this statement. Reference to the original document shows that it contains no words to justify the assertion.

The passage which has been cited in support of the contention of Venezuela is an interpolation. Señor Calcano further quoted an article from the Convention of Aranjuez, making the surrender of fugitive slaves effective between the Spanish establishments on the Orinoco and Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, suggesting that Essequibo referred to the river. This suggestion is unfounded. A perusal of the convention shows clearly that the words used are a well known general description of the Dutch colony.

### **Negotiations of Various Cabinets**

From this point the statement follows the better known history of the diplomatic negotiations between Venezuela and Lord Salisbury, Lord Granville, and Lord Rosebery to the rupture of the diplomatic relations in 1887. Alluding to the statement of the Venezuelan claim in the note of Señor Urbaneja in January, 1887, the statement proceeds: "The main additional grounds then put forward in support of the claim were a decree alleged to have been issued by the King of Spain in 1768, whereby Guiana was declared to be bordered on the south by the Amazon and on the east by the Atlantic. Reference to the decree shows that it has no bearing whatever upon the question of the boundary of the Dutch colonies."

The next statement, that as regards the territory of the Netherlands, to whose rights Great Britain succeeded, all in her power consisted of the establishments of Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam. This has never been denied by Great Britain and in no way meets the contention supported by the evidence already cited, that the Dutch colony of Essequibo was included in the whole watershed of that river and its tributaries and extended along the coast to the mouth of the Orinoco. As for the further statement that Spain, so far from consenting to usurpations, expelled

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them by force, it will be seen by a more accurate statement of events that the attacks and encroachments of Spain on the Dutch possessions were repelled by the Dutch and British.

As regards the negotiations instituted by Venezuela in 1890 and 1893 for a renewal of diplomatic relations and a settlement of the boundary dispute, it is only necessary here to say that they failed of successful results in consequence of the persistence of the Venezuelan negotiators in asserting claim to all the territory as far as the Essequibo or its immediate neighborhood.

The above examination shows that the main grounds upon which the claim of Venezuela is supposed to be based, so far as it has been presented to Great Britain at different times during the last fifty years, have been as follows:

First—The original discovery and the first exploration of the South American Continent by Spain, which are clearly irrelevant.

Second—The bull at Pope Alexander VI., which cannot be considered as having any real bearing upon the question.

Third—The allegation that the occupation of Guiana by the Dutch was a violation of the treaty of Munster.

This allegation has been shown to be unfounded.

Fourth—Possession and occupation by the Spaniards of the territory south of the Orinoco, including the Rivers Barima, Moroco, and Pomeroon.

It has been shown that the only Spanish settlements there at any time were San Thome de Guyama which was situated on the south bank of the Orinoco, and which had been moved from time to time higher up the river, as it was destroyed by the British and Dutch successively, and the Capuchin settlements situated between the Orinoco and the Tumerimo, as has been previously described.

Fifth—That the Dutch had never had any possessions north of the Essequibo.

This statement has been shown to be equally erroneous, as perusal of the whole diplomatic correspondence will show that the British Government, while insisting that the just claims of Great Britain would entitle her to a boundary embracing practically the whole watershed of the Essequibo, the Cuyuni, the Yuruari, the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima, has been willing to agree to a boundary within those limits which would give Venezuela far more territory than that to which she can show any title.

From the summary given of the foregoing chapter it will be seen that Great Britain, while maintaining her just rights, has consistently shown a desire to make a fair arrangement with Venezuela as to boundary, and that the claim of Venezuela that her territory extends to the Essequibo has been based upon contentions which are in no way supported by the facts and cannot be justified upon any reasonable ground.

Part fifth describes the maps and bases of the case. The first is an extract from the official chart of the Dutch West India Company by contemporaneous chartmakers of the approximate date of 1635. It only deals with the coast line. It shows the reputed territory of the company as extended westward beyond Point Barima.

The next map, by a leading Dutch geographer of 1640, is colored to show the boundary of the Dutch and Spanish colonies along the Orinoco.

The next map, dated 1733, was prepared for a committee of the trade plantations. It shows the Dutch boundary extending from the Orinoco to the westward of Barima. In 1748 a map was prepared by Geographer Danville, compiled largely from Spanish sources. This was adopted in 1796 by Father Sobreviela, a missionary having personal knowledge of Guiana. On it the boundary of

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Dutch Guiana starts a little to the east of Point Barima. The Dutch used this map in protesting against the proposed Spanish missions within their territory. Another map published in 1884 from Depons's "Voyage en Amérique Méridionale," taken from a manuscript map in the archives at Caracas, shows by dotted lines that the Dutch possessions were bounded by the Essequibo. Between that line and the Orinoco the country is marked as being independent. The text of Depons has a passage saying it is agreed that Spanish Guiana, which on the maps occupies thirty leagues of coast, does not in fact occupy an inch.

The statement concludes with a repetition of the propositions maintained throughout the case. It ends by stating that the claim of Venezuela that her territory extends to the Essequibo River has been based upon contentions in no way supported by facts, and cannot be justified on any reasonable ground.

The foregoing statement and the authorities contained in the documents annexed establish, if the matter is treated as one of strict right, the fact that Great Britain, as the successor to the Dutch, is entitled to the territory extending to Barima, including the water sheds of all rivers south of the Orinoco which flow into the Atlantic.

The appendix of correspondence contains 235 documents, largely relating to the early administration of British Guiana. The diplomatic part includes communications exchanged by Senor Michelena and Lord Rosebery in the abortive negotiations of 1893 to arrange for arbitration.

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VENEZUELA AND BRITAIN  
American Commission in Possession of the Republic's Statement  
DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS PRESENTED  
All the Letters Excluded from the Blue Book Appear in the South American Defense

WASHINGTON, March 10.—The Venezuelan Commission formally received the first installment of the Venezuelan case this morning from ex-Minister Scruggs, counsel for the South American republic, who presented copies of the volume upon which he has been engaged for the past six months, and which, he informed the commission, practically contained all the substance of the Venezuelan contention though considerable supplementary evidence is expected from Caracas and will be submitted as soon as it arrives.

The volume, which contains 440 pages and a colored map, is entitled: "Official History of the Discussion Between Venezuela and Great Britain on Their Guiana Boundaries," and is devoted exclusively to the exhibition of official correspondence, unlike the British Blue Book, without a word of comment or argument, divided into twelve sections, each covering a distinct phase of the negotiations since 1822.

The preface of the book is the official letter of the Palmerston Ministry of March 18, 1840, already published in **United Press** dispatches, discrediting the Schomburgk line as an intended boundary, followed by the treaty of London of 1814, by which the Dutch ceded to Great Britain the "Cape of Good Hope and the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice."

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The parts at the correspondence are:

1. Instructions from Secretary of Foreign Affairs of ancient Colombia, of which Venezuela was a portion, in 1822, to her Minister in London, directing him to insist that colonists who had crossed the Essequibo should submit to Colombian laws or retire to their former possessions.
2. Request of the British Minister, May 26, 1836, for Venezuela to establish a lighthouse at Point Barima.
3. The Aberdeen negotiations, 1841-4.
4. Disavowal of England's intention to claim Venezuelan Guiana in 1850.
5. Effort to settle the dispute with Earl Derby, 1876.
6. The first Salisbury and Granville negotiations, 1880-81.
7. Negotiations in 1883-4 at Caracas.
8. Gen. Guzman Blanco's efforts in London with Sir Julian Pauncefote and Earl Granville, 1884-6, covering seventy-five pages of the book.
9. Negotiations at Caracas, 1886-7, and reports of Venezuelan Commission in disputed territory.
- 10 and 11. Resumption of relations and negotiations between Lord Salisbury and Dr. Palido. 1890, regarding a mixed commission to arbitrate west of Schomburgk line.
12. The Rosebery compromise, 1893.
13. Negotiations with the United States from 1893 to the present time, asking intervention, including all the correspondence relative to the effort of the Pope to secure England's consent to arbitration in 1894.

Over 200 letters and official documents are given in full in the book, arranged in chronological sequence, very few of them having heretofore been quoted publicly.

While no new facts of a popular nature that have not been referred to or abstracted in published statements of Venezuela's side appear in the book, it is understood that the complete presentation in extenso of all the documents makes it valuable for consideration by the commission, as all the British letters which were either overlooked or intentionally omitted from the English Blue Book are included, as well as much other official correspondence in which England had no part or of which the English Government was not informed.

Another advantage to the commission of the Venezuela book over the British Blue Book is that it is in strong contrast to the latter, which devotes most of its space to the period before the independence of Venezuela and to early maps which were already in the commission's possession, while it extended arguments in support of the British claim merely repeat those advanced in the diplomatic correspondence replying to the reiterated appeals of Venezuela for arbitration.

[11 March 1896]

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New-York Times (1887-1904)*

WASHINGTON, March 10.—The reiteration in London journals that negotiations are in progress between the British Ambassador and the Venezuelan Minister at Washington to dispose of the Uruan incident has again received an unqualified denial from both diplomats concerned.

It is conceded, however, that at some subsequent time, at the instance of Great Britain, a compromise may be effected through amicable mediation, which would remove any obstacle that may exist to the resumption of relations between the two countries as a preliminary to the arbitration of the boundary dispute upon the lines suggested by the United States, such arbitration to be entirely independent of the high commission, although supplemental to its labors.

The details of the Uruan incident, which is insignificant compared with the boundary dispute, from which it is considered inseparable, have been magnified in England into undue prominence, through the failure of the Government there to make any official statement regarding it. For the first time to-day the intrinsic unimportance of the affair is made plain through correspondence not hitherto made public.

It appears that Baron Bodman, the German Chargé d’Affaires at Caracas, Nov. 8, 1894, had an interview with the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs which is best described in the following correspondence:

**Imperial Legation of Germany in Venezuela, Caracas, Nov. 12, 1894.**

Mr. Minister:

Last Thursday, by virtue of a telegraphic communication from my Government, I had the honor, in my character of being charged with the protection of British interests in Venezuela, to present a claim, in the name of the Royal Cabinet of Great Britain, against a violation of the frontier of British Guiana, perpetrated by Venezuelan soldiers on the Cuyuni River. At the same time I expressed the desire of the English Government that the officer who commands the Venezuelan troops on the Cuyuni River should receive orders to prohibit his soldiers from crossing the river, as well as from cutting trees on its right bank.

His Excellency had the kindness to offer me an answer after having consulted the Council of Ministers. Wishing a solution of the matter satisfactory to the parties interested, I would be very grateful to his Excellency if a reply were given to me as soon as possible.

BODMAN

**Department of Foreign Relations, Section of Foreign Public Law,  
No. 1,389, Caracas, Nov. 14, 1894.**

Honorable Sir:

The Government or the republic has taken into consideration the communication of your Honor received at this office the day before yesterday, when I was absent from Caracas, and in which your Honor, in reference to the telegram you made me acquainted with during the conference of last Thursday, and in your character of being charged with the protection of the British interests in Venezuela, asks with urgency an answer in regard to the so-called violation of the frontier of British Guiana on the Cuyuni River, which reply, according to thy inference from the expressions used by your Honor, should offer the assurance that the Venezuelan soldiers must no longer cross said river, nor cut trees on its right bank.

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Your Honor will already have observed that the question here treated of is that universally known as the disputed boundary between the Republic of Venezuela and the English colony of Demerara.

Since England determined, not long ago, actually to occupy the portion of territory in dispute (in which the region of the Cuyuni was not, however, at first comprised, to which the telegram refers, and which is notoriously Venezuelan territory) the republic has protested, seriously reserving to herself the right to vindicate her titles by the most righteous means, which, since then, moved by a spirit of conciliation, she earnestly submitted to the government of Her Majesty. Repeated new advances of the English line of occupation gave cause to other protests, which came to be the reiterated invocation of the rights that in this contest evidently are in favor of the republic.

So Feb. 20, 1887, June 15 and Oct. 29, 1888, Dec. 16, 1889, Sept. 1, 1890, Dec. 30, 1891, and finally, Aug. 26 and Oct. 6, 1893—that is to say, that every time any measure from the colonial authorities appeared extending the radius of the occupation, with manifest transgression of the status quo agreed upon in 1850—Venezuela has opposed with the voice of right and justice the acts exercised by Great Britain within a territory that the republic considers belonging to her, rights based on geographical and historical documents of incontestable value, on authorities of high repute, many of them English, on local traditions worthy of respect, and on facts of jurisdiction of the commissaries of agents of Her Catholic Majesty, and to be found in the public treaties previous to that of Aug. 13, 1814, whereby Holland ceded to Great Britain her colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice.

According to the information of which the Venezuelan Government is already in possession, that which happened on the right bank of the Cuyuni River was caused by a menace from the agent of the Demerara Government, who is called inspector of that region, to a Venezuelan named Loreto Lira, planter, established there for a good many years, and from the cutting down of trees upon some lands by several of his countrymen who arrived there some days after the commemoration of the independence of Venezuela had been celebrated on that bank of the river (July 5,) in the house of the same Lira, and in that of a woman named Manuela Casanas.

It is known that the same Colonial Agent from whom the threat to Lira had come stated to him afterward that he could continue his work with complete tranquillity, and it is also known that after the patriotic rejoicing to which they gave themselves up, on the before-mentioned July 5, in his house and that of Señora Casanas, a Captain with eight soldiers proceeding from the general commissariat of the Upper Cuyuni River, and the successor of Inspector Gallagher, named Douglas Barnes, asked permission to cross the river and to offer his friendship to the Venezuelan authorities.

In spite of the manner in which the Colonial Agents have been proceeding in the occupation of the territory which Venezuela considers comprised within her limits, it has always been recommended, and most earnestly, to the authorities established by the republic within the same zone, that they avoid as far as compatible with national decorum all cause for collision with the agents of Demerara, since the Government wishes to solve the question of boundary by peaceful means, and not to make odious this old controversy.

The assurances now asked, considering the present aspect of the question, would be equivalent, as will be easily understood by your Honor, to a tacit declaration in favor of the designs of England, and would counteract, in fact, the protests previously made by the republic, which she still maintains with all its vigor, and which I have just again related for a better understanding. And upon stating so to your Honor, I fulfill the duty of renewing, through such a worthy medium, to the British Government, the earnest desire of Venezuela of putting an end to the vexatious litigation by the use

of the peaceful resorts counseled by modern law, and to which England herself frequently appeals, as being a cultured nation, that has collaborated in the work of the present civilization.

(Signed) P. EZEQUIEL ROJAS

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GUIANA BOUNDARY LORE  
Archives of Spain and Holland to be Examined by Commission  
VENEZUELA'S DEFENDERS AT WORK

WASHINGTON, March 13.—The Venezuelan Commission at its regular meeting to-day, with all the members present, virtually reached the conclusion that the main points at issue in the dispute hinged on documents lying in the royal archives of Spain and Holland and perhaps some other countries and that while such documents would probably be quoted by each of the disputants in support of the contradictory claims presented, the duty would devolve on the commission not only to verify by actual examination all such citations, but, if practicable, to develop contemporary documents which might throw strong side lights upon the evidence submitted.

While definite action was postponed until the full British and Venezuelan cases shall have been formally brought under consideration, there remains no doubt that some or the Commissioners, or at all events the Secretary of the commission, Mr. Malet-Prevost, and agents under his direction, will soon be sent to Madrid and The Hague. It is explained that this determination is not due to the alleged discovery of mis-quotations in decrees and treaties already in the commission's possession, but from the conviction that the final decision of the commission ought not to be open to any attack as to the inconclusiveness of the pivotal evidence upon which such decision will in all probability be found to depend.

In the preliminary investigations of the commission they have been confronted with numerous conflicting maps and translations. While geographical discrepancies are within the power of the commission to harmonize through the enormous mass of corroborative charts it commands, the comparative indecipherability and partial illegibility of royal decrees are thought to be matters which necessitate personal and expert examination.

The commission expects to be in possession of the British Blue Book as well as the greater part of Venezuela's case early next week, and in view of this anticipation, Mr. Coudert and President Gilman, who have hitherto spent little time in Washington, will remain here for the present for daily meetings, at which the weighing and comparison of evidence will be prosecuted continuously.

None of the Commissioners has yet had an opportunity to examine the British case, as the only available copy that has reached them was one of the advance edition sent by Ambassador Bayard to the State Department, which may contain typographical or other errors incident to hasty preparation. The regular copies for the commission will arrive here, in all probability, to-morrow evening or Monday next. While access to a State Department copy has been allowed, there has been no opportunity to examine it fully.

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It appears from the Venezuelan official report on the Guiana boundary dispute that the expedition was sent out because Venezuela became alarmed lest the British should attempt to seize the entire Orinoco River and prevent the republic from using the stream in any way. The British Colonial Governor, Viscount Gormanston, had pushed his personal explorations incognito as far as the Venezuelan City or Angostura, or Ciudad Bolivar, 250 miles up the Orinoco, and was most energetic in establishing military outposts through the interior.

The chief of the commission, R. F. Seijas, formerly Venezuelan Minister to England, found everything to confirm the most serious fears of his Government, and only through his energetic protests to the Colonial Governor and the activity of Venezuelan Ministers abroad was the policy of boundary extension temporarily allowed to rest by Lord Salisbury. These extracts from the report, which are verified by accompanying documents, show the state of affairs at the time and give an interesting insight into the methods pursued to populate the country:

In 1883, as Mr. Thurn, Special Magistrate of the Pumarón District, affirms, there was no sign of human habitation at Barima, but there are now more than fifty flourishing English settlements, with the prospect of the number increasing. One hundred and twenty miles from the lower part of the river there was nothing existing at the time mentioned. In December, 1888, he could barely discern the probability of the discovery of gold in the district; but two or three months later it was found in considerable quantities.

Barima and Amacuro, he says, are being populated rapidly. The dailies of the colony published petitions for grants of gold placers at both points, and at the Petoro; speculators organized expeditions; the banks of Georgetown loaned money and advanced it on shipments of gold; the Government provides transportation, and day by day news comes of the discovery of richer gold fields. With all these things, we are threatened with losing also the right bank of the Amacuro, and seeing the English occupying a great part of the banks of the Orinoco; for, upon discovering one single grain of gold on said coast, they will not hesitate a second to take that territory, encourage immigration, and correct maps.

The English, who are very experienced colonizers, are making much profit by the discovery, and have found therein the medium of rapidly populating the usurped lands. Posts which were formerly insignificant are to-day important villages, with a large number of laborers, where there are police agents, fiscal employes, schools, missionaries, and teachers.

The agents of Venezuela have presented to the Venezuelan Commission, among other documents, the official report of the Ministry of the Interior at Caracas to the Ministry of Foreign Relations, dated May 23, 1890, consisting of forty printed pages, covering the radical advances of the British Colonial officers into the disputed territory following the rich discoveries of gold from 1885 to 1890, as investigated by a national commission appointed by Venezuela to make a scientific exploring expedition in Guianan territory.

The elaborate report of this commission is now for the first time disclosed, and shows, according to the testimony of British magistrates and others in the territory, that as late as 1883 no British settlements existed even as far west as the Pumarón River. As late as 1888 the settlements are referred to by the English as the “recently acquired district,” and the Colonial Government is shown to be exerting its authority in every way to rush immigrants into the interior, its success in some degree being shown by these figures of gold exports: 1885, 939 ounces; 1886, 6,518 ounces; 1887, 11,906 ounces; 1888, 14,519 ounces, and for the first six months of 1889, 14,624 ounces.

These documents, and especially those relating to Venezuela’s formal protest against the usurpation, seem to place Viscount Gormanston, Governor of British Guiana, in the light of suppressing the facts, although it is shown that he was in constant communication with Lord Salisbury. Testimony is adduced to demonstrate that the British authorities were most generous to

the Indians, thereby securing access to the gold districts in the interior, deserted by Venezuelans, who were attracted by British blandishments to the coast settlements. The publication has been submitted without argument, Venezuela relying altogether upon the simple statements of facts.

The Venezuelan Minister has been notified by his Government that the first installment of official evidence for the consideration of the High Commission left La Guayra on the steamer Philadelphia, March 10, and is due to arrive in New-York next Tuesday. The documents relate exclusively to the period near the close of the eighteenth century, taken from the royal Spanish archives, and have not heretofore been accessible to Great Britain or, at least, are not quoted in the British Blue Book.

They are put forward to demonstrate the inadmissibility of Dutch claim to any territory west of the Essequibo. A large number of authenticated official maps, covering the same period, are included, none of which has hitherto been produced, as no occasion for their presentation has ever occurred.

Minister Andrade has also been informed that the records of the Venezuelan Legations at Rome, Madrid, London, and Paris contain many documents bearing on the controversy, and these will be placed at the commission's disposition, in a short time, those from Paris, Rome and Madrid in a few weeks.

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**BRITISH VENEZUELA BLUE BOOK**  
**The Evidence of Great Britain in its Contest for Territory**  
**Arranged in a Very Clear Way**

WASHINGTON, March 18.—The British Blue Book on Venezuela has made a favorable impression on the members of the High Commission and others who are studying it in Washington because of the fair appearance it has of presenting the British evidence in such shape that it may be easily verified by reference to the documents quoted and given in full in the 400 solid pages of appendix where the Spanish archives, both translations and original texts, are spread out and referred to in the margins to their sources in Spain, the bundle, shelf, and alcove of libraries being given in many cases.

The pivotal documents on which the main points of the British contention hinge are invariably given in their original language; accompanied by close translations, and while Prof. Pollock's preliminary argument, which has been so widely quoted, makes very sweeping claims, the evidence in support of it is presented clearly on its merits.

As an instance of the care with which even minor points are treated, Document No. 23 may be cited, which is the "Royal Cedula ratifying and approving the agreement made by the missionaries of the Orinoco in 1734, which Señor Calcano urged before Lord Derby in 1876 to support the Venezuelan contention. This document is not only shown in the original, with an almost literal translation, but in a footnote special attention is directed to certain words printed in italics in a Venezuelan work (Spanish) published by order of Gen. Guzman Blanco in 1874, which, on Page 285, quoted the following alleged citation front the cedula:

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To the Capuchins is assigned the territory comprised between the seacoast which extends from the grand mouth of the Orinoco to the colony of Essequibo to Angostura of the Orinoco, from east to west.

The Blue Book demonstrates that the correct quotation is as follows:

There remaining to the Rev. Fathers Capuchins, for the purpose at developing their missions, the territory and district from the same Angostura downward to the grand mouth of the said Orinoco, where they will distribute whatever missions may come to them.

It thus appears that the words "the seacoast which extends from the grand mouth of the Orinoco to the colony of Essequibo to," were interpolated by the Venezuelan agent without warrant, to support the claim to jurisdiction along the coast from the Orinoco to the Essequibo.

The second appendix covers 200 pages, and discloses the correspondence bearing on the subject between the home Government and the colony of British Guiana and Venezuela from 1799 to 1893.

Appendix III is a portfolio containing facsimiles in color of all the essential maps in the case.

The counsel of Venezuela submitted to the Venezuelan Commission this morning a printed brief, presenting a bit of new and apparently conclusive evidence in support of Venezuela's claim. It refers to the map and description of Guiana contained in a two-volume large folio geography prepared by Thomas Myers, Professor in the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich in 1822. The Essequibo is shown as the dividing line between British and Spanish Guiana. Numerous citations are set forth in the brief to show that England at that time recognized the limits now claimed by Venezuela.

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**GUIANA AND VENEZUELA  
BLUNDERS IN BLUE BOOK TO BE CORRECTED BY MEMORANDUM**

WASHINGTON, March 21.—Lord Salisbury has cabled the British Embassy here that a memorandum embodying the correction of minor clerical errors in the argument of the Blue Book on Venezuela will be forwarded for delivery to the United States Government, adding that, while the modifications are of no great importance, they materially add strength to the British statement.

This official announcement from the British Premier directly contradicts the reports published in London papers that the errors discovered in Prof. Pollock's compilation were intentionally made to bolster up a weak cause.

Secretary Mallet-Prevost, for the Venezuelan Commission, this afternoon issued the following statement:

During the last week reports have been industriously circulated to the effect that the commission has reached a decision with reference to the boundary question favorable to Venezuela. This having been denied, the report has been circulated in another form, and it is

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now asserted that, while the commission, as a body, has reached no such conclusion, the Commissioners individually entertain the views referred to.

It must be evident to all that so long as anything remains to be examined and considered the Commissioners are not in a position to form an opinion respecting the merits of the controversy. As a matter of tact, neither the commission nor the individual Commissioners are as yet in possession of all the evidence. The papers presented by Venezuela are but a part of what has been promised.

The Blue Book of the British Government, while remarkably full and detailed, does not include all the documents which may be adduced in support of its contentions. The commission has not and will not limit itself to the consideration of what those two Governments may present. It has been engaged upon independent lines of inquiry, and will continue to follow those lines until all its sources of information shall have been exhausted.

Then, and not until then, will it be in a position to form any opinion or to make any report.

The so-called Uruan incident has been separated from the Venezuelan boundary dispute, and practically terminated, it is understood, through the good offices of the United States, without the representatives of Great Britain and the South American republic coming into direct relations regarding the affair.

This Uruan incident, so called, had at one time a somewhat threatening aspect, but finally developed into comparative insignificance, capable of exceedingly tame adjustment. It is strenuously contended by those most intimately concerned that the incident never had an ultimatum stage, and that there was never any foundation for the report that a British fleet would be called upon to imitate the Corinto demonstration.

While originally the claim presented through the German Legation in November, 1894, was for a violation of the frontier of British Guiana, and therefore inseparable from the boundary controversy, at Secretary Olney's instance Great Britain, a few weeks ago, modified it into a demand similar in effect to that pressed by Italy against the United States on account of the New Orleans riots in 1890, which claim was settled by the payment by President Harrison of a certain sum of money out of the State Department contingent fund.

It is understood that the Uruan demand now simply becomes one for personal damages inflicted upon British property and persons by Venezuelan officials, leaving out of controversy the question whether the occurrence was upon Venezuelan territory as being irrelevant. When Douglas Barnes, the British Guiana constable, was arrested in July, 1894, by Venezuelan soldiers on the right bank of the Cuyuni River, which he had crossed to stop a Venezuelan planter from cutting trees on land which he owned, the Venezuelan Government paid Barnes \$300 or \$400 on account of his imprisonment, which he personally considered as satisfactory.

But when the Colonial Government heard of it, considerable indignation arose in Demerara, and the damages were soon magnified to enormous amounts, which at that period the home Government felt constrained to present as a claim against Venezuela. After two years, however, and in view of the changed aspect of the boundary dispute, the claim has dwindled to \$5,000, and this amount is probably about what Venezuela will shortly pay, with the distinct understanding that it does not affect the title to the territory upon which the arrest occurred.

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### CLOSING DOWN THEIR WORKS Not Willing to Risk Money in the Disputed Venezuelan Territory

WASHINGTON, April 1.—British Guiana papers, dated as late as March 18, which reached the Bureau of American Republics to-day, indicate the abandonment of Great Britain's determination to insist upon retaining all the settlements established by Englishmen throughout the disputed territory should the Venezuela claims be sustained. In regard to these settlements Lord Salisbury wrote Secretary Olney four months ago that under no circumstances could they ever be surrendered to alien jurisdiction. The Georgetown **Chronicle**, however, in its issue of March 18, says:

The public generally, and those interested in mining concerns particularly, have learned with regret that work has been closed down on the properties of the Winter syndicate, the Bartley syndicate, and the Barima Development Company. It is alleged that the reason the properties have decided to adopt this course is because they do not consider that, in the unsettled state of the boundary question, their rights are at present sufficiently secure to justify them in incurring the heavy expenditure which continued prosecution of the work would require.

In another part of the paper a statement from Mr. Connolly, Superintendent of the Barima Company, is published, declaring that he had received instructions from London not to incur any additional heavy expenses until the Government gave grants to the property, "the company's solicitors thinking it would be injudicious in the present position of the Venezuelan boundary dispute to spend money developing property which might be taken from them without compensation." Other superintendents had received similar instructions from London headquarters.

The location of these companies is the richest gold field that has yet been, found in Guiana, and the capital already invested there is greater than in any other locality in the colony.

[2 April 1896]

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### INDEMNITY FOR URUAN AFFAIR Venezuela Expects to Pay for Damages to Great Britain

LONDON, April 1.—**The Times** to-morrow will publish a dispatch from Caracas, capital of Venezuela, saying that, according to a telegram received there from Washington, Great Britain will receive £1,000 indemnity on account of the Uruan incident.

The local press, the dispatch says, condemns the weakness of the Government. The public generally are apathetic upon the subject.

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THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION  
Its Work Believed to be About One-Half Completed

WASHINGTON, April 2.—Justice Brewer presided to-day over the first formal meeting of the Venezuelan Commission that has been held for the past two weeks, having returned from San Antonio, Texas, last night. All the members were in attendance, and, after careful individual study of the British Blue Book, entered into a rigid discussion of its arguments and evidence.

To-day's session was considered the most important so far held by the commission, which is now possessed of all the main features of the contention and the principal points upon which the dispute depends.

The question of sending one or more representatives of the commission to Europe to verify the accuracy of the documents submitted by Venezuela and Great Britain was discussed, and, while no definite action was taken, the indispensability of the examination of Spanish, as well as Dutch, archives was recognized, and no doubt is expressed that a search will soon be ordered. The commission has now been at work three months, and its labors are thought to be about half completed.

In the House to-day Mr. Hitt reported favorably from the Committee on Foreign Affairs the resolution asking the President to transmit to Congress all the correspondence in the Department of State relating to mediation or intervention by the United States in the affairs of Venezuela since Dec. 1, 1895, to date, and the resolution was agreed to.

[3 April 1896]

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VENEZUELA BOUNDARY QUARREL  
English Complaint of Lack of Reply to the Blue Book's Case

LONDON, April 3.—In its issue to-morrow **The Daily News** will complain that Venezuela has made no reply to the British case presented in the Blue Book recently issued.

“The question,” it says, “has become pressing. We are unable to learn whether the American commission has received anything from Venezuela beyond pamphlets narrating resistance to the British claims, while there is entire absence of a case on which to arbitrate.”

**The Daily News** contends that Venezuela has never produced a single proof that she ever possessed jurisdiction over the territory to the eastward of the Orinoco River, but has confined herself simply to protests against alleged British encroachments.

The paper also complains of Venezuela warping Lord Aberdeen's statements made in 1844, for which reason it wonders less at Lord Salisbury's reluctance to arbitrate with such opponents.

[4 April 1896]

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**A DEMERARA REPORT DENIED**  
**Surveying Party Mistaken for an Expedition in Venezuela**

LONDON, April 4.—A news agency denies the statement contained in a recently published dispatch from Georgetown, Demerara, that a British expedition had left that place to establish a new station on the Cuyuni River west of the Schomburgk line, to open a new road to the Yuruan, as a protest against a big grant by the Venezuelan Government to American capitalists in the gold country at the mouth of the Orinoco.

It expresses the opinion that the statement contained in the dispatch referred to originated from preparations by an English surveying party for an inspection of the country between the Yuruni and Cuyuni Rivers, to ascertain whether it is possible to build a road or railway to open up the gold fields.

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**A FAIR SETTLEMENT PREDICTED**  
**Negotiations as to the Venezuelan Matter Promise Good Results**

LONDON, April 5.—**The Chronicle** will say to-morrow that the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States concerning Venezuela are proceeding satisfactorily, and that a solution favorable to all is counted upon with confidence.

**The Times** has received a publication, dated Atlanta, Ga., the cover of which bears the embossed stamp of the Venezuelan Legation at Washington. It is entitled "Official History of the Discussion Between Great Britain and Venezuela on Their Guiana Boundaries." The documents contained in the publication date from 1822.

Commenting upon the work, **The Times** says that all the documents are published in the British Blue Book, except two from Venezuelan representatives to the State Department at Washington. These **The Times** prints. The first is from Señor Lobo, dated Oct. 26, 1893, and the second from Señor Andrade, dated March 31, 1894.

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**THE VENEZUELAN DISPUTE**  
**POSITION TAKEN BY PRESIDENT CLEVELAND JUSTIFIED**  
**This Shown by Facts Well Known in the British Colony—**  
**Probable Neutrality of the Disputed Territory**

**Great Britain Had No Title to the Northwest District and Spain Never Occupied It  
Some Pertinent Points in the Controversy**

*Special Correspondence of The New-York Times*

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana, March 15.—Now that there is a probability of the British Government consenting to submit the question of boundaries between British Guiana and Venezuela to arbitration there is also the likelihood of the main feature in this long-standing dispute being clearly defined. What must be accepted as the premises to any consideration of the British claims in this connection is, What were the Dutch possessions in this territory in 1798? The next, Was the territory in dispute ever occupied or possessed by the Spaniards, or by the Venezuelans as their successors?

There is no doubt that the chief difficulty in connection with this question has been to ascertain what the Dutch actually ceded to Great Britain, but it is equally important to note that it does not necessarily follow that Venezuela has acquired a right to all or any of the territory east of the Orinoco not occupied by the Dutch, and when this has been stated, it should, to every reasonable mind, be sufficient to prove how logical and just was the position taken up by President Cleveland when he stated that the question was one which could only be settled by arbitration.

It has been attempted to prove a great deal by the reproduction of the earlier maps of Guiana; references have been made at considerable length by Mr. Daly, President of the New-York Geographical Society: by Clements P. Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society, and others to ancient charts, but it is most important to note in connection with such cartographical references that maps can only prove claims, not titles, and therefore, while these ancient charts might be interesting, they cannot be accepted as evidence in the settlement of a question of boundaries. The Dutch ceded their possessions to Great Britain.

Important also in this connection is the following extract from an official dispatch, dated from the Governor's residence, Demerara, July 15, 1839, from Gov. Light to the Marquis of Normanby, in which the then Governor of Demerara wrote as follows: "I am enabled to reply to your Lordship's dispatch No. 11, dated 12th March, and to that of your Lordship's predecessor, No. 74, dated 1st December, 1838. I shall observe that there are no documents in the archives of the colony respecting the western or southern limits of British Guiana; the memoir of Mr. Schomburgk is therefore valuable."

In the absence then of any documentary evidence as to the limits of the colony a reference must be made to history, and the historical records of the settlement of the Dutch on the Guianan coast are pretty complete. We know how the Dutch first established a trading post at the Pomeroon, then their settlements on that river, then at Berbice, afterward on the Essequibo, and still later again on the Demerara River. We are told that in 1814 Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo were finally ceded to Great Britain, and there should scarcely be any difficulty in defining the limits of these colonies at that time, or even at an earlier period.

A reference might be made to the Dutch charts of the eighteenth century to prove the extent of the Dutch claims, but this is perhaps unnecessary since Lord Salisbury has stated upon what the British claims are based. Lord Salisbury, in his letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote of date Nov. 26, 1895, says: "The title of Great Britain to the territory in question is derived in the first place from conquest and military occupation of the Dutch settlements in 1796. Both on this occasion and at the time of a previous occupation, in 1781, the British authorities marked the western boundary of their

possessions “as beginning some distance up the Orinoco, beyond Point Barima, in accordance with the limits claimed and actually held by the Dutch, and this has always since remained the frontier claimed by Great Britain.”

But important in this connection is a sentence in Lord Salisbury’s letter to Mr. Olney on this subject, where he says: “Sir Robert Schomburgk did not discover or invent any new boundaries. He took particular care to fortify himself with the history of the case. He had further, from actual exploration and information obtained from the Indians, as at Barima and local traditions on the Cuyuni, fixed the limits of the Dutch possessions and the zone from which all trace of Spanish influence was absent. At the very outset of his mission he surveyed Point Barima, where the remains of a Dutch fort still existed, and placed here and at the mouth of the Amacura two boundary posts.”

It is, perhaps, matter for sincere regret if his Lordship has been so grievously misled upon the actual facts as the above quotations would indicate. Surely the Marquis of Salisbury does not require to be told at this date that his statement with regard to Mr. Schomburgk is scarcely in strict accordance with truth, and that his reference to the Dutch possessions “beginning some distance up the Orinoco” is absolutely without foundation?

Surely, Lord Salisbury could have learned that Robert Schomburgk drew his line from the east bank of the Amacura long before he visited these regions; that Mr. Schomburgk had for his authority for so doing the tradition mentioned by Hartsinck and Humboldt of a Dutch post having existed at Point Barima at one time, and the fact that “le Major von Bouchenroeder’ of the Batavian Republic had marked on his map of Guiana (1798) the “site of an ancient Dutch post,” while it is well known that the gallant Major had not only never visited the district but had never been in Guiana.

True, Capt Thompson had in his map (1781) marked the Barima as the limits of the Dutch possessions according to their claims, but Netscher, who is the best authority on the Dutch possessions in Guiana, says: “If the authorities in Essequibo had thought they had a clear right to the territory up to the Barima, surely they would have placed their furthest frontier post upon that river and not upon the Moruca.”

In point of fact, it is very evident that Schomburgk, in drawing his sketch line from the Amacura, took as his authority for doing so the map of Major von Bouchenroeder, and the latter has been charged by Netscher with having so drawn his line from “a desire on his part to give satisfaction to the national pride of his Government—that of the Batavian Republic.” But then, again, surely the noble Marquis is aware that even “le Major von Bouchenroeder” did not claim the existence of “a Dutch fort,” but rather “the site of an ancient Dutch post,” a mere trading depot or smuggler’s hut, if it even did exist, but which had certainly ceased to exist more than a century before the British had obtained possession from the Dutch. Surely Lord Salisbury knows ere this time that the Dutch never settled in or occupied any territory west of the Moruca?

But since Lord Salisbury states his willingness to rest his case upon the British occupation of the Dutch settlements in 1796, he has narrowed the question down to a point that should not be difficult of solution. The only question then is: What were the Dutch possessions in 1796?

In considering this point, it would perhaps be well to remember that according to the law of nations, a title to a country may be obtained by discovery, by possession, or by occupation; conquest, or treaty with the owners. The rights by discovery alone may be insufficient, as the country maybe held by a people sufficiently powerful to prevent occupation by the discoverers. Only in the case of uninhabited countries can discovery alone constitute a right. And what is certainly important here is that the Dutch obtained their title to what they did hold, by occupation, and,

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therefore, when ceding their possessions, could, and did, only cede what was theirs by such occupation.

It is generally conceded that in the latter part of the eighteenth century the post at the mouth of the Pomeroon, which had been destroyed in 1666, was replaced by one at the Moruca River, and no claim has ever been made to even claim that there ever was a Dutch post further to the westward at any subsequent period. Netscher has made this point particularly clear, though he goes on to state: "We also find in the State archives [Holland] a manuscript map, apparently of about the middle of the eighteenth century, on which the still more westerly river Waini is marked as the boundary, but in no single document of this time do we find any mention made of a post or a garrison further west." And then he goes on to point out that if the authorities had believed they had any right to the territory to the west of the Moruca they would not have marked their furthest frontier post at the Moruca.

The facts connected with the establishment of an outpost at the Moruca are these: During the first occupation by the British referred to by Lord Salisbury, 1781, there was no post at either the Pomeroon or the Monica. The planters had suffered considerable loss by the running away of slaves, and although they had applied for the erection of a post at the Moruca to prevent this, the petition was not granted, as there was "no money in the chest."

During the French occupation, 1782-3, the planters had evidently renewed their application, for in 1784 a small post had been established at the mouth of the Moruca as a watchhouse for runaway slaves.

Had Lord Salisbury desired further evidence as to whether the post at the Moruca was the most westerly point, a reference could have been made to Southey's Chronological History of the West Indies, where it is stated: "On the 19th of January (1797) a party of Spaniards crossed the Orinoko to attack the outpost at Moroko, the most remote point of the colony of Essequibo." (Vol III, p. 121.)

This together with the fact that there is not in the archives of Spain, Holland, or British Guiana any proof of the existence of a Dutch post further west than the Monica, it might be accepted as conclusively proved that "the Moroko was the most remote point of the colony of Essequibo."

But, should the Marquis still retain a doubt as to that point, a reference might be made to the accompanying map, which not only shows what was believed to be the British possessions in the colony of Essequibo in 1858, but which has the further advantage of having been drawn by the Crown Surveyor of the British colony and dedicated to Gov. Light.

What is certainly a most important feature of the map is the details as to the extent of the parishes in the several colonies. And as it is only the other day that an attempt was made to prove that all of the Northwest Territory up to the Barima and Amacura Rivers was within the colony of Essequibo, it is not a difficult matter to prove when the extension was made. The accompanying map certainly proves that in 1858 the colony of Essequibo did not extend beyond the Pomeroon, and for that the Monica would form the natural boundary, and it is probable that Great Britain will never succeed in proving more.

But, on the other hand, it will be none the less difficult for Venezuela to prove any right to the territory from the Moruca to the Orinoco. It is a well-known fact that the Caribs never could and never did tolerate the Spaniards. In every case where a settlement was attempted by the Spaniards east of the Orinoco, the Caribs succeeded in destroying it and driving out the settlers. With the exception of one attempt made in 1530 to settle on the east bank of the Lower Orinoco, (at the Barima,) the Spaniards never settled in what is known to-day as the Northwest Territory of British

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Guiana, and if the Venezuelans have no other authority to break down on this point than Depons, they have a difficult task indeed. Speaking of the conquest of Venezuela by the Spaniards, Depons says: “Of all the conquests made in the New World, in the name of the King of Spain, that of the country in question was the most arduous, tedious, and we may add the most incomplete.” And again, to quote the same writer: “It is, in fact, certain that Spanish Guiana, which in the best charts is made to occupy thirty leagues from the mouth of the Oroonoko to Cape Nassau, never extended so far in that direction; the natives, who have uniformly asserted their independence, and have never been either converted, reduced or subjugated, continue still as free as they were before the discovery of the New World.”

Bancroft says: “The Spaniards, however, have no other possession in this country, except their settlements on the eastern side of the River Oronoque, near the confines of its limits, and, therefore, can hardly be included among the proprietors of Guiana.” It is very apparent that Gumilla was right when he marked the large tract of country from the Orinoco to near the Essequibo, **Naciones no conocidas**.

Is it not probable then that the Northwest Territory is entirely independent? Suppose this to be the case all that is required is either to divide the independent territory midway between the furthest occupation of both parties, to establish a protectorate over the natives, or, if they wish to have a voice in the matter, give them a choice of annexation to either British Guiana or Venezuela.

With regard to the British claims to the basin of the Cuyuni, these are said to rest upon the well-established principles of international law, and, therefore, can be left there, with the remark that, as Venezuela can prove occupation very considerably within the lines of the British claims, little difficulty need be anticipated in that direction.

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THE VENEZUELAN CONTROVERSY  
Ex-Minister Phelps’s Narrow View Not That of the American People

From *Harper’s Weekly*

The speech on the Venezuela controversy which was recently made by ex-Minister Phelps had the very great advantage of clearness and power. It was a weighty utterance, and there is a certain attractive simplicity about the argument that this country ought not to interfere in the affairs of foreign countries except to protect its material interests—itsself. There seems, however, to be something more in the Monroe doctrine than the old rule that every nation has the right to defend itself against the acts of other nations that immediately and directly threaten its material well-being. A nation has the right to protect itself against remote consequences, and to guard against such evil results of international neighborhood as may be reasonably conjectured.

Far example, it is clearly within the right of the United States to insist that no European power shall extend its territorial possessions on this hemisphere, on the ground that the greater the European interests in America the more likely is America to be involved in European complications—such complications, for instance, as result from the propinquity and actual contact

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of European nations in Africa. If Europeans are ever to fight in South America as they now threaten to fight in Africa, or even if the quarrelling between them shall be no more than the uncomfortable bickering that threatens to result in war, but that really never does, the United States will find it difficult, if not impossible, to remain outside of the arena of disturbance. We should almost certainly find ourselves involved in the European controversies against which Washington warned his fellow-countrymen.

To come to particulars, this country has the right to object to the increase of British power in America, and to endeavor to prevent it. No one knows better than Mt. Phelps that England is not a good neighbor to the United States. In fact, Mr. Phelps's writings on the seal question have conveyed to a good many minds the impression that he was almost ready to go to extremes in that controversy. It is perfectly sure that war with Venezuela on the boundary question would be absurd, but it is also true that the United States has the right to say that its interests are threatened by every attempt on the part of a European Government to bring Europe and European complications nearer to us by imposing European institutions upon an unwilling American people. Moreover, this is not only the attitude of the present Administration: it is the attitude of the people of the United States, and it is recognized as a just and proper attitude by the statesmen of both of the great English parties. It is an established fact so far as the English-speaking world is concerned.

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**NO EXECUTIVE ACTION TAKEN  
Meeting of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission and its Work**

WASHINGTON, April 14.—The regular weekly meeting of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission to-day was devoted to the reading of the reports made by the various members on the sub-topics to which they were individually assigned. No executive action was taken, and the question of sending a member or members abroad to collect information was not discussed. It is not likely that this subject will be taken up for some time, as a mass of matter is expected shortly by the commission from the Venezuelan Minister in Washington, which will undoubtedly prove of much value, consisting, as it does, of certified copies of original documents and a number of maps relating to the disputed territory.

For many years the Venezuelan Government has been collecting material from original sources at Rome, Madrid, The Hague, and London, and these documents, as stated in these dispatches some days ago, are now being translated, under the direction of Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister here. Their bearing on the work of the commission is important, in view of their certified authenticity, and a number of them embrace the full text of papers from which extracts only were given in the British Blue Book [which] presented Lord Salisbury's side of the case.

The commission has received from England a notification that errors existing in the Blue Book would be corrected in an additional publication, which will also present the full text of documents only partially given in the original publication. In addition, Mr. Scruggs, ex-Minister of the United States to Venezuela, and counsel for the Venezuelan Government before the commission, has

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furnished more material from Caracas, with maps of the British and Venezuelan possessions, so that the commission has a vast store of material to assist in its deliberations.

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**BLUE BOOK UNRELIABLE  
IMPORTANT EVIDENCE AS TO THE VENEZUELAN CASE SUPPRESSED  
Venezuelan Government Points Out What Seems an Intentional Omission of Part of a  
Document—It Appears that Prior to Schomburgk's Time There Were No Records  
as to the Boundary Line in British Guiana**

WASHINGTON, April 17.—The Venezuelan Government has laid before the High Commission an authentic document secured recently among the official records of the colony of British Guiana which throws grave suspicion upon the accuracy of the Salisbury Blue Book, upon which England expressed a willingness to rest her claim to the disputed territory. This newly found document, in the opinion of those impartially studying the merits of the controversy, calls for a full and explicit explanation from Great Britain to the Parliament for whose accurate information the Blue Book ostensibly was published. The inaccuracies do not appear in Prof. Pollock's argument, but in what purports to be the presentation of all the evidence in the case.

The disclosure relates to Document No. 17, which commences on Page 181 of the official publication, continues over four pages, and amounts to considerably more than a full newspaper column. The document in question is the letter from Gov. Light of the colony to the Marquis of Normanby, dated July 15, 1839, transmitting a report from Schomburgk regarding his travels under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society before the distinguished botanist had been employed by the Government to devise a provisional boundary line. As presented in the Blue Book, this letter opens as follows:

Mr. Schomburgk, employed by the Geographical Society to obtain information in the interior of British Guiana and adjoining countries, who has lately arrived at Georgetown, having furnished me with the annexed memoir and map, I am enabled to reply to your Lordship's dispatch No 11, dated 12th of March, and to that of your Lordship's predecessor. No. 74, dated 1st December, 1838.

Right at this point in the middle of the opening paragraph the British official editors of the evidence have cut out the only matter in the letter that bears upon the merits of the dispute, and have laid themselves open to a charge of garbling an official paper. In the Blue Book the document goes on from this point to speak of other matters irrelevant to the dispute and immaterial to a consideration of the case. The remainder of the paragraph, as well as the second paragraph of the letter, both of which were suppressed without the formality of the usual marks showing that any omission was made, and which are now supplied through Venezuelan channels, were as follows:

I shall observe there are no documents in the archives of the colony respecting the western or southern limits of British Guiana. The memoir of Mr. Schomburgk is, therefore, valuable; it confirms the opinions of the Superintendent of Essequibo, as to the western limits and points out what may be fit subjects for discussion with

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the different Governments whose territories border on British Guiana. The Colombian Government is desirous of ascertaining theirs.

I have had the honor of mentioning in my dispatch No. 105, dated Dec. 17, the predatory excursions of the Brazilians near Fort St Joachim. Mr. Youd, the missionary, has been warned to leave Pirara; the Brazilian authorities have claimed it, and having sent an officer to discover an ancient boundary mark within the limit, it appears he assumed the identity of an isolated stump of a tree with the landmark sought. The limits of this province may be everywhere defined by rivers and chains of mountains more conveniently than by parallels, which may be proved by Mr. Schomburgk's memoir. Under the impression that, as civilization has begun among the aborigines that the British nation alone can protect them, I cannot too strongly urge the immediate decision of the limits of British Guiana

Mr. Schomburgk's merits as a geographer will naturally point him out as a fit person to be employed in any commission for the question of boundary.

The fact here established that there were no documents in the archives of the colony respecting the western or southern limits of British Guiana at that critical period when both Brazil and Colombia were resisting the first encroachments of England, in the opinion of those now studying the question, seriously weakens the British contention, and for that reason apparently there was no hesitation in suppressing it.

The duty of the Venezuelan High Commission is practically to find out whether the limits of British Guiana have been extended since the Monroe doctrine was enunciated in 1823, British Guiana having been ceded to the English by the Dutch in 1814. The confession that in 1839 the colony was without a document bearing upon its southern or western boundary transfers the entire burden of proof upon Great Britain, and is held to invalidate all the British claims which cannot be substantiated fully by Dutch and Spanish records. Under ordinary circumstances the great mass of those archives quoted in the Blue Book might have had great weight with the High Commission, but the discovery of falsification in quoting an English letter has thrown a cloud over all the other pages of the book, and to-day the entire publication is regarded with distrust.

Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister here, is having translated for the commission the report of Don José Digurja, the Spanish Colonial Governor in 1763 to the Crown, which will be presented to the commission in a week or two. The Blue Book gave two and a half pages to this document, which is considered by all concerned the most important extant on the relative limits of Dutch and Spanish territory before England appeared on the scene in South America. The closely written manuscript of this authenticated report, which is now being translated, covers 398 pages, and the commission will be enabled to neglect the British extracts of it and study the complete report.

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GLOOMY VENEZUELA VISION  
American Correspondent of *The Times* Blames Salisbury

LONDON. April 21.—**The Times** will to-morrow publish a long dispatch from G. W. Smalley, its correspondent in America, which is devoted to dispelling the illusions that the Venezuelan boundary dispute has passed a dangerous stage, that the negotiations are prospering, and that the British Blue Book on the subject created a favorable impression in the United States.

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Mr. Smalley says that not one of the foregoing beliefs is well founded. No agreement as to the principles has been reached, and the negotiations are at a standstill. Nobody seems to know when or how they will be renewed or the dead-lock removed. If the American Commission draws the Venezuela boundary adverse to Great Britain's claims the alternative stated in President Cleveland's message will have to be faced.

Mr. Smalley casts the onus for this on Lord Salisbury, who rejected the proposals made by the Washington Government in February, and who does not appear to have made counter proposals. The dispatch dilates upon the reasons for prompt action for, it says, the uncertainties are many, and the perils grave.

**The Times** commenting upon the foregoing, will to-morrow say that it cannot fully share the gloomy anticipations contained in the dispatch although the reminder is not, perhaps, untimely. It contends that Mr. Smalley elsewhere in his dispatch shows that Lord Salisbury has taken other action for opening a discussion of a scheme for general arbitration, to which the paper attaches importance.

It also contends that if the general project fails, Great Britain ought yet to be able with prudence to resume the specific case with Venezuela. The paper remarks upon the good will of the Washington Government testified in Mr. Cleveland's eloquent letter to Consul Parker, the sentiments in which are reciprocated in all circles here.

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### BRITISH PRESS ON VENEZUELA A Variety the of Opinions Expressed on the Boundary Difficulty

LONDON, April 22.—**The St. James's Gazette**, commenting on the dispatch to **The Times** from G. W. Smalley, the correspondent of that paper in the United States, representing that the Venezuelan dispute is still a question of great gravity and cause for alarm, says:

“The revival of the Venezuelan question reminds us that even the wars in Africa are trivial compared with the real danger which has existed in the west since December. The American demand that the United States shall decide our quarrels and settle our frontiers is inadmissible, and no amount of talking around the matter will make it anything else. President Cleveland in his message last December referred everything to a special commission and then, when it was too late, attempted to negotiate. We are now told to be prepared for a report that is hostile to Great Britain. What will happen then?”

“Either the Washington Government will allow the report to remain a dead letter or carry out its threat to enforce a decision by resort to war. There is reason to believe that an attempt will now be made to work up an English feeling in favor of the surrender of our Government. This is vain. Our position is simply that British frontier questions are matters for negotiation only with the parties concerned.”

**The Pall Mall Gazette** says: “The American correspondent of **The Times** seems to be in a state of undue alarm, possibly because Lord Salisbury did not accept his plan of settlement.”

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**The Globe** says: “All the hopes of the weak-kneed of the compliance of Great Britain with the views of the United States are groundless.”

**The Westminster Gazette** says: “Except for a petty **amour propre** there was no reason why Lord Salisbury should have rejected the proposal for a joint commission.”

**The Echo** asks: “Does Lord Salisbury represent the general judgment of the Cabinet? If he does not, he should either acquiesce therein or cease to occupy the offices of Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and give way to the Duke of Devonshire. We should then be in safer hands.”

**The Daily Chronicle** (Liberal) to-morrow will say: “The seriousness of the situation may be gathered from the dispatch sent to **The Times** by its American correspondent. The article will commend the serious spirit in which **The Times** receives Mr. Smalley’s dispatch, and will appeal to Lord Salisbury to settle the trouble and vouchsafe the crowning mercy of a permanent treaty of arbitration with the United States.”

**The Daily News** will say that the alarmist dispatch sent by Mr. Smalley is not justified by the state of the case as known by the Ministers. The **News’s** article will support Lord Salisbury’s attitude respecting the settled districts, and will say it must not be supposed that nothing but Lord Salisbury’s **amour propre** is concerned or that he ought to yield the point immediately because of Mr. Smalley’s impatience.

Nevertheless, the paper will express regret at the delay in the settlement or the questions at issue and urge the Premier to hasten to define the settled districts so that negotiations may be resumed. The **News** will express regret also that the United States Government is not able to agree to Great Britain’s proposed treaty of arbitration.

The **News** will further say that the remarks of United States Ambassador Bayard at Birmingham to-day prove that the existing peaceful relations between Great Britain and the United States will remain unchanged, and pays tribute to the Envoys who have represented the United States in England for years past, saying that the peace and good will expressed in their collected speeches would furnish a whole gospel of international brotherhood, none of them, however, being finer in tone than Mr. Bayard’s.

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QUESTIONS ABOUT VENEZUELA  
Labouchere Is Evaded, but Vernon-Harcourt Is Threatening

LONDON, April 23.—In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Labouchere asked the Government a number of questions in regard to the Venezuelan dispute.

Among them were whether the plan proposed by the United States Government to refer the Venezuelan frontier dispute to a commission composed of two English, two American, and one neutral member, or the Chief Justices of England and the United States and one neutral member, had been declined by Great Britain; whether Venezuela had been excluded from the general scheme of arbitration which Great Britain had submitted to the United States; whether negotiations

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between England and the United States still continue, and whether any agreement is probable before the United States Congress adjourns in May.

In reply to these questions Mr. Curzon, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that negotiations with the United States in regard to Venezuela were still proceeding, but it was not advisable at this time to make any statement on the subject.

Mr. Labouchere asked whether the Government expected a favorable result from the negotiations. Mr. Curzon said that that was unquestionably the hope of her Majesty's Government. Sir William Harcourt said: "I give notice that I will ask a question upon this subject Monday next."

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**GRAVITY OF VENEZUELA AFFAIR**  
*Times's* Correspondent Says He Told the Views of the Executive

LONDON, April 24.—**The Times** will to-morrow publish a dispatch from George W. Smalley, its American correspondent, affirming that the statements contained in his dispatch of Tuesday last are the views of the American Executive. He says that he might have used stronger language without exaggerating the apprehension existing in Washington.

**The Times**, commenting upon Mr. Smalley's dispatch, expresses surprise at the condition of affairs that he sets forth, and argues that Washington is under a misunderstanding.

In the dispatch published by **The Times** on Tuesday last Mr. Smalley said that the illusions that the Venezuelan boundary dispute had passed a dangerous stage, that the negotiations were prospering, and that the British Blue Book on the Venezuelan matter had created a favorable impression in the United States were not well founded.

He added that no agreement as to principles had been reached and that the negotiations were at a standstill. Nobody seemed to know when or how they would be renewed and the dead-lock removed.

If the American Commission drew the Venezuela boundary adverse to Great Britain's claims, the alternative stated in President Cleveland's message would have to be faced. Mr. Smalley puts the onus for this on Lord Salisbury, who had rejected the proposals made by the Washington Government in February, and who did not appear to have made counter proposals.

The dispatch dilated upon the reasons for prompt action, for the uncertainties were many and the perils grave.

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**PROGRESS IN VENEZUELA CASE**  
Balfour's Reply to Harcourt and Conditions in Washington

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LONDON, April 27.—Sir William Harcourt, in accordance with notice given by him April 23, asked the Government what, if any, arrangements had been made to conclude by arbitration a settlement of the differences between the United States and Great Britain in regard to Venezuela.

A. J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, said that arrangements to arbitrate in respect to the Venezuelan and other questions was a matter which both the British and the United States Governments had in view.

The latest communications on the subject which had been received from the United States, Friday, were under consideration. They dealt with the general question of arbitration and the Venezuelan dispute. To give further information concerning the matter, he concluded, would at the present time be inexpedient.

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### Vernon-Harcourt Urges Investigation and Diplomatic Settlement

LONDON, May 5.—Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, spoke at a meeting to-night of the National Liberal Club. . .

Sir William . . . said that a great majority of the people of the United States and Great Britain were eager for an early and peaceful settlement of the Venezuela question. He confessed that he was impatient that a settlement was so long delayed. It was to settle such questions that diplomacy existed. No personal pride or diplomatic obstinacy should be allowed to prevent a settlement.

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### SECOND VENEZUELA BLUE BOOK It Is Not to be Published Until Delivered at Washington

LONDON, May 6.—The announcement is made that a second Blue Book on the Venezuelan matter will be ready of May 13, but that it will not be published until a copy shall have been delivered to the authorities at Washington.

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### PROF. BURR GOING TO HOLLAND To Secure Information for the Venezuelan Commission

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Venezuelan Commission's chief historical expert, Prof. George L. Burr will sail for Holland to-morrow to investigate the Dutch records bearing upon the Guianan boundary dispute. Prof. Burr, who holds the Chair of History at Cornell University, has been in Washington for the past two months developing evidence relating to Dutch claims in South America. He is said to have extraordinary personal qualifications for the researches he is to make at The Hague, Middleburg, Amsterdam, and other cities of the Netherlands, where documents are believed to exist which cannot fail to influence the final decision of the commission.

In the British Blue Book, nearly all the allusions to Dutch records are given in a general way, without precise reference to the volume or archives where they can be found and verified or amplified. As that parliamentary publication also fails to give copies of important documents that in all likelihood are extant, as they are referred to by many historical writers, the commission has deemed it advisable to have Prof. Burr make an exhaustive examination of all the evidence upon which many Blue Book arguments rest. Prof. Burr's studies with the commission developed a

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number of statements by both English and Dutch claiming to be based upon original records, and an attempt will be made to settle beyond a doubt many discrepancies and inconsistencies, or to find explanations for them. In sending this expert abroad, the Venezuelan Commission gives notice that it does not propose, to base its findings of fact in the dispute upon any authorities, however eminent, but to go back to the source from which those authorities derived their information or claimed to have done so, and ascertain with certainty the real facts.

Prof. J. Franklin Jameson of Brown University has been here for the past week, pursuing a course of study similar to that of Prof. Burr, among the vast amount of documents, books and maps that have been collected. The commission is now looking forward to the receipt of the supplementary Blue Book, which is promised for next week, and which is expected to contain unedited copies of all the documents quoted in the first book, which, by their incomplete condition and the suppression of portions favorable to Venezuela caused such unfavorable comment. Soon after this paper appears, an expert, similar to Prof. Burr, will probably be sent to Spain. The original documents from Venezuela's claim are still in process of translation, and may not be presented to the commission for several weeks.

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**VENEZUELA AGREES TO PAY  
She Does Not Consent, However, to Apologize to Great Britain**

CARACAS, Venezuela, May 18.— The Venezuelan Government has agreed to pay the £1,600 demanded by Great Britain for the Uruan incident, (the arrest and imprisonment of a British police officer,) on condition that it is considered simply as indemnity for personal damages, and not as affecting the boundary dispute.

The Venezuelan Government, however, has not consented to make a public apology to Great Britain as a prerequisite to the resumption of diplomatic relations, though it is understood that the United States, in carrying out its friendly purpose as an adviser of Venezuela, counseled that this condition should be complied with, in accordance with the terms of the British demand.

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**BRITISH GUIANA ADVERTISED  
One Result of President Cleveland's Message on Venezuela**

WASHINGTON, May 23.—Advices from British Guiana just received by the Bureau of American Republics indicate that the colonists are deriving considerable comfort from the fact that President Cleveland's message to Congress on Venezuelan affairs has given British Guiana much valuable advertising. It is claimed that where even Englishmen a year ago knew of Demerara only as

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a place where sugar came from, they had their attention attracted to it immediately after the appointment of the Venezuelan Commission, and the varied resources of the colony were made familiar to everybody, with the effect of attracting immigration and capital.

One of the Georgetown papers, referring to this matter, discloses a State secret. **The Georgetown Chronicle** declares that at the height of the excitement Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies, “set on foot a scheme to colonize the frontier, so that actual occupation might be added to the numerous indisputable claims to control the territory in the northwest of the colony.” “We know,” says **The Chronicle**, “that he forwarded to the Colonial Government an offer made by a syndicate of home capitalists of whose bona fides he was thoroughly convinced.” It seems that leading colonists who were consulted privately in the matter did not think the terms of Mr. Chamberlain’s syndicate were liberal enough, and the matter was dropped. The significant fact developed by these statements is that just when the British Prime Minister was giving official assurances to the United States as to England’s intention in the Venezuelan matter the Colonial Secretary was apparently fostering a scheme which did not exactly accord with Lord Salisbury’s assurances.

The latest Guiana papers give information respecting the alleged violation of Venezuelan customs laws by the schooner *New Day*, which incident it was feared at one time would lead to a British ultimatum. It is now admitted, as stated in **The United Press** dispatches at the time, that British Guiana claims and the boundary controversy were not affected by the incident, but that the vessel’s cargo was destined for Venezuelan territory for which an Englishman friendly to President Crespo’s Government held a Venezuelan concession.

**The Georgetown Daily Chronicle** contains the following:

Respecting the statements that have recently been published to the effect that her Majesty’s steamship *Cordella* was to enter the Orinoco to release the schooner *New Day*, and that she would be opposed in her errand by the Venezuelan forces, a Trinidad contemporary understands that this is the result of complications arising out of the grant by the Venezuelan Government of the old Manoa concession. Mr. Turnbull, an Englishman, is the concessionaire of iron-mining rights in the Imotaca region. He had some mining machinery and plant brought out here, (to Trinidad,) and it was placed on board the schooner *New Day*, a British vessel trading among the islands, to be taken up the Orinoco. By the Venezuelan law a vessel cannot be engaged in the coasting trade along the Main unless it is flying the Venezuelan flag. The schooner committed irregularities in landing the machinery at some port up the Orinoco. It should have gone right up to Ciudad Bolivar and had the cargo passed, and then brought it back and discharged it. As a result of the irregularity, the machinery and a steam launch were seized by the authorities and the schooner held. Mr. Turnbull is now in Caracas, trying to obtain the release of the schooner and cargo.

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IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS  
Great Britain Still Negotiating on the Venezuela Question

LONDON, June 11.—In the House of Commons to-day Right Hon. George N. Curzon, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated in reply to an interrogation by Mr. Thomas R. Buchanan, Scotch Liberal, that the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States upon the

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Venezuelan question would proceed, but that the Government could not make any further statement in regard to the matter at present.

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**VENEZUELA TAKES ACTION  
A Force of Her Troops Enters the Disputed Territory**

KINGSTON, Jamaica, June 17.—According to advices received here, the territory in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela has been entered by a force of troops from the latter country.

The Venezuelan soldiers compelled a party of British surveyors, who were at work in the district, to suspend operations.

The surveying party retreated and appealed to the authorities for support.

LONDON, June 17.—Official reports have been received at the Foreign Office of an incursion into British Guiana by Venezuelan troops.

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**THE BRITISH ARE AROUSED  
Venezuela's Incursion into the Disputed Territory the Cause**

LONDON, June 18.—**The St. James's Gazette** says that the Colonial Office is taking a very serious view of the incursion of Venezuela, into the disputed territory.

“It is impossible,” the paper adds, “to permit the boundary decision to be anticipated by forcible violations of the frontier, and it is hoped that the Government at Caracas will explain and apologize; otherwise, it may be necessary for England to take strong measures.”

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. George N. Curzon, Under Foreign Secretary, stated that the Government would continue its efforts to expedite the settlement of the Venezuela dispute by some form of arbitration, and would shortly lay upon the table of the House the papers regarding the negotiations in that direction.

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**LOOKING TOWARD ARBITRATION  
Great Britain Willing to Accept It in the Venezuelan Case**

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LONDON, June 19.—The Foreign Office officials deny the truth of the report that a conflict has taken place between Venezuelans and the British at Point Barima, in the disputed territory of Guiana. The Foreign Office is not informed that there has been any trouble in the disputed territory whatever.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. George N. Curzon, Under Foreign Secretary, stated that Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador at Washington, had been authorized to receive and report any proposals that might be made to him by the representative of Venezuela in Washington in regard to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. The representative of Venezuela in Washington had been so informed, but so far, Mr. Curzon said, he had not made any proposals.

Negotiations between Great Britain and the United States, Mr. Curzon continued, were in progress for an agreement upon a treaty of arbitration. With reference to the frontier question, he said, as far as the Government was concerned, the failure to settle the difficulty with Venezuela had not offered any obstacle in the way of the conclusion of the general arrangements respecting arbitration, which the Government hoped to see completed.

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**ARRESTED BY THE VENEZUELAN**

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana, June 22.—It is learned here that Mr. Harrison, a British official, while overseeing a number laborers who were employed in making a road from Barima to Cuyuni, was arrested on June 15 on an order from Caracas and taken to the Venezuelan station opposite Yuruan. The arrest has caused much excitement among the British there, who look to Great Britain to take immediate action in the matter.

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**MR. HARRISON'S ARREST**

**MORE TROUBLE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA**

**One English Paper Calls on the Government to Take Vigorous Action at Once—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, Thinks the Incident Has Been Greatly Exaggerated—May Interfere with the Settlement of the Uruan Case**

KINGSTON, Jamaica, June 23.—The report received here from Georgetown, British Guiana yesterday, that Mr. Harrison, the chief of a British Guiana surveying party which was engaged in constructing a road from Barima to Cuyuni, was arrested on June 15, by orders from Caracas, and conveyed to the Venezuelan station opposite Yuruan, is confirmed by advices received here this morning from several sources.

LONDON, June 23.—The Government has received a cablegram from Georgetown, British Guiana, confirming the report of the capture by the Venezuelans of the British civil engineer Harrison, who is now detained at the Venezuelan station opposite Yuruan.

**The St. James's Gazette** this afternoon publishes an article upon the arrest of Mr. Harrison, the British official, who, on June 15, while at the head of a number of engineers and laborers engaged in making a road from Barima to Cuyuni, was arrested upon an order from Caracas and conveyed to Venezuelan territory. **The Gazette** vigorously prods the Government, and demands to know how long they will continue to endure the insolence of the Government at Caracas out of regard for the susceptibilities of the Government at Washington.

WASHINGTON, June 23.—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, though still without official advices concerning the reported arrest of the British surveyor, Harrison, in the disputed territory along the Cuyuni River, expresses confidence that the importance of the affair will be found to have been considerably magnified. He calls attention to the fact that the Venezuelan post on the Cuyuni is connected with Caracas by telegraph, the Government lines extending through all that portion of the country which had not up to the past year been occupied by British colonial police. In his opinion it would be by this means alone that the alleged occurrence of June 15 could have so soon reached the outside world, and as all the publications emanate from Georgetown via London, he is sure that the arrest must have taken place very early this month, as over a week would be consumed in getting the news by river to Georgetown.

Moreover, declares Mr. Andrade, the reported arrest is wholly unlike the affair known as the Uruan incident, for which Venezuela was willing to make reparation without apology. On the Uruan, year before last, Venezuelan soldiers crossed the river where the British were cutting wood, and dragged off a colonial policeman into Venezuelan territory, while in the latest case the arrested man was not an officer and was on land concededly under Venezuelan authority pending the boundary settlement.

The Minister thought he would naturally hear if any representations regarding the affair had been made by Great Britain, but he had not yet heard of any. Nor did he believe any complaint could stand when all the reports agreed that the affair occurred in territory which had never been occupied by the British, but had all along been in the peaceful possession of his own Government.

It is probable that this latest episode may complicate the final settlement of the Uruan incident. The settlement of this affair was left with Sir Julian Pauncefoot and Señor Andrade, the representatives, respectively, at Washington of Great Britain and Venezuela. The delay in reaching a satisfactory adjustment of the case has been caused by the great length of time necessary for the exchange of correspondence. Communications, for example, addressed by Sir Julian to Mr. Andrade, were forwarded through the slow medium of the mails to Caracas. As the Latin-Americans are never disposed to act hastily in matters even of the greatest importance, several weeks would ordinarily elapse before Mr. Andrade received a reply from his Government. When this was communicated to Sir Julian a further delay of a fortnight or more would occur before the latter could be made acquainted with the wishes of the London Foreign Office.

Some months ago Venezuela expressed a willingness to pay the indemnity. She has also transferred the military commander in whose department the incident occurred to another post. The Venezuelans object to any further concessions believing that these should sufficiently satisfy Great Britain of their intention to act fairly in the premises. Great Britain, as has been previously stated in these dispatches, demands an apology, and at this point the negotiations are dead-locked. What effect the more recent incident will have upon the final settlement can only be conjectured, but it is

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obvious from the utterances of the British press that they will now be more insistent upon an apology than ever.

The British Ambassador, on account of this and other pending matters of importance, has not been able to leave for Newport, as it was his intention to do before the Summer had so far advanced this year. It is deemed probable that some important arbitration developments in the line of the recent statement of Mr. Curzon to the British Parliament may soon occur, but on this subject no information can be obtained either from the British Embassy or Secretary Olney, and the Venezuelan Minister asserts that he is without advices on the subject.

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### Appointments in British Guiana

COLON. June 23.—Advices received here from Georgetown, British Guiana, are to the effect that **The Demerara Official Gazette** publishes an ordinance appointing certain Indians in the interior Captains and Constables, with a uniform commission and salary. The object is to check the encroachments of neighbors. The new artillery that was mounted for the defense of Georgetown has been tried in the presence of the Governor, Sir Augustus Hemming.

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### THE VENEZUELA COMMISSION Each Member Will Continue His Work During the Summer

WASHINGTON, June 23.—The Venezuelan Government has presented to the Venezuelan Commission the second volume of its certified copies of Spanish archives bearing upon the boundary dispute, and has promised the third and concluding volume in a few days.

These books consist of about 300 printed pages each, and are so exhaustive of the material believed to exist among Spanish historical records that the commission has concluded from their examination that it will be superfluous in all probability to send agents to Madrid for original research, as it was at first thought to be necessary. It will trust entirely to the British blue books and the Venezuelan documents, and it is believed that neither Government has overlooked any evidence at Seville or Madrid.

The commission is expecting further important results from the investigation of its representatives in Holland and Rome, and has decided in view of the character of evidence now being developed not to attempt to reach definite conclusions on the many points at issue with unnecessary haste, but to wait a few months longer before arriving at a decision on the dispute. All the members will continue their studies of the evidence, and the reports which have been presented

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by the commission experts, and although separated much of the time from their colleagues, will each be in close touch with their office at Washington during July and August.

Justice Brewer has already gone to Lake Champlain and Prof. Gilman to North East Harbor, Me. Both have their secretaries with them and expect to accomplish more work in the next month or so than could be done in Washington during the heated term. Prof. Andrew D. White is now at Ithaca and Judge Alvey is at Hagerstown, Md. They have agreed to meet the other members at any time during the Summer that a consultation may be thought desirable, and it is probable that such a meeting will be had next month at Boston.

Secretary Mallet-Provost will be in Washington at least twice a month during the Summer, and will be in constant communication with the Commissioners. The clerical force will be busily engaged in keeping up the records, reports, and map work not yet completed. Commissioner Coudert is the only member who will go abroad, and he will visit Rome to examine and report upon an interesting collection from the Vatican affecting the case.

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**MEDIATION NOW THE WAY  
GREAT BRITAIN SEEKS UNITED STATES INFLUENCE IN VENEZUELA  
Departing from the Ultimatum Methods Formerly Employed, the British Government Asks  
the Good Offices of the State Department to Secure Crown Surveyor Harrison's Release—  
Arrested for Working in Disputed Territory**

LONDON, June 24.—A representative of The United Press was informed at the Foreign Office to-day that the Government would certainly take immediate and energetic measures to obtain the release of Mr. Harrison, the British surveyor who was recently arrested in British Guiana and is now detained at the Venezuelan station, opposite Yuruan. The British Government's action, the Foreign Office authorities added, would probably be taken through the offices of the United States Government.

WASHINGTON, June 24.—As soon as Secretary Olney returns to the State Department, where he is confidently expected to-morrow, he will receive from Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador a request from the British Government to use his good office with Venezuela to secure the release from imprisonment of Crown Surveyor Harrison, who is reported to have been arrested by Venezuelan police while he was engaged in constructing a road connecting the Barima and Cuyuni Rivers in the disputed territory. This action of Great Britain is considered in diplomatic circles a radical departure from the ultimatum methods hitherto practiced on American republics, and much significance it attached to this fact as probably indicating the considerable progress made toward an arbitration agreement, and the practical acknowledgment that the United States is a party in interest in the Venezuelan dispute as well as in future controversies regarding territory on the American Continent

While it is universally admitted that the new incident is exceedingly unfortunate just at this juncture, there is great diversity of opinion in fixing the blame. Even the British Government has the

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most indefinite knowledge of the exact locality where the arrest took place, although it is claimed that the surveying party had no authority to go outside of territory occupied exclusively by Englishmen for the last ten years.

No official knowledge of the arrest has yet been received at the Venezuelan Legation, where confidence is expressed that the Venezuelan Government would have sent a notice of the affair, perhaps for the information of the United States Government, the moment the facts became known at Caracas. The Venezuelans, however, find considerable satisfaction in the information that Great Britain will appeal to Secretary Olney in the matter, as indicating that it is not considered of so serious a nature as at first apprehended. They place the whole blame for whatever has occurred on Joseph Chamberlain's aggressive colonial policy. They point to the fact that under date of Dec. 19, 1894, they complained to Secretary Gresham of the proposed road, upon which Surveyor Harrison was employed, and called attention to the fact that as the route lay in Venezuelan territory a conflict would be unavoidable. One paragraph of that letter reads:

The persistency of the British Government in excluding from arbitration all that portion of the territory which it has held for years rendered the action of the last Commissioner of Venezuela to England null and void: rendered inefficacious the good intentions of the Executive of the republic, and stimulated the ambition of certain agents of the colony who have in view nothing but the pleasing prospect presented by a territory exceedingly rich in natural resources.

Some of them on Oct. 24 last procured the introduction in the legislative chamber of Demerara, of a proposition looking to the construction of a road which is to unite the upper Barima with the Cuyuni, which involves a fresh project for the unlawful appropriation of Venezuelan territory, and the manifest tendency of which is to increase the difficulty of reaching a peaceful settlement of the controversy. The Secretary of the Government requested that the proposition should be postponed until he could consult the Colonial Department, and, what was still more important, obtain its approval of an application for power to raise a large loan from which could be taken the amount necessary to open the proposed road. The Government of Venezuela, through its Consul at Demerara, advised the Governor of the colony that the execution of the project would undoubtedly bring about a collision with the Venezuelan authorities in that region, and would be the cause of further embittering a controversy which it is important to both parties to put on a more friendly footing.

This appeal was effective for the time being. The road was abandoned until in August last year, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, sent to British Guiana his call for the colony to raise funds for machine guns, an increased police force, and the construction of the Barima Road. This was resisted by the Colonial Legislature, with the exception of defense armament, until the arrival of the new Governor from England, a few months ago, when they were induced to appropriate the money or a survey the road.

Venezuelans now claim that the responsibility rests wholly with Great Britain after the warning that went to the Foreign Office through colonial as well as through United States channels. It is contended at the Legation here that the Venezuelan authorities who made the arrest must of necessity have been in their own territory, as they are not permitted to cross the frontier under any circumstances.

The two English ports are on the right bank of the Cuyuni and the left bank of the Amacura. Those of Venezuela are directly opposite them, and this status quo has been rigidly observed by the Venezuelans. In their opinion Harrison must have been arrested within the Venezuelan line, and only after warning to keep out. The Venezuelans to a man also are aware that they have everything to gain by peaceful methods, and it is incredible to their friends here that they could have so disobeyed orders as to break the status quo. It is said, however, that if Secretary Olney calls on

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Venezuela in response to Great Britain's request, that a full report will undoubtedly be forthcoming as soon as the Caracas authorities can investigate.

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GREAT SATISFACTION IN ENGLAND  
The British Press Speak Well of the United States and Venezuela

LONDON, June 26.—**The Chronicle**, commenting on the statement that Venezuela had ordered the release of Crown Surveyor Harrison, will to-morrow say that President Crespo acted gracefully and wisely. It adds that the incident has done good in showing that Great Britain and America are now on such terms that the former can request the good offices of the latter when Venezuela misbehaves.

**The Post** will say it is not an altogether comforting reflection that Mr. Harrison's release was due to the influence of the United States, although under the peculiar conditions of the case there was no very evident alternative to seeking American intervention.

**The Standard** will say that it was better for all parties that Mr. Harrison's release was effected through the friendly offices of the United States than by a direct peremptory demand addressed to Venezuela. The incident encourages the hope that it will lead to a settlement of the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

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ENGLAND ASKS OUR ASSISTANCE  
The Government Requested to Settle the Trouble over Harrison's Arrest

WASHINGTON June 25.—Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, called on Secretary Olney to-day and, it is understood, presented a request from his Government that Mr. Olney would use his good offices to bring about a friendly settlement of the trouble over the arrest of Harrison, the British surveyor, by Venezuelan police. Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, was another caller, and presumably came on the same business that brought Sir Julian.

Secretary Olney said this morning that he was not yet aware of any decision of the British Government to make public the correspondence between her Majesty's Ministers and the State Department, relating to an agreement of arbitration synchronous with its publication in the United States. . .

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MR. HARRISON RELEASED  
VENEZUELA ACTS PROMPTLY IN ORDERING HIS FREEDOM  
No Doubt, However, that He Was Prosecuting His Surveying Work on Venezuelan  
Territory—His Location Was Not in the Disputed British Territory—The Incident  
Likely to Induce England to Submit to Arbitration

WASHINGTON, June 26.—Minister Andrade at noon to-day received the following cablegram and immediately sent a copy to Secretary Olney:

CARACAS, June 26.—Rojas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Venezuelan Minister at Washington:

It was yesterday when the National Commissary of Cuyuni telegraphed occurrence. Harrison and nineteen others crossed to the left bank of the Cuyuni to open a road. The Sub-Commissary of Acarabesi protested in writing. Harrison insisted, and the Sub-Commissary took him to the post of El Dorado. As soon as the Government was informed thereof, it ordered the release of Harrison and asked details.

The post, El Dorado, referred to in the cablegram, is directly across the river from the British station of Uruan. The dispatch confirms the impression that the Venezuelans were not at fault, and that the status quo observed for several years was broken by the Harrison surveying party. Secretary Olney will notify Sir Julian Pauncefote of Harrison's prompt release and the circumstances under which he was arrested.

Señor Rojas's dispatch announcing Harrison's release relieved State Department and diplomatic circles of the tremendous tension they have been under for several days, notwithstanding the prevailing confidence that the blame would not be found to rest altogether with the Venezuelans. The main question, which is understood to have caused Secretary Olney most concern, was the exact location of Harrison's defiance of the written Venezuelan protest. All doubts on this point were set aside when the geographical experts consulted decided that the proposed line of road from the upper Barima to the Cuyuni, where the surveying party was stopped, was clearly west of the Schomburgk line, and therefore in territory which the British had hitherto refrained from violating.

The Acarabesi River and the Schomburgk line are identical at and near the Cuyuni, the Venezuelan district in which the arrest was made being named for the river. A number of Englishmen and Americans are engaged in mining and other pursuits in this district, but they recognize Venezuelan jurisdiction and operate under Venezuelan licenses. The British Guiana police militia has not attempted to exercise authority in the district.

It is thought among officials that, in view of the latest developments, public clamor in England against the Venezuelans will promptly subside, and that in a spirit of fair play the authorities of the South American republic will be treated hereafter with much greater respect. Under such circumstances, confidence is expressed that the incident will give a strong impetus to the movement in favor of settling the whole question by arbitration, instead of undoing all that had been accomplished through Secretary Olney's firm and persistent demand that all boundary disputes on the American Continent must be included in any general arbitration treaty between England and the United States.

Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, had an interview with Secretary Olney this afternoon, presumably on that point.

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**SURVEYOR HARRISON'S ARREST  
He Was Working in Territory Never Before Claimed by Venezuela**

LONDON, June 27.—As might be supposed, the arrest of Crown Surveyor Harrison by Venezuelans, on what is claimed to be British territory, caused many energetic newspaper protests and demands that immediate action be taken to compel his release. A British official of Guiana, who is home on leave of absence, has supplied the Government with information regarding the locality where the arrest was made, and has thrown considerable light on the matter.

The place where the trouble occurred is Aacarabisi Creek, between the Barama and Cuyuni Rivers. Until seven years ago the country thereabouts was covered with primeval forest. It was then placed in charge of Mr. Thorn, a Government agent, and a complete chain of stations was formed throughout the region, the area of which is 10,400 square miles. Farming grants were opened out, and are now well scattered along the banks of the Barama River, which is not to be confounded with the Barima River, the former for all its course being to the mouth of the Barima. The territory is to the eastward of the provisional line, within which, according to Lord Salisbury, no question of title can be admitted.

Gold was discovered in the region, and the metal has already been taken to Georgetown in surprising quantities. Mr. Thorn still administers the territory, with the assistance of a staff, which includes a Magistrate, physicians, Collector of Taxes, police, and mine officers. Three public hospitals have been erected, at Morajhana, Arakuka, and Baramanni. A weekly steamer runs to Georgetown, and steam launches ply on both the Barama and Barima Rivers. Venezuela has done nothing to develop the country, which appears to a certain class of Englishmen to give Great Britain a clear title to the region. It is true however, that the Venezuelans did not seek to interfere with the colony until it was learned that gold had been discovered, trading developed, and that the settlers were prosperous.

The official declares that the delay in the settlement of the boundary dispute is proving ruinous. Surveyor Harrison, he adds, is a cool-headed officer. Before he was appointed to Guiana he was in the service of the Canadian Government, and took part in the suppression of the Riel rebellion.

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**VENEZUELA AND GREAT BRITAIN  
State Department Officials Irritated over Their Troubles**

WASHINGTON, July 2.—State Department officials do not conceal a certain irritation in discussing the latest phase of the Venezuelan boundary dispute with Great Britain, growing out of the recent arrest of Mr. Harrison's engineering party by the Venezuelan troops.

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The department was informed to-day that the arrest of the English engineers was without justification, inasmuch as they were strictly within the limits of the territory held by the British for more than ten years. This raises a question as to the accuracy of the reports received through Venezuelan channels, which were that the British were trespassers on Venezuelan soil. Advices received to-day state that the arrest occurred at the confluence of the Acarabise River, at a point east of the Schomburgk line.

That the engineers were promptly released is a circumstance which is not sufficiently satisfying to the British Foreign Office, if its sentiment be properly reflected in the London press. The English Government will demand an apology and a money indemnity before the incident shall be regarded as closed. Coming as it does at a time when the Uruan difficulty of a year ago was in a fair way of settlement, it complicates the situation, and will undoubtedly delay that harmonious adjustment of relations between Venezuela and Great Britain which is considered a necessary precedent of the boundary dispute.

The Venezuelan Legation is without later advices from Caracas than those printed in these dispatches several days ago. But the State Department has used the cables freely in communicating with the United States Minister at the Venezuelan capital, and it is not doubted that the embarrassments which this country must suffer in connection with the matter have been made clear to President Crespo.

The Venezuelan Government has been flatly informed that Great Britain will not be satisfied with the payment of a small sum of money as compensation for the arrest at Sergt. Barnes and several of his subordinates a year ago, which has now become a part of the diplomatic history of the two countries, and is known as the "Uruan incident." President Crespo has been informed that the punishment of the commander of the department in which the arrest occurred, and the payment or the indemnity, must be followed also by an apology which will go further than all other considerations combined.

The Venezuelan contention is that an apology would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of Great Britain's ownership of the territory in question, notwithstanding it was east of the Schomburgk line. To this the British reply that if the Venezuelans did not know they were in the wrong, they would have given Lord Salisbury no satisfaction whatever. In other words, if Venezuela is willing to punish the officer responsible for the arrest and pay the indemnity for the indignity imposed upon them, it is proper that they should make a complete reparation, which would include an apology also. It is Venezuela's refusal to make this apology that has lengthened the delay in closing the incident.

The correspondence between the State Department and the British Foreign Office with reference to a treaty of arbitration between the two Governments will not be made public before the next fortnight. While the correspondence is practically finished, there are yet several important letters in transit which must be received and answered before it is deemed desirable that all the communications bearing on the subject shall be given to the press. Those who are familiar with the correspondence assert that its tone is most friendly, and that it indicates a disposition on both sides to agree to some convention which will relegate Anglo-American disputes to a friendly board of arbitration. The draft of the convention can be quickly prepared, and it is expected, if the correspondence shall show both Governments predisposed to such a settlement of their disagreements, that it will be drawn before Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote leave the city on their annual vacations, which, this year at least, they richly deserve, since the last twelve months has found them continually at their desks, with scarcely a day's recreation.

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**A TREATY OF ARBITRATION**  
**The Correspondence Between This Country and Great Britain**

WASHINGTON, July 9.—Another delay has occurred in making public the correspondence of the State Department and the London Foreign Office relative to the new Anglo-American treaty of Arbitration. It is purposed under this treaty to refer all matters of dispute to a friendly board of arbitrators. It was expected that the correspondence bearing upon the subject, which has been in progress for some months, would be given to the press this week.

There are, however, important letters in transit which must first be answered before this is done. It was announced to-day at the State Department that the correspondence would not be made public before the 19th inst. It is explained that there are many letters yet to be written before the complete understanding is reached.

The importance of the subject is such that it is deemed advisable to publish the correspondence at this stage of the proceedings, in order that both countries may understand how well their diplomatic representatives are succeeding. The utmost confidence is expressed at the State Department that the successful preparation of such a treaty will result from the efforts which are now being made. The correspondence may not be closed before late Autumn, but it is not doubted that when this conclusion is reached the way will be fully prepared for the drafting of an arbitration treaty which will be satisfactory to both countries, and forever preclude the possibility of war between the English-speaking nations.

With the publication of the correspondence, Secretary Olney and the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, will leave the city on their annual vacations. This will not necessarily delay the exchange of whatever letters may be written before the correspondence is complete, but it will afford to each a brief session of much needed rest.

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**THE TREATY OF ARBITRATION**  
**Diplomatic Correspondence with Great Britain to be Published**

WASHINGTON, July 16.—Decidedly the most interesting recent event in diplomatic circles will be the publicity given in Great Britain and the United States on Saturday next to the correspondence between the two countries with reference to a treaty of arbitration. The exchange of letters between Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury has been effected through the British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Julian Pauncefote. While the correspondence has been in progress for nearly half a year, the number of important letters which have passed has been comparatively

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limited. What it is lacking in numbers, however, is more than made up in the length of some of the communications, and the whole, if published, would fill many columns of print.

The correspondence covers two points—first, with reference to a general treaty of arbitration, and, second, the final disposition of the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. It is said at State Department that, if the treaty of arbitration be agreed upon, it will not only simplify but materially aid the settlement of the Venezuela dispute. The tone of the correspondence is most friendly, and it shows the progress that has been made with reference to arbitrating all differences between the great English-speaking nations. It is made public at this time in order that British and American citizens may see for themselves what progress is being made, but it is not definitive. There are numerous concessions yet to be made before a substantial agreement can be reached.

Secretary Olney has been very insistent upon certain points, to some of which the British Government has yielded a reluctant consent, but upon others there is a wide divergence of opinion. It is still hoped that a middle course will be found upon which both Governments can agree, so that the treaty may be framed early next Winter and laid before the Senate in time for favorable action before its adjournment in March next.

It is expected that Secretary Olney will leave Washington for his Summer outing shortly after the publication of the correspondence. The British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, and the Venezuelan Minister, Señor Andrade, will both take their departures at the same time, as neither, in view of the complications between the three countries, can absent himself from Washington until the Secretary sets the example.

Titer British Government, so far as can be learned, is not likely to attach any serious importance to the arrest of the Crown surveyor, Mr. Harrison, in Venezuela last month. The London Foreign Office has ordered an investigation, and an explanation will be demanded of President Crespo, but it is not believed that it will complicate the settlement of the boundary dispute. That matter has gone so far and is regarded as of such importance that occurrences of this character, irritating as they necessarily are to British sensibilities, are received as a natural consequence of such contentions. So far as the Uruan incident (the arrest of Sergt. Barnes and other members of the British colonial police a year ago) is concerned, there are no new developments. Great Britain insists upon an apology in addition to a money indemnity. It is not certain that this apology will be made, although all the correspondence on the subject shows that the Venezuelan Government deprecates the occurrence. State Department officials indulge the hope, therefore, that under these circumstances and in the interest of a harmonious settlement of the boundary dispute Venezuela may make greater concessions than would ordinarily be the case.

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ARBITRATION YET FAR OFF  
THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND ARE UNABLE TO AGREE  
Lord Salisbury Suggests a Plan and Secretary Olney Makes a Counter-Proposal – Result of  
Negotiations Thus Far Shown by the Published Correspondence—Differences Which Now  
Stand in the Way of Agreement

*May – July 1896*

WASHINGTON, July 17.—The efforts of the United States and Great Britain to agree upon a general arbitration treaty for the settlement of all controversies, through the establishment of a permanent tribunal, as well as the progress of diplomatic negotiations toward solving the Venezuelan problem, are set forth in thirteen communications made public by the State Department to-night. While they constitute the first authoritative disclosures upon these great questions since President Cleveland's famous Christmastide message to Congress, it will be found that previous reports of the negotiations between the two Governments have accurately outlined the course of events.

Little substantial progress toward a general arbitration treaty is disclosed by the documents. An outline in part of the proposed procedure is given, and the views of the two Governments are so explicitly stated that future discussion may be confined toward narrowing the few divergencies of method. The further fact is made apparent that the United States has not relaxed its vigilance in demanding a just settlement of the Venezuelan boundary question and has rejected the British proposals for arbitrating that dispute under terms involving the surrender of any part of Venezuela's claims.

The correspondence opens with a letter from Ambassador Bayard to Lord Salisbury, dated Feb. 27 last, stating that his instructions continued to indicate an urgent desire to have the Guiana boundary question removed as soon as practicable from the atmosphere of possible controversy, and proposing an entrance forthwith upon negotiations at Washington between the British Ambassador and the Secretary of State. Mr. Bayard added that Secretary Olney greatly desired that there should be propounded a clear definition of the "settlements" by individuals in the disputed territory which, it was understood, Great Britain wished excluded from the proposed arbitration.

Lord Salisbury, in his reply, on March 3, said his Government readily concurred in the suggestion, and had sent instructions to Sir Julian Pauncefote, directing him to discuss the question either with the Venezuelan representative or the United States, acting as the friend of Venezuela. He had asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the precise meaning attached to the word, "settlements".

### Lord Salisbury's Plans

Lord Salisbury's instructions to Sir Julian Pauncefote, dated March 5, form the third document, and are devoted to the system for general international arbitration, negotiations for the establishment of which had been interrupted by Secretary Gresham's death. Lord Salisbury submits the following heads of a treaty for arbitration in certain cases:

1. Her Britannic Majesty and the President of the United States shall each appoint two or more permanent judicial officers for the purpose of this treaty, and on the appearance of any difference between the two powers, which, in the judgment of either of them, cannot be settled by negotiation, each of them shall designate one of the said officers as arbitrators, and the two arbitrators shall hear and determine any matter referred to them in accordance with this treaty.

2. Before entering on such arbitration, the arbitrators shall select an umpire, by whom any question upon which they disagree, whether interlocutory or final, shall be decided. The decision of such umpire upon any interlocutory question shall be binding upon the arbitrators. The determination of the arbitrators, or, if they disagree, the decision of the umpire, shall be the award upon the matters referred.

3. Complaints made by the nationals of one power against the officers of the other; and pecuniary claims or groups of claims, amounting to not more than £100,000, made on either power by the nationals of the other, whether based on an alleged right by treaty or agreement or otherwise; all claims for damages or indemnity under

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the said amount; all questions affecting diplomatic or consular privileges; all alleged rights of fishery, access, navigation, or commercial privilege, and all questions referred by special agreement between the two parties, shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with this treaty, and the award thereon shall be final.

4. Any difference in respect to a question or fact or of international law, involving the territory, territorial rights, sovereignty, or jurisdiction of either power, or any pecuniary claim or group of claims of any kind, involving a sum larger than £100,000, shall be referred to arbitration under this treaty. But, if in any such case, within three months after the award has been reported, either power protests that such award is erroneous in respect to some issue of fact, or some issue a international law, the award shall be reviewed by a court composed of three of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Great Britain and three of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; and if the said court shall determine, after hearing the case, by a majority of not less than five to one, that the said Issue has been rightly determined, the award shall stand and be final, but in default of such determination, it shall not be valid. If no protest is entered by either power against the award within the time limited, it shall be final.

5. Any difference, which, in the judgment of either power, materially affects its honor or the integrity or its territory shall not be referred to arbitration under this treaty, except by special agreement.

6. Any difference whatever, by agreement between the two powers, may be referred for decision by arbitration, as herein provided, with the stipulation that, unless accepted by both powers, the decision shall not be valid.

The time and place of their meeting and all arrangements for the hearing and all questions of procedure shall be decided by the arbitrators or by the umpire if need be.

In the instructions, Sir Julian is told that all matters in dispute cannot be referred to arbitration; that neither Government is willing to accept arbitration upon issues involving national honor or integrity, but within this wide region the United States desires to go further than Great Britain. A system of arbitration being a novel arrangement, the limits must be determined by experiment, and it would be wiser to make a modest beginning than to hazard the success of the principle by adventuring upon doubtful grounds. Where the issues concern the State so that defeat is a serious blow to the credit or power of the litigant, Lord Salisbury says that nations cannot afford to leave controversies by which their national position may be affected or a number of their fellow-subjects transferred to a foreign rule to the deciding vote of one man, and that man a foreigner.

### Secretary Olney Amends

Secretary Olney, in reply, April 11, declares that Lord Salisbury's proposals are welcomed with the keenest appreciation of their value and of the enlightened and progressive spirit which animates them. So far as they manifest a desire that the two great English-speaking peoples of the world shall remain in perpetual peace, he fully reciprocates that desire on behalf of the Government and people of the United States.

To himself personally, nothing could bring greater satisfaction than to be instrumental in the accomplishment of an end so beneficent. But, by the direction of the President, he proposes the following substitute for Lord Salisbury's Articles IV and V:

IV. Arbitration under this treaty shall also be obligatory. In respect of all questions now pending or hereafter arising, involving territorial rights, boundaries, sovereignty, or jurisdiction, or any pecuniary claim or group or claims aggregating a sum larger than £100,000, and in respect of all controversies not in this treaty specially described, provided, however, that either the Congress of the United States, on the one hand, or the Parliament of Great Britain, on the other, at any time before the arbitral tribunal shall have convened for the consideration of any particular subject matter, may by act or resolution declaring such particular subject matter to involve the National honor or integrity, withdraw the same from the operation of this treaty; and, providing further, that if a controversy shall arise when either the Congress of the United States or the Parliament of Great Britain shall not be in session, and such controversy shall be deemed by Her Britannic Majesty's Government, or by that of the United States,

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acting through the President, to be of such nature that the National honor or integrity may be involved, such difference or controversy shall not be submitted to arbitration under this treaty until the Congress and the Parliament shall have had opportunity to take action thereon.

In the case of controversies provided for by this article the award shall be final, if concurred in by all the arbitrators. If assented to by a majority only, the award shall be final unless one of the parties, within three months from its promulgation, shall protest in writing to the other that the award is erroneous in respect of some issue of fact or of law. In every such case, the award shall be reviewed by a court composed of three of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Great Britain and three of Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, before entering upon their duties, shall agree upon three learned and impartial jurists, to be added to said court in case they shall be equally divided upon the award to be made. To said court there shall be submitted a record in full of all the proceedings of the original arbitral tribunal, which record, as part thereof, shall include the evidence adduced to such tribunal. Thereupon said court shall proceed to consider said award upon said record, and may either affirm the same or make such other award as the principles of law applicable to the facts appearing by aid record shall warrant and require, and the award so affirmed or so rendered by said court, whether unanimously or by a majority vote, shall be final. If, however, the court shall be equally divided upon the subject of the award to be made, the three jurists agreed upon as hereinbefore provided shall be added to the said court, and the award of the court so constituted, whether rendered unanimously or by a majority vote, shall be final. . .

These amendments, he argued, make all disputes *prima facie* arbitral, and places where it belongs, in Congress and Parliament, the right and power to decide whether they are arbitrable or demand assertion by force of arms. The administration in authority, he says, when a serious international controversy arises, is often exposed to influences not wholly favorable to its impartial consideration. It is liable to view the honor of the country as not distinguishable from the good of the party. And if war and not arbitration is to be evoked, the direct representative of the people, at whose cost and suffering war must be carried on, should be properly charged with the responsibility of making it.

By the scheme, as amended, the controversy is finally ended, whereas, under the original proposition, there would be an award only in rare cases, in which the six appellate arbiters favored it, either unanimously or by a majority of five to one. Mr. Olney thinks such an arrangement would be dangerous. In all cases in which the arbitrators were equally divided or stood four to two, public feeling in each country would be aroused by the protracted proceedings and the chances of a peaceful outcome would be prejudiced, rather than promoted. It is also pointed out that the United States, having no European alliances, has more to fear than Great Britain from the bias of foreign judges.

### **Approximate Results Sought**

Secretary Olney finally contends that to insist upon an arbitration scheme so constructed that miscarriages of justice can never occur, is to insist upon the unattainable, and is equivalent to a relinquishment altogether of the effort in behalf of a general system of national arbitration. An approximation to truth – results which, on the average and in the long run, conform to right and justice—is all that the “lot of humanity” permits us to expect from any plan. In conclusion, Secretary Olney says:

It only remains to observe that is Article 4, as amended, should prove acceptable, no reason is perceived why the pending Venezuelan boundary dispute should not be brought within the treaty by express words of inclusion. If however, no treaty for general arbitration can be now expected, it cannot be improper to add that the Venezuelan boundary dispute seems to offer a good opportunity for one of these tentative experiments at arbitration which, as

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Lord Salisbury justly intimates, would be of decided advantage, as tending to indicate the lines upon which a scheme for general arbitration can be judiciously drawn.

Secretary Olney, on May 8 forwarded through Ambassador Bayard a request from the Venezuelan Commission sitting in Washington for references as to the claim set forth in the British **Blue Book** of English sovereignty over coast between the Pomeroon and Point Barima, for which the commission said it had been unable to find any warrant, and on May 30 Lord Salisbury sent Mr. Bayard a memorandum on the subject prepared by the Attorney General and took the opportunity to promise cordial assistance to the commission in the search for facts.

Lord Salisbury, writing May 16 to Sir Julian Pauncefote, in rejoinder to Secretary Olney's counter proposals, disclaims any intention to exclude the Venezuelan dispute, but holds that the system of arbitration ought to be applicable to all civilized countries. He says he is encouraged by Secretary Olney's approval of Article 3 and the policy it is designed to sanction, and regrets that the two Governments should neglect the opportunity for embodying this common view in a separate convention.

Lord Salisbury says he fears that the first result of compulsory arbitration of territorial claims will be an enormous multiplication of their number, and he questions whether the benefits of preventing war from such disputes may not be outweighed by a system generating a multiplicity of international litigation, blighting the prosperity of the border countries exposed to it and leaving the inhabitants under the enduring threat either of a forcible change of allegiance or of exile. He declares that there are essential differences between individual and national rights to land which make it impossible to apply the well-known laws of real property to a territorial dispute. In conclusion, Lord Salisbury says:

It appears to me that under these circumstances it will be wiser, until our experience of international arbitration is greater, for nations to retain in their own hands some control over the ultimate result of any claim that may be advanced against their territorial rights.

### **The Venezuelan Question**

Sir Julian Pauncefote, on June 1, had a conference with Secretary Olney regarding the Venezuelan controversy, and two days later sent the Secretary the instructions from Lord Salisbury upon which his visit had been based. In these, under date of May 22, the British Premier foresees the possibility of failure in the attempt to agree on the general arbitration system, and proposes a settlement of the Venezuelan dispute, in which he declares that from the first it had been objectionable to subject to the decision at an arbiter, who, in the last resort, must of necessity be a foreigner, the rights of British colonists who have settled in the country believing it to be British.

A commission consisting of four members, two to be British subjects and two citizens of the United States, is proposed to report upon the facts which affect the rights of Spain and Holland at the date of Great Britain's acquisition of British Guiana. Upon the report of such commission, it is stipulated that Great Britain and Venezuela shall endeavor to agree on a boundary, but, failing in this, a tribunal shall be appointed, on British, one Venezuelan, and they to select a third, who should fix the line of boundary: but with a proviso that it should not include as Venezuelan territory any territory which was occupied by British colonists on or before Jan. 1, 1887, or as territory of Great Britain any occupied by Venezuelans at the same time.

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Mr. Olney, on June 12, declared that his Government was unable to treat this proposal as well adapted to bring the dispute to a speedy conclusion, or as giving due recognition to the just rights of the parties concerned. Secretary Olney adds:

But as Great Britain asks for the rule and Venezuela opposes it, the inevitable deduction coincides with the undisputed fact, namely, that the former's interest is believed to be promoted by the rule, while the latter's will be prejudiced.

Venezuela is not to be stripped of her rightful possessions because the British Government has erroneously encouraged its subjects to believe that such possessions were British. In but one possible contingency could any claim of that sort by Great Britain have even a semblance of plausibility. If Great Britain's assertion of jurisdiction on the faith of which her subjects made settlements in territory subsequently ascertained to be Venezuelan could be shown to have been in any way assented to or acquiesced in by Venezuela, the latter power might be held to be concluded and to be estopped from setting up any title to such settlements. But the notorious facts of the case are all the other way. Venezuela's claims and her protests against alleged British usurpation have been constant and emphatic and have been enforced by all the means practicable for a weak power to employ in its dealings with a strong one, even to the rupture of diplomatic relations. It would seem to be quite impossible, therefore, that Great Britain should justify her asserted jurisdiction over Venezuelan territory upon which British subjects have settled in reliance upon such assertion by pleading that the assertion was *bona fide*, without full notice of whatever rights Venezuela may prove to have.

### **An Amended Proposal**

Secretary Olney declares that, in the opinion of the United States, Lord Salisbury's proposals can be made to meet the requirements and justice of the case only if amended along the following lines:

The commission upon facts should be so constituted by adding one or more members that it must reach a result that cannot become abortive and possibly mischievous.

That commission should have power to report upon all the facts necessary to the decision of the boundary controversy, including the facts pertaining to the occupation of the disputed territory by British subjects.

The proviso by which the boundary line, as drawn by the arbitral tribunal of three, is not to include territory *bona fide* occupied by British subjects or Venezuelan citizens on the first of January, 1887, should be stricken out altogether, or there might be substituted for it the following:

“Provided, however, that in fixing such line, if territory of one party be found in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other party, such weight and effect be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the rules of international law, and the equities of the particular case may appear to require.”

Secretary Olney on the same day, June 12, acknowledged the copy of Lord Salisbury's dispatch of May 18, and promised speedy consideration, but declared that in the meantime he desired again to call attention to the fact that so far as the Venezuelan dispute was concerned the position of the United States had been plainly defined not only by the Executive, but by the unanimous concurring action or both branches of Congress, and that a genuine arbitration finally disposing of the controversy would be cordially welcomed.

On the other hand, he declared that, “while a treaty of general arbitration providing for a tentative decision merely upon territorial claims might be accepted by this Government as a step in

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the right direction, it would not feel at liberty to include the Venezuelan boundary dispute within the scope of such a treaty.” “It is deemed advisable.” he adds, “to be thus explicit in the interest of both Governments, that the pending negotiations for a general treaty of arbitration may proceed without any misapprehension.”

### The Last Word

The correspondence ends with a letter dated June 22 from Secretary Olney to Sir Julian Pauncefote, in which he replies to Lord Salisbury’s of May 18. He says that while this Government is unable to concur in all the reasoning or conclusions of Lord Salisbury, it is both impressed and gratified at the earnest and serious attention which the important subject under discussion is evidently receiving, and expresses the hope that persistent effort in the line of the pending negotiations will have results which, if not all that the enthusiastic advocates of international arbitration anticipate, will be a decided advance upon anything heretofore achieved in that direction.

He finds that Lord Salisbury’s dispatch discards all general phraseology and makes a clear distinction between non-arbitrable or territorial controversies and all others. The advantages of this sharp division line, he thinks, are very great, and the fact that it has been drawn shows that the progress of the discussion is eliminating all but the vital points of difference.

Secretary Olney then proceeds to show that if Lord Salisbury’s plan of rejecting an award could be permitted there would be no real arbitration at all. He insists that the acceptance should come in advance.

The American plan is to reserve the right not to go into an arbitration if the territorial claim in dispute involves National honor and integrity. The British proposals also reserve this right. The vital difference, he says, is that under the British plan “the parties enter into an arbitration and determine afterward, when they know the result, whether they will be bound or not. Under the proposals of the United States, the parties enter into an arbitration, having determined beforehand that they will be bound. The latter is a genuine arbitration, the former is a mere imitation, which may have its uses but, like all other imitations, cannot compare in value with the real article.”

Secretary Olney, referring to Lord Salisbury’s desire to exclude territorial claims, says that a treaty to settle them is the only thing now contemplated by Great Britain and the United States. He cannot imagine where all the speculative claims feared by Lord Salisbury are coming from, and he does not hesitate to say that the apprehensions thus expressed, if not wholly groundless, “are of a highly fanciful character.”

The document then goes into a technical legal discussion of international law, as applicable to territory, and closes with the following keen point:

By the original proposals of Lord Salisbury, contained in the dispatch of March 5 last, a protested award is to be void unless sustained by the appellate tribunal of six judges by a vote of 5 to 1. He has since suggested that such protested award may be allowed to stand unless a tribunal of five Supreme Court Judges of the protesting country shall set it aside for some error of fact or some error in law. Without committing myself on the point, it occurs to me as worthy of consideration whether the original proposals might not be so varied that the protested awards should stand unless set aside by the appellate tribunal by the specified majority. Such a change would go far in the direction of removing that want of finality to the proceedings which, as has been urged in previous dispatches, is the great objection to the original proposals.

The Secretary has received no reply as yet to the last communication.

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COMMENT IN ENGLAND  
Views of London Newspapers on the Arbitration Questions

LONDON, July 17.—**The Morning Post**, commenting upon the correspondence between Great Britain and the United States touching the Venezuelan boundary dispute, will say to-morrow that in the perusal of the correspondence the impression arises that Mr. Olney, the American Secretary of State, is not so much anxious for a settlement of the questions as he is for a chance of putting Lord Salisbury in the wrong.

**The Graphic**, treating of the same subject will say: "The attitude of the United States is uncompromising. Mr. Olney wants his own way or he will accept nothing."

**The Daily News** will remark upon Lord Salisbury's unusual concession to democratic spirit by inviting the opinion of the country before deciding the question. It urges the people to carefully consider a matter of such enormous importance. It says that the questions at issue are eminently capable of adjustment and compromise. Lord Salisbury's dispatches, it says, are very interesting and suggestive, but are unduly fearful lest Mr. Olney's perhaps sometimes too "slapdash" language should be absolute. Lord Salisbury should have the courage to risk something for an experiment so eminently desirable. Mr. Olney should recognize that even a few steps are better than no advance.

Regarding Venezuela, **The Daily News** advocates Mr. Carnegie's suggestion, that there should be no transfer of the settled districts, but that the possessor of the disputed territory should pay compensation if the arbitrators should decide that their possession was not *de jure*.

**The Standard** discusses the matter temperately. It admits it would be no small advantage to be able to deal with the American statesmen rather than with the shifty politicians presiding over the policy of Venezuela. It considers Lord Salisbury's policy of inserting adequate safeguards against a miscarriage of justice more practical than Mr. Olney's view that Great Britain might trust the United States not to raise frivolous claims, but Great Britain, it says, could not tolerate the condition of things that would arise if some southern republic, in backing which the Washington Government should become involved, should raise a fantastic demand for a slice of British territory.

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SUBMITTED TO THE LORDS  
The Arbitration Matter Discussed at Length by Salisbury

LONDON, July 17.—In the House of Lords to-day, Lord Salisbury laid upon the table the papers relating to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Lord Salisbury, in presenting the documents, said that negotiations between Great Britain and the United States in regard to the Venezuela matter were still in progress. The Government, he added, did not believe

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that the claim made by Venezuela was a suitable subject for arbitration, but when the facts of the case as regarded the past history of Venezuela were fully ascertained, he thought that the diplomatic question involved could be easily adjusted.

Lord Salisbury stated that concurrently with the negotiations which were in progress with the United States in regard to the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, negotiations were also going on between the British and American Governments, contemplating the establishment of a scheme of general arbitration of questions which might arise between the two nations.

This, however, he said, was a matter which required great care and circumspection. Lord Salisbury said that he had taken an unusual course in the early production of the papers in the Venezuela case, for the reason that the recess of the United States Congress had begun, and the recess of the British Parliament would soon be commenced. It, therefore, had been thought that it might be convenient for the House to know what was going on. The negotiations between the United States and Great Britain were still incomplete, he said, but they were advancing amicably.

In pursuing the negotiations, the Government had taken two courses. In the first and the smaller question with Venezuela upon which negotiations had been carried on with the United States rather than with Venezuela, no conclusion as yet had been arrived at. Difficulties had arisen from the fact that the claim made by Venezuela placed a very large proportion—about two-thirds—of British Guiana, including considerable territory which had been settled a great number of years, under arbitration. The Government never had thought that the question of the ownership of the territory ought to be arbitrated. In respect to unsettled territory, the Government always had been willing to arbitrate, but it was necessary to distinguish between the two. The Government's view had been that at this stage arbitration was not a suitable remedy. The first thing was to ascertain the real facts respecting the past. It was impossible to proceed any faster than they had done, because they had not yet obtained the full facts necessary to the adjustment of the case. The labor involved had been enormous.

Lord Salisbury announced that the Government would shortly place upon the table of the House another Blue Book in regard to Venezuela, which would enable the House to see the extent of the labors of the Government in the matter. When the facts were ascertained, he said, it probably would be easy to settle the matter. If not, it still would be perfectly easy to settle the particular issues at stake.

Concurrent with these negotiations, Lord Salisbury continued, the Government had reopened the negotiations which were commenced during the time of the Ministry of Lord Rosebery upon the question of general arbitration, which were terminated, partly in consequence of the lamented death of one of the negotiators, and partly owing to the difficulty, which yet had not been surmounted, of dealing with cases so large and affecting interests so vital that statesmen thought twice before deciding.

There had been much discussion with the United States upon these points. He thought the tendency of the Government of the United States was to desire a rapid and summary decision.

In the view of the Government, as the principle of obligatory arbitration was to be applied for the first time, it would be attended with considerable hazard and doubt. In his opinion circumspection and careful procedure were desirable.

Some machinery for appeal also ought to be provided for a protest in one form or another, in order to prevent the miscarriage of justice to the great possible detriment of the large population of the British colonies, through any error on the part of an arbitrator. One difficulty, however, was pressing upon them.

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He did not know how far the obligatory arbitration system would give rise to speculative claims. The answer of the United States was that such claims were not likely to arise between the United States and Great Britain. There was no doubt, he said, that to a certain extent this was true, but it must not be forgotten that in recent years the United States had shown a disposition to adopt the cause of the many republics of South America. He did not quarrel about that, however, as that was what Great Britain had done in regard to the frontiers of Sweden, Poland, Belgium, and Portugal. Great Britain would not deny that the United States had the same right. That rendered it possible for the claims of such powers to become matters for arbitration. Therefore, the Government had to exercise a very considerable degree of caution. The Government, he said, had been reproached for delay, but he thought that in a matter of such extreme importance an error might affect the national interests for a long time. Above all, the interests of the colonies required careful consideration at every step. He would rather, he said, incur the charge of unnecessary delay than that of wild precipitation, which would involve the country in difficulty.

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### ARBITRATION AND VENEZUELA

It is impossible, we think, for any intelligent and impartial person to read the abstract that has been given out in London of the correspondence upon international arbitration without sympathy and admiration. The contrast in tone between the letters from the State Department and from the Foreign Office is in some points striking, but on each side there is equally evident, it seems to us, a complete good faith and an honest determination to avoid war in regard not merely to pending but to possible controversies, if war can be avoided without the risk of evils that may be worse than war. That there are such evils is a truth which no “national”—to adopt the French term which Lord Salisbury employs to avoid the awkwardness of “subject” or “citizen”—which no “national” of a great and proud State will be inclined to dispute.

We have already pointed out the candor and friendliness of Lord Salisbury’s speech in the House of Lords accompanying the submission of the correspondence. It is a pleasure to note that the English press in general equally recognizes the exhibition of these qualities in the American side of the correspondence. One London journal does indeed say that Mr. Olney seems to be less anxious to settle the questions than to put Lord Salisbury in the wrong. But this seems to us an entire, though a natural, misapprehension. Lord Salisbury is a veteran diplomatist. The Secretary of State is an experienced lawyer and a novice in diplomatic correspondence. The difference is a difference of intellectual habit which must find expression in the manner of conducting such a correspondence. The business of a negotiator is to convince his correspondent that he himself is in the right. The business of an advocate is to convince some third party that he is in the right and his adversary in the wrong, and this habit of a lifetime must betray itself in negotiations in which the manner of the advocate is not in place. But we fail to find, as we think any discriminating reader must fail to find, any more mental reservation or any more lack of a complete good faith in the letters of Mr. Olney than in those of Lord Salisbury, and we are glad to find that this view is the one commonly taken by the English press.

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Meanwhile, upon the main question it is impossible not to recognize some force in each of the opposed contentions. Mr. Olney, on the one hand, contends that if arbitration is to amount to anything of value as a safeguard against war, provision must be made not carrying it to a final result, which both parties have beforehand agreed to accept. On the other hand, Lord Salisbury contends that there are subjects that are not properly arbitrable and in respect of which the agreement of a great nation to submit to arbitration would be tantamount to an abdication of its national claims and conceivably an act of national suicide. No patriotic American will be likely to gainsay him on this point. It is often evident that each correspondent is thinking of the Venezuelan boundary, even when no overt reference to it is made. The hope for a peaceful and friendly solution of that question is that the report of our commission shall be so impartial and so thorough that it shall by moral weight impose itself as authoritative upon the British public, and so upon the British Government.

Meanwhile, we can see no reason why one of Lord Salisbury's proposals with which Mr. Olney does not appear to have dealt should not be acted upon. In the scheme of a treaty suggested by Lord Salisbury one article gives a list of the classes of questions which he esteems to be clearly arbitrable. These include:

“Complaints made by the nationals of one power against the officers of the other: all pecuniary claims or groups of claims amounting to not more than £100,000, made on either power by the nationals of the other, whether based on an alleged right by treaty or agreement or otherwise; all claims for damages or indemnity under the valid amount; all questions affecting diplomatic or consular privileges; all alleged rights of fishery, access, navigation, or commercial privilege, and all questions referred by special agreement between the two parties, shall be referred to arbitration, in accordance with this treaty, and the award thereon shall be final.”

Lord Salisbury proposes that this article shall be made a separate convention. It seems to us that he weakens the case by proposing a limitation in amount of the pecuniary claims. Some questions he withholds as matter of principle, but there it no principle in consenting to arbitrate a claim for £105,000 upon the same conditions as a claim of £95,000. But, with this exception, there can be no objection to the separate enactment of this article. It will be seen that it embraces many classes of questions and among them many of those which are most apt to produce international irritation. Best of all, the conclusion of such a treaty would constitute a permanent tribunal of arbitration. The principle would be embodied in the laws of the two countries, and the scope and jurisdiction of the tribunal could subsequently be enlarged. It would be an indisputable guarantee of good faith on each side. Such a guarantee, indeed, is already provided in the tone of the correspondence now made public. While we must recognize the difficulties of the case, the spirit in which it has been approached gives encouragement to the belief that these difficulties will be overcome.

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**VENEZUELAN SURPRISE EXPECTED**  
**Mr. Storow, It Is Said, Will Handle the British Without Mercy**

WASHINGTON, July 19.—Something of a sensation in the Venezuelan dispute is expected in a day or two, possibly to-morrow, when a retort to the Pollock argument, which prefaced the British

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blue book, is delivered to the commission and made public simultaneously in this country and England. Up to this time the agents of the Caracas Government have contented themselves with putting up evidence before the Venezuelan Commission, and pointing out the numerous inconsistencies and false deductions in the British case, but since the distinguished Boston lawyer, James J. Storrow, has become associated with Mr. Scruggs in Venezuela's behalf the case has been whipped into legal shape, and a brief has been prepared which is understood to handle Lord Salisbury, Prof. Pollock, and the other British lawyers and diplomats without gloves.

It is said that Mr. Storrow has utterly demolished the vital points of the British contention and turned Prof. Pollock's favorite arguments against Lord Salisbury's pretensions.

In Mr. Storrow's few months' connection with the case its entire conduct has been changed from one of defense to that of most vigorous aggressiveness. It is said that Mr. Storrow was secured as associate counsel at the suggestion of Secretary Olney, whose classmate he was at Harvard Law School. In addition to being the chief legal adviser of the Bell Telephone Company and other great corporations, Mr. Storrow has always been a deep student in international law and foreign affairs. His library includes one of the few complete sets in this country of the Royal Geographical Society publications. He was a participant on the winning side of the controversy between Dana and Lawrence twenty years ago over the charge of plagiarism in editing Wheaton's "**International Law.**"

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**THE VENEZUELAN BRIEF**  
**Strong Paper Submitted to the Commission by Mr. Storrow**  
**ANSWER TO THE BRITISH CLAIMS**  
**Based, It is Said, on a True Divisional Line According to the Undisputed Evidence**  
**REFUTATION OF POLLOCK'S ARGUMENT**  
**Exposure of the Inconsistencies of the English Contentions with Respect to**  
**the Famous Schomburgk Map**

WASHINGTON, July 20.—Venezuela's brief, prepared by Counsel Storrow and presented today to the Venezuelan Commission and the British counsel, is said to be the most important paper that has appeared in the case. It is alleged that in this brief, for the first time, a true divisional line in accordance with the evidence, is laid down, and that Lord Salisbury's contention as to settlements is shown to be a mere diplomatic quibble, utterly unsupported by law or fact, and unworthy of any consideration by the commission, Mr. Storrow takes the ground that there never has been any British sovereignty in the disputed territory; that the Dutch never gained the slightest foothold in the Orinoco Basin, and, therefore, never transferred what did not exist to Great Britain, and caps his arguments by setting up proofs that the Schomburgk line, as held by Lord Salisbury, was a forgery perpetrated by the English Government twenty years after Schomburgk's death.

The brief opens with Lord Salisbury's statement of Jan. 10, 1880, that the boundary claimed by Venezuela to the Esequibo River would involve the surrender of a province inhabited by 40,000 British subjects, which had been in the uninterrupted possession of Holland and Great Britain successively for two centuries, and sweeps this away with the reiteration of Venezuela's offer, in

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asking for arbitration in 1890, to recognize Great Britain's rights to its settlements on both banks of the Esequibo, to reserve for itself the banks of the Orinoco, which the treaty of Aranjuez had recognized as Spanish, and which every English Ministry except Lord Salisbury's had offered to recognize and to arbitrate the rest, which consisted entirely of territory where, even then, England had no settlements.

### Salisbury's Claim of 1880

The brief assumes, for the sake of argument, that England may have a right by occupation to settlements on the alluvial land at the mouth of the Esequibo, but maintains that the Spaniards held possession of all Guiana from the discovery in 1500 until Venezuela succeeded to the territory, and that Spain successfully resisted all efforts of the Dutch as well as of Sir Walter Raleigh "and other freebooters" to effect a lodgment.

Mr. Storrow says the British claim confessedly has no basis except occupation, and the rules of law applied even to the facts alleged not only give no support to the British attempt to extend the boundary, but are specifically and affirmatively fatal to it. He attacks the so-called temporary posts in the Cuyuni Basin and at Barima Point by showing that they were mere trading stations, quickly destroyed by the Spanish, who maintained sovereignty over the region, and proves that the actual settlements of the Dutch and Spanish were always separated by 150 miles of forest.

### Quotes the Law

Mr. Storrow quotes the law authorities as follows, to support the two rules of law which designate where between these actual settlements the boundary line shall run:

First – When, either by nature or by the habits of the settlers, a tract has been defined, the rule is that the first occupation or a part is in law an entry upon and possession of the whole. But the entry of a second claimant cannot displace the legal possession of the first beyond the actual occupation or that second.

Second – Where, between the settlements of two nations in a country otherwise wild, there are features which form a natural barrier or line of demarkation, and which in a long series of years have not been overpassed nor attempted to be overpassed by the actual settlements of either party, the law makes that line the international boundary.

The brief claims that such a tract and line exist and that the Dutch and English settlements never attempted to pass it until the invasion of the armed English force at the time of the gold discovery, about a dozen years ago.

The historical evidence of the Dutch and Spanish conflicts are discussed to show that the Spanish always were in actual occupation of the country up to the small range of mountains which the Cuyuni breaks through to enter the Essequibo. These cataracts effectually prevented access to the interior in the time of the Dutch as they do to-day in the case of English, compelling the latter to seek ingress from the mouth of the Orinoco, for which Harrison was building the road from Barima last month, when he was arrested in Venezuelan territory.

The Spaniards, it is alleged, always exercised dominion over this great unsettled tract, by excluding other nations from it, and when the Dutch sought to take slaves from this section, with the help of the Caribs, as the Dutch archives prove, the Spanish drove them out, destroyed their stations on the Upper Essequibo, and imprisoned the Dutchmen.

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## The Oregon Boundary Case

The Oregon boundary case which made much international law, is applied to the existing dispute, and the British arguments in that celebrated case are turned squarely against Lord Salisbury's present contention by showing that while private occupation in time may give a private title, no occupation can create sovereign dominion unless it be directly authorized or adopted by the Government of the settler at the outset and for the announced purpose of acquiring sovereignty.

Evidence is then adduced which tends to turn Prof. Pollock's arguments of law against his case. It is shown that Spain discovered the Essequibo and the Dutch fort on that river was built on the foundations of the older Spanish one; that the real road to the Interior Cuyuni-Mazeruni Basin is by way of the Spanish settlements on the Orinoco, and that it was those settlements which barred the way of Raleigh and all other seekers after El Dorado. It is urged that when the English, as they have done, concede that the Spaniards controlled the entire Orinocos, they lost their last argument upon which they could claim Barima.

### What Lord Stowell Said

Mr. Storrow quotes Lord Stowell, the highest English authority in the case of the Mississippi River to show that those who own the watershed thereby possess the delta, islands, and shores below, these are unfit for habitation and never have been inhabited. The claim of either the Dutch or of the English to hold the mouth of the great Spanish river is alleged to be utterly untenable and Mr. Storrow says every English and Dutch historian who pretends to serious consideration of the matter re-echoed without knowing it the judgement of Lord Stowell, which, oddly enough, escaped the notice of Prof. Pollock and Lord Salisbury.

After citing the Treaty of Aranjuez to show by both the literal translation and the British rendering that the Dutch made no claim to the controlling shore of the Orinoco, Mr. Storrow takes up the Schomburgk line and traces its history. Incidentally, he finds that the British Blue Book leaves out part of a sentence out of Schomburgk's memoirs therein quoted which shows that Schomburgk had no idea that his line would amount to anything until its termini at least should be agreed upon by the disputants.

Venezuela, it is said, never agreed to any of it. After Barima had been suggested as one end of the line and Venezuela protested, the assurance was given by Lord Palmerston that it was only to be considered "as a statement of the British claim," and subsequently the same thing was said by Lord Granville in 1881. Lord Aberdeen in 1884, and Lord Rosebery, in 1886, offered to agree to lines which they declared "would secure to Venezuela the undisturbed possession of the mouths of the Orinoco."

This, it is argued, was because Great Britain, under those Ministers, and in fact, under all except Salisbury, felt that neither in law nor in good conscience could a claim to Barima be insisted upon. Mr. Storrow says: "Lord Salisbury is the only Minister who insisted upon a different view, and his claim grew time he recurred to the subject."

### A Change of Base

The line marked by Schomburgk on the maps published by himself and by the Government, Mr. Storrow says, had been declared at the outset to be the definition of the British claim as merely a

### *The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New York Times (1887-1904)*

basis for discussion; but now Great Britain said it owned territory within that line, and that would be submitted to arbitration was territory formerly claimed far outside of it.

But even the Schomburgk line had been altered and expanded. In every map and every description of it down to 1886, which was twenty years after Schomburgk's death, it was shown and described approximately as a north and south line, cutting across the Cuyuni and across its southern basin. This includes the maps of 1840, 1841, and 1847, published in the reports of his explorations; five separate maps published directly by the Government or by the Government authority—1840, 1867, 1875, 1876 and 1885—and ten in the official "colonial list," 1877-86—one of which maps, namely, that of 1875, in the Government publication of the Geological Survey, was stated in the text to be from a tracing of Schomburgk's final map in the possession of the Government.

The great map of the colony, about 5 by 4 feet in size, prepared by the Government surveyors 1875, and based on a tracing of Schomburgk's map bearing Schomburgk's name, and still officially known as "Schomburgk's map", and published by Stanford in 1876, (dated 1875,) by procurement of the Colonial Government, showed the north and south line and a note on its face said: "The boundaries indicated in this map are those laid down by the late Robert Schomburgk."

### **An Alleged Discovery**

But in 1886, twenty years after Schomburgk's death, the Colonial Office "discovered" that all these maps were wrong; that Schomburgk's line went around by the great bend of the Cuyuni. It thereupon compelled Stanford to conceal his existing maps, and to change his plate by erasing the boundary which went across the headwaters of the Barima and across the Cuyuni, and by inserting another, which went around the great bend, and the maps so changed in 1886 still bore the date 1875, and no other date.

The new line first invented or asserted in 1886 thus appeared as if it were the original line of 1875, supported by the authority of the surveyors, whose names still appeared on the map, as before. This was perilously near the alteration of ancient landmarks and spoliation of records. It evidently deceived Lord Salisbury, who, Feb. 13, 1890, asserted it to be "the line surveyed by Sir R. Schomburgk in 1841." He did not survey this line in 1841 or in any other year.

In the course of his discussion of the Schomburgk line Mr. Storrow says:

The Schomburgk line was originally nothing but a speculative attempt or proposal to form the subject of discussion and negotiation. It has not in itself the slightest probative or presumptive value. It was stated merely as a definition of the British claims, and the attempt, after it had stood forty years, to alter both its location and its character, gives rise to reflections which it is not necessary to dwell upon. Nor would the recent attempt stand any better if some unpublished papers in the Colonial Office should lend a color of justification to it. The value of the line as a limitation of the British claim does not lie in the opinion of Schomburgk, but in the fact of its authoritative publication. It must also be pointed out that in 1850 the two nations agreed that there should be no occupation of the disputed territory by either, and that in 1884, and subsequently, Great Britain invaded it with an armed force and took possession up to the expanded "Schomburgk line." On Feb. 20, 1887, Venezuela severed diplomatic relations with Great Britain.

### **A North and South Line**

Mr. Storrow says that the investigations demonstrate that Schomburgk died under the impression that he had drawn a north and south line, and the publications of his brother, who

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traveled with him, contain the same line. It also is claimed that this line never was altered until the discoveries of gold outside the original line gave a new speculative value to the region.

The line of all these authentic maps, it is alleged, strikes the Cuyuni, not at the Acarabisi River, where the Harrison surveying party was arrested last month, but at the Otomong River, which is twenty miles east of it, or below the Acarabisi. Schomburgk planted stakes on the Acarabisi and at several other places, but the streams by which he placed them turned out to be, as he states in his report, much further to the west than he had supposed. They were, therefore, it is argued, far to the west of the line which in his memoir he had attempted to justify. It is for that reason undoubtedly that he made the line on the final map to run from Arakita, on the Amakura, to Otomong, very nearly north and south, straight across the country.

His larger map of 1844, from which Brown made tracings, expressed his final conclusion, and after he had approved these publications during the twenty years of his life and the Government had approved them for over forty years, it is not permissible, in Mr. Storrow's opinion, to alter it after his death, upon a supposed inference from remarks made in any of his unpublished reports—if there be any such remarks.

Mr. Storrow again takes up the “settled” districts and says:

We have pointed out that Venezuela, for the sake of settlement, was ready to exempt the settled districts in an arbitration. The region which it did then require to be arbitrated, and in which the recent gold diggings are found, contains no settlements even to-day. They are worked exclusively by negroes, who are hired on the coast and go up for three months at a time. There are no houses there, for they live in huts built in the Indian fashion or mere shanties, and no families and no permanent residents, unless that term be applied to a few negroes who have kitchen gardens, and perhaps a few foremen or officials whose duties keep them there. Nor have the English spent any money for permanent improvements in these regions. With scarcely an exception, the gold is got by simple washing, by hand labor. The highest estimate of the total capital put in is \$2,000,000, and that is chiefly to pay wages and current expenses until the product can be marketed. The output of gold, by official returns, has been \$10,500,000. The Government gets a royalty of 90 cents an ounce, say rising \$500,000; its royalty last year was \$119,000.

“From the best information to be got from its Blue Books and reports,” says Mr. Storrow, in conclusion, “England's total expense for clearing streams, roads, and everything else would be less than that. So, if every British subject or resident were required to-day to quit those regions with only what he would naturally carry with him. the colony would be \$8,000,000 the richer for its invasion of the territory we claim, and no one would leave his ‘home’.”

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**BRITONS INVADE CUYUNI  
ARMED COLONISTS ENTER THE DISPUTED TERRITORY  
They Go to Complete Surveys Begun by Mr. Harrison on the Borderland Claimed  
by Venezuela—The Force of Police, with the Surveyors, Carry 100 Rounds  
of Ball Cartridges Per Man, Though Instructed Not to Fight**

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New York Times (1887-1904)*

WASHINGTON, July 22.—Mail advices from Demerara indicate that the British have not by any means abandoned the survey of the road through the disputed territory on the border with Venezuela.

Though the official surveyor, Mr. Harrison is returning to Georgetown, a special force of 20 armed men, under the command of Police Inspector Shaw, left Georgetown June 24, under instructions to protect the surveyors in the Cuyuni Basin.

Mr. Im Thurn has also been hurried to the Acarabesi to deliver a protest against Venezuelan interference. It is stated that force, however, is not to be used, and in the event of a large body of hostile Venezuelans presenting themselves, the officer in charge has explicit instructions to retire without offering any resistance.

It is stated that at the time of Mr. Harrison's arrest only nine miles of the survey remained to be completed, and it is extremely probable that the remaining distance has been covered since that time. Mr. Harrison had not yet arrived at Georgetown, although he was known to be on the way.

The Georgetown newspapers say that the policemen were fully equipped with haversacks, hammocks, etc., and a hundred rounds of ball cartridges each.

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ENGLAND'S VENEZUELAN BLUE BOOK  
The Dutch, It Is Claimed, Controlled the Disputed Region 200 Years

LONDON, July 22.—The promised Blue Book on Venezuela was issued this evening. It comprises 356 pages, their contents consisting of documents from the Dutch and Spanish archives from 1521 to 1796.

An official summary is prefixed, which claims that the documents prove that for more than two centuries prior to 1796 the Dutch controlled the territories which are now in dispute, and that their control was recognized by the Spaniards.

**The Standard** will to-morrow say that if a day is not afforded the Opposition in the House of Commons to discuss general and Venezuelan arbitration, the second reading of the Appropriation bill will enable the discussion to be raised. It is the general opinion of the Opposition that Lord Salisbury is too timid and hesitating in responding to the advance of Secretary of State Olney. . .

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SEARCH RECORDS CENTURIES OLD  
Guiana Officials Seek Proof of Dutch Rule on the Orinoco

WASHINGTON, July 23.—The last issue of **The Demerara Chronicle**, that of July 8, which has just reached the Bureau of American Republics, says:

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“For several weeks past the important inquiry, the nature of which was partially referred to in an article with regard to the relations that existed between our Dutch predecessors in the colony and the aboriginal Indians, has been progressing in the Government buildings. The archives at the rear of Guiana public buildings are packed with a mass of documents that has been accumulating for centuries. Many of them are in the original Dutch and French, and these are systematically overhauled and translated for the purpose of discovering whether or not they contain matter that may prove of value in strengthening the position the British Government has maintained in regard to the boundary line existing between this colony and the adjacent republic.

“The contents of many of these documents are, of course, relatively of little value, but we learn from conversation current among authorities evidently well informed that so far as the search has proceeded it has been successful in unearthing several important points of evidence that appear to establish beyond all doubt that the Dutch colonists west of the Essequibo occupied territory and exercised jurisdiction to the mouth of the Orinoco. The nature of the evidence in this direction that has already been brought to light and the value thereof may be judged from the fact that in one of the documents is the record of an order by the Dutch Court of Policy to erect a fort and station Dutch soldiers at their boundary on the Oronoque. It appears that a military officer obtained audience from the Court of Policy to ask for provision being made for troops which were expected to arrive daily. There was no accommodation for them in Stabroek, and he had orders to keep them on board the ship until proper provision was made for their reception.

“The Court of Policy decided that forts should be erected at Caurabana, Mahaica, and, as stated, on the Dutch boundary at the ‘Oronoque’. Other documents discovered show that the estimate of the cost and plan of the fort at Courabana were actually prepared, and it may reasonably be supposed that further search will furnish similar evidence with regard to the fort at Orinoco.

“An old record of the law courts has also been found, we understand, showing that the French during their occupation of this colony exercised jurisdiction over the country extending to the mouth of the Orinoco. The document in question relates to a case in which an Indian who had murdered a white man in the Amacura district was brought to justice by the French.

“While the search has revealed other evidence of the occupation of and jurisdiction over the land in dispute by the Dutch, it has also directed attention to important documents relating to the boundary which are probably to be found in the archives of Holland. The progress of the inquiry may therefore be confidently expected to bring to light further documentary proof of the extent of the Dutch possessions, as we have reason to believe the greater part of the records is still untouched.”

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**VENEZUELAN MATTER IN COMMONS**  
**The Foreign Office Not Ready to Give Additional Information**

LONDON, July 27.—The Venezuelan question was again brought up in the House of Commons to-day by an interrogatory by John Morley, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, who asked for information regarding the papers on the subject recently laid upon the table of the House.

*The British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute – Reports from The New York Times (1887-1904)*

In replying to the question, George Curzon, Parliamentary Secretary of the Foreign Office, said that the statement in defense of Venezuela's claim recently submitted to the American High Commission had not reached the Foreign Office. When it was received it would be laid upon the table.

Mr. Morley then asked further questions germane to the subject, in reply to which Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that he was unable to give the information asked for. He added that the population within the territory in dispute could only be determined, first by negotiation, and afterward by local inquiry.

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THE ARREST OF HARRISON  
It Was Only Made After a Warning from the Venezuelans

*Special Correspondence of The New-York Times*

DEMERARA, British Guiana, July 13.—Mr. Harrison, the Government surveyor who was arrested by the Venezuelans at Acarabisci Creek, on the boundary of the territory now occupied by the British on the one hand and by the Venezuelans on the other, has returned to headquarters here and has reported in detail the circumstances connected with his arrest and detention by the officers of the neighboring republic.

The official report is the effect that on the 6th of June an armed force of Venezuelans crossed the Acarabisci to where Mr. Harrison and his party were engaged on the construction of a road that is intended to connect the Barima and Barama gold-bearing districts with the Cuyuni, and insisted upon the work being stopped forthwith, on the grounds that the territory was in dispute and therefore should not be disturbed. Mr. Harrison pointed out that he was only carrying out his orders, and could not suspend the operations without instructions from his Government. The Venezuelan commander then informed him that unless the work was stopped he would have to resort to force to compel suspension. The Venezuelans then retired to the opposite side of the creek, and for some days kept a close watch on the movements of the British Guiana staff.

The Venezuelans again crossed the creek on Sunday, June 14, and the commander, Sub-Commissario Gomez de Garcio, intimated to Mr. Harris that as no notice had been taken of his protest he had no other alternative than to take him (Harrison) under arrest, so as to emphasize the protest of Venezuela against the British assuming the right to exercise authority and jurisdiction over the territory in dispute.

Mr. Harrison pointed out how undesirable it was that such a step should be taken on a Sunday, and after some further conversation Gen. Garcia withdrew his men and again retired to the opposite bank of the creek. But before 9 o'clock the following morning Gen. Garcio, accompanied by some twenty fully armed men, returned to the British camp and Mr. Harrison was immediately placed under arrest.

The officer second in charge of the British expedition was a German named Klautky, and the Venezuelans were at first inclined to arrest him along with his chief, but on Mr. Harrison's pointing

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out that Klautky was a German subject and that complications might arise if he was arrested, they decided not to interfere with him.

After his arrest, Mr. Harrison was placed on board a small corial and conveyed to El Dorado, the Venezuelan outpost, opposite the British station at Uruan. It took nine days to make the trip up the river, and in consequence of the exposure Mr. Harrison became seriously ill. On the following day his condition was so precarious that information had to be sent to the Inspector (Henderson) at the British station, and the dispenser from there at once crossed to where Mr. Harrison was. Later on he returned to Uruan and reported to Inspector Henderson the precarious condition of Harrison, and Inspector Henderson crossed and lodged a protest with Gen. Macpherson, the officer in command of the Venezuelan post, against the detention of Harrison, pointing out that Harrison's life was being seriously endangered by being detained in a place that lacked every convenience and comfort for an invalid.

Gen. Macpherson at first declined to do anything in the matter, but later it was agreed that Mr. Harrison be conveyed across the river to the British station on the bond of Inspector Henderson that he would be given up when required by the Venezuelan authorities. Gen. Macpherson July 1 sent word to Uruan that he had been instructed by telegraph from Caracas to release Mr. Harrison, and the latter, having considerably improved, shortly after set out for Georgetown, which was reached July 10.

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VENEZUELAN COMMISSION WORK  
Bulk of Evidence in—Now to Tell What it Establishes

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—The work of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission has entered upon a new stage during the last month. Heretofore the efforts of the Commissioners have been directed mainly to securing the evidence upon which the final report is to be based. The work from now on will very largely consist in examining and classifying the information already collected. The British Government, it is presumed has put into its two voluminous Blue Books all the information upon which it relies to support its claim. The Venezuelan Government has done the same thing in its three volumes of transcripts from the Spanish archives and other documents.

Independent of this, the commission has been searching on its own account. The Congressional library in Washington and many public and private libraries in various parts of the country have been ransacked for historical anti cartographical information. The archives at The Hague have been gone through with a thoroughness that not even the seal of Great Britain or Venezuela has heretofore attempted, and, as a result, important documents, which the world thought lost or destroyed, have been unearthed. This work, although not yet terminated, is nearing completion.

Sir Clement R. Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society, has been in correspondence for some months with the Secretary of the commission, and has furnished valuable information on the subject of the Schomburgk line, accompanying it by copies of maps on file in the Colonial Office, some of which have never been published. It may be said, briefly, that while information is looked for from Rome, from The Hague, and possibly from other places, the bulk of the evidence is in, and the question now is to determine what it is which that evidence establishes.

In order to solve this problem, a number of preliminary reports are being prepared. Among these may be mentioned special reports upon the geographical and physical characteristics of the region in dispute; reports upon the evidence presented by the 300 or more, maps which have been published since the discovery of America; reports upon the facts of occupancy and settlement, as given by historians, and separate reports upon the same facts as developed by the documents from the Dutch and Spanish archives; critiques upon the arguments of the British and Venezuelan Governments as they appear in the British Blue Books, and in the Venezuelan brief. These reports are being prepared for the most part by the Commissioners at their respected homes.

President Brewer spent several days this week at the office of the commission here. He was joined Thursday by Mr. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary, and the two spent the day in consultation. President Brewer has now gone to his home in Vermont, while the Secretary, it is understood will remain for some time in Washington.

[9 August 1896]

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ARBITRATION IS POSSIBLE  
THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION IN A FAIR WAY TO SETTLEMENT

*August - December 1896*

Great Britain Shows a Disposition to Accept the Proposal Made by the United States, and the Commons Accords with the Idea—The Basis of Agreement Submitted by Secretary Olney for the State Department—The Correspondence

LONDON, Aug. 14.—In the House or Commons to-day Sir William Harcourt, the leader of the Opposition, asked in regard to the Venezuelan situation if the proposal contained in the dispatch sent to the Foreign Office by the United States Government June 12 last had removed the difficulties, and further inquired whether there were any prospects for a speedy submission of the question to arbitration.

A. J. Balfour, First Lord at the Treasury, said that the Government was still considering the proposal made by the United States Government, which was regarded by the Foreign Office as opening the way for an equitable settlement of the difficulty. The Government, he added, had every expectation that the pending negotiations would lead to an early and satisfactory result.

Sir William Harcourt said that the House would regard Mr. Balfour's statement as satisfactory, and asked to have the papers on the subject prepared to be presented to the House.

Mr. Balfour replied that the Government would present the papers to the House as soon as might be consistent with public interest.

[15 August 1896]

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Another Blue Book on Venezuela

LONDON, Aug. 24.—The Government will issue another—the third—blue book on the Venezuelan question on Friday next. The book will deal especially with the Schomburgk line.

[25 August 1896]

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THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION  
A Belief that the Negotiations Are in a Promising Stage

LONDON, Sept 30.—The Chronicle says:

“There is some reason to believe that the Venezuelan negotiations have reached a promising stage both with reference to the boundary dispute and an arbitration treaty with America.”

The wording of the foregoing does not suggest that the statement is inspired. Everybody believes that the boundary dispute will be settled amicably, but such steps will not be taken pending the report of the American Venezuelan Commission. Only the permanent officials of the Foreign and Colonial Offices are on duty in those departments at the present time, and they will act in merely routine matters until the return of the Ministers. Lord Salisbury is too busy with Turkey now to attend to Venezuela even if Secretary Olney should press the Venezuelan matter. No such action

on the part of Mr. Olney is expected at present, however, as it would be a slight to President Cleveland's commission.

[1 October 1896]

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#### The British Guiana Gold Miners

COLON, Columbia, Oct. 1.—Advices received here from British Guiana are to the effect that the yield of gold in that country is steadily increasing, and mining property is rising in value. Shares in the Barima Mine of the par value of \$5 are now selling at \$15, and a further advance in value is expected. The greater portion of the gold-producing territory is within the domain claimed by Venezuela.

[2 October 1896]

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#### VENEZUELAN SETTLEMENT IN SIGHT With It Out of the Way, England Is Ready to Face the East

LONDON, Oct 2.—The Speaker says: "Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador to the United States will shortly return to Washington, but it is reported, upon credible authority, that he will not leave England before a satisfactory solution or the Venezuelan troubles has been reached. Those behind the scenes are the most sanguine of such an ending of the controversies; indeed, the questions at issue are said to be already virtually solved. When all is well in the West, we may face the East with greater confidence."

[3 October 1896]

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#### THE ARBITRATION QUESTION No Communications Between Great Britain and This Country for a Month

LONDON, Oct. 6.—Information has been furnished to The United Associated Presses that no communications have passed between Great Britain and the United States upon the subject of arbitration in over a month. Important developments in connection with Venezuela, however, will probably occur within the month of October.

A settlement of the Venezuelan dispute is by no means imminent, and it is not true, as has been alleged, that Great Britain is making concessions to Venezuela. Much depends upon Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who sailed from New-York for England on Sept. 30, though his desires in the matter are subject to the approval of Lord Salisbury. The latter, the Foreign Office officials say, is hopeful that the arbitration question will be soon solved, but he is at present very much occupied with the Eastern question.

[7 October 1896]

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ENGLAND'S WORD VIOLATED  
A RAILROAD AUTHORIZED ON DISPUTED GUIANA TERRITORY  
The Colonial Legislature Grants a Concession to Build Along a Line Which Lord Salisbury  
Has Conceded to be of Doubtful Title—The Bill Rushed Through, in Spite of Earnest  
Protests—This Government May Remonstrate

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6.—According to belated advices from British Guiana which have just reached Washington, the promise to maintain the status quo pending negotiations has again been violated by Great Britain in a manner that may possibly lead to remonstrance from this Government. Briefly, the Colonial Legislature has authorized the construction of a railway through territory which Lord Salisbury has conceded to be of doubtful title along the modified Schomburgk line and outside of the so-called settled districts to which England has denied the application of the arbitration principle.

The Demerara Chronicle of Sept. 16, which came to the State Department to-day, contains a verbatim report, extending over five columns, of a session of the Colonial Legislature held Sept. 4, which granted a concession for a railway along the right bank of the Kaituma River to the rich Barima gold fields, which have never been claimed by the colony until a few years ago. It was necessary to suspend the rules to enact the legislation, as the requisite time for its consideration had not elapsed. The Kaituma River flows north into the Barima, fifty-five miles above the mouth of the latter, and it was pointed out that the railway would reduce the journey, which now consumes five or six days, to two or three hours.

The bill was rushed through by its promoters, notwithstanding the protest of some conservative members that it was not clear to whom the concession was being granted or the exact location of the line. The only amendment that was secured provided that the Government could purchase the line after fifteen years.

The local newspapers, which have heretofore, without exception, supported drastic measures against Venezuela, laughingly declare that it is not possible to charge the Legislature with dilatoriness in dealing with the proposition, and the Government organ, The Chronicle, says: "We admit that there was a certain amount of incongruity and perhaps something that was slightly irregular in the proceedings. But really, as the Government takes no risks and has its rights guarded at every point, the public has no reason to complain."

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THE VENEZUELA SITUATION  
A London Paper Says that England Has Been Insulted

LONDON. Oct. 7.—The St. James's Gazette devotes a leading article to discussion of the Venezuelan situation, in which the paper insists that no progress whatever has been made toward a settlement of England's dispute with Venezuela. The paper recites the Venezuelan affronts and outraged perpetrated upon English officials, and concludes by saying:

“If such insults and outrages had been addressed to the meanest sister republic in South America, there would have been war long ago. Any other European power would not have stood it a week, yet we sit with folded hands and permit one slap in the face to succeed another. We hope most sincerely that the negotiations with the United States will result peacefully, but nothing is to be gained by shutting our eyes and crying ‘Peace!’ where there is no peace.”

The Gazette adds that Venezuela's attitude in regarding the construction of a railway to the Barima as a violation of Venezuelan territory is an insult.

[8 October 1896]

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THE VENEZUELAN TROUBLES  
Minister Andrade Refuses to Discuss Them at All

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8.—Minister Andrade of Venezuela distinctly refuses to discuss in any manner the action of the British Guianian Colonial Government in granting a concession along the Kaituma River to the Barima gold fields within the disputed territory, beyond expressing his surprise at the news.

British Guiana being a Crown Colony, the acts of the Legislature become law when approved by the Governor, unless vetoed by the Crown, a prerogative seldom or never exercised. The laws of British Guiana require an interval of fifteen days to elapse between the introduction of a bill and its final passage. This particular concession was introduced fourteen days before the adjournment of the Legislature and was rushed through under a suspension of the rules. As nearly as can be gathered, the line of the proposed railroad runs in the same direction as that over which an attempt was made some time ago to construct a wagon-road, which attempt resulted in the arrest by the Venezuelan authorities of the British Colonial County Surveyor, Harrison, who, however, was subsequently released. The route lies miles outside the Aberdeen line as laid down in the maps accompanying the British Blue Book.

By the convention of 1850 between Great Britain and Venezuela, both parties agreed not to occupy certain territory so long as it remained in dispute. This promise was repeated by the British Foreign Office to Minister Bayard. Venezuela has never advanced one inch, but in 1894 Minister Andrade officially complained to Secretary Gresham that advances were being made by Great Britain, in violation of the status quo, and Secretary Gresham addressed a protest to the British

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Government on behalf of Venezuela through Ambassador Bayard. Then followed the resolution adopted by Congress at the instance of Mr. Livingston of Georgia, requesting the President to use his good offices to have the whole matter referred to arbitration.

The present encroachment in proposing to construct a railroad directly to the gold mines is regarded as more serious than any that have preceded it, particularly if it should turn out (as is deemed more than probable) that the finding of the States High Commission should be that the “true divisional line” brings all these mines within Venezuelan territory.

[9 October 1896]

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THE VENEZUELA COMMISSION  
A Meeting Yesterday, but Nothing Definite Accomplished

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10.—The Venezuelan Boundary Commission held its first meeting to-day since the Summer adjournment. All of the members were present. The session, which occupied the entire day, was devoted to the consideration of the reports presented. No final decision, however, can be arrived at until after the receipt of the report now being prepared by Prof. Burr, whose return from Europe is expected by the end of this month. Among the documents laid before the commission were advance sheets of a book entitled “The Boundary Question Between British Guiana and Venezuela,” devoted to a defense of the British claim, by Joseph Strickland.

There was also presented a revised copy of Mr. Storrow’s summary, hitherto published, of the proposed brief for the Venezuelan Government, to which had been added a caustic note on the Schomburgk line, and a second brief entitled “The Venezuelan Question,” prepared by William L. Scruggs of counsel for the South American republic.

Two hundred and thirty-six pages in the shape of advance sheets of a third brief, prepared by a commission of the Venezuelan Government at Caracas were also laid before the commission. Much of the matter in these documents was already familiar to the commission.

The next meeting will be held on Wednesday, the 28th inst., at which time Prof. Burr is expected to be present, and from that time on continuous sessions of the commission will probably be held until a final decision is reached.

[11 October 1896]

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NO DECISION REACHED YET  
The Venezuela Commission Has More Evidence to Examine

WASHINGTON Oct. 14.—Respecting the report that the Venezuelan Boundary Commission had practically decided the matters submitted to it in favor of Venezuela, Mr. S. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of the commission said to-day:

“The statement that the Venezuelan Boundary Commission has come to a decision sustaining the claims of Venezuela in the boundary dispute between that country and Great Britain is entirely without foundation. The commission is not yet in possession of all the facts necessary to form a definite judgment, and will not be until the return of Prof. Burr from Europe about the end of this month. He is to bring with him new and important historical information, which must be carefully examined before any decision can be arrived at. Any statements therefore to the effect that a decision has been reached are entirely premature.”

Nevertheless, there is an extremely prevalent opinion that the Venezuelan side of the question has to a considerable extent been substantiated.

[15 October 1896]

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INSTRUCTIONS TO PAUNCEFOTE  
Reported that the Venezuela Trouble Is Near Settlement

LONDON, Oct. 20.—With reference to assertion published in *The Speaker* Saturday that Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador to the United States, on his return to his post would be the bearer of instructions that would secure a favorable solution of the Venezuelan frontier dispute, certain papers publish a news agency statement, which purports to be official, to the effect that it is a patent fact that Sir Julian has all along been charged with a mission directed to a settlement of the question.

He has started for the United States with certain instructions, it is alleged, and the negotiations will be reopened immediately upon his arrival. It is too early, however, it is suggested, to say whether the British proposals are likely to be accepted. “Happily,” the statement runs on, “a better feeling is being manifested between the peoples, and it frequently happens that such manifestations helped to an amicable conclusion that would not otherwise be practicable.”

[21 October 1896]

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THE VENEZUELA DISPUTE  
ANDREW D. WHITE TELLS OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK  
Researches in Many Countries Contribute Much Valuable  
Information—Not Seeking a Cabinet Position

Ex-President Andrew D. White of Cornell University, a member of Venezuelan Boundary Commission, was at the Fifth Avenue Hotel yesterday. Some have brought his name into politics as a suitable man to be the next Secretary of State. He is not seeking the appointment, and said, when a reporter of *The New-York Times* asked him if there was anything to be said on the subject:

“No; I simply know what I read in the newspapers. I expect Mr. McKinley will make his own selections for his Cabinet, and will choose able men.

“Is Bryanism likely to appear again in the politics of this country?”

“I do not think it will appear in the form it took in the last campaign. I do not believe the Democratic Party will again be led astray by it. If business improves and general prosperity comes to the country during the next four years, the issues raised by Bryan and his followers will not appear. The rise in the price of wheat, and the drop in the price of silver toward the close of the campaign, took away all argument from Bryan’s cause, and nothing was left for him and his followers, but the attempt to arouse class feelings.”

“Is the work of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission about completed?”

“There is yet much to be done in the minor details, such as printing and issuing the material the commission has gathered, but the real work for which the commission was appointed is completed. In view of the recent turn of the affair, it is possible that the report of the commission may not be made.

“The commission has served a useful purpose, because it has brought about the best way to arrive at the solution of the question. The commission has worked steadily and has brought together a large mass of important material, classified it, and gotten it into proper connection with the matter at issue.

“Dr. Winsor of Harvard has examined nearly three hundred maps, and has made a careful report. Prof. Burr of Cornell has worked in various libraries in this country, at the archives in The Hague and in London, and has sent from time to time reports of great value, enabling the commission to settle some difficult points. Prof. Jameson of Brown University has studied on special subjects in the libraries in this country and abroad, and has submitted reports. Experts have been at work in the archives of the great mission orders in Rome, especially of the Jesuits and Franciscans, and have sent us from time to time maps and statements showing extensions of Spanish missions into the disputed territory. The certified copies of the most important documents bearing on the case in the Spanish archives have been laid before us.

“The commission has prepared probably the best map ever made of the whole territory between the Orinoco and the Essequibo Rivers, and in addition special maps which will be published with the documents to the number of twenty or thirty. All of this matter will be transferred to the Arbitration Tribunal and cannot fail to be of the greatest use to that body in saving a vast deal of trouble and great expense. It will also allow that body to discharge its duty in much less time than it could otherwise have done. The work, therefore, of our commission has been preliminary and preparatory to the work of the Arbitration Tribunal.

“The establishment of the Arbitration Tribunal has been most honorable to the present Administration, and it seems to me will act as a guarantee of continued peace between the United States and Great Britain. This second great arbitration so clearly points the peaceful solution of international difficulties that peace may be considered as permanently established between the two nations, no matter how difficult the questions which may arise hereafter.”

Mr. White said the only question the commission had not touched upon was that of the fifty years’ occupancy of the settlers. That, he added, would have to be settled by expert testimony.

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The Venezuelan Commission

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26.—The Venezuelan Commission will meet again on Wednesday, when Prof. Burr, who is expected to arrive in New-York to-morrow, will present his preliminary report on his researches in the archives of The Hague, which is understood to elucidate several points of the boundary controversy. The final installment of the Venezuelan brief is also expected at this meeting. The commission has not yet commenced to formulate its decision.

[27 October 1896]

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BOUNDARY OF VENEZUELA

THE BRITISH CASE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN COMPLETED

The Commission Receives a Book Published by Authority of the Governor of British Guiana—The Control over the Disputed Territory by Essequibo—Contents of the British Blue Books—The Commission to See Prof. Burr

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28.—The completion of the British case in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, according to the understanding of the Venezuelan Commission, was signalized at the meeting of that body to-day by the receipt from Secretary Olney of an important publication “printed by the authority or his Excellency the Governor of British Guiana” in the colony. The document, which is uniform in appearance with the earlier British Blue Book, is entitled “The Boundary Question. The Control over the Disputed Territory by Essequibo by Means of Her Posts, Indian Captains, and Protectors of Indians, Mainly from the records of British Guiana, by James Rodway.” it is divided into six sub-divisions as follows:

- 1—Area of jurisdiction.
- 2—Posts and postholders.
- 3—Indian Captains.
- 4—The Indian protectorate.
- 5—The watershed of the Essequibo, and
- 6—The Pomeroon district.

This volume has been expected for some time, and surprise is expressed that it should be transmitted through the American Consul at Demerara rather than through Ambassador Bayard, as was the case with the other volumes. The first and second Blue Books were devoted to the Pollock argument, with documents and maps. The second [sic] or supplemental volume gave most of the documents in extenso and corrections to which attention had been called. The fourth was a surprise to all concerned, as it contained simply a reprint of Counsel Storrow’s preliminary argument against the Schomburgk line, and did not have the customary blue cover. No. 5 was a reply to Mr. Storrow, and it has been stated for some time that the sixth and final volume would be devoted to the Indian protectorate.

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At the commission meeting to-day all the members except Dr. Andrew D. White, who was absent, participated in discussions of the evidence. After a recess for luncheon the meeting continued throughout the afternoon.

The commission adjourned this afternoon to meet again to-morrow for the purpose of conferring with Prof. Burr relating to his researches in Holland and England.

[29 October 1896]

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PROF. BURR'S RESEARCHES  
Examined a Lot of Old Documents at The Hague

Prof. George L. Burr, chief historical expert of the American Venezuelan Commission, who has been abroad examining documents bearing on the Venezuelan boundary dispute, arrived yesterday on board the White Star line steamer Teutonic, from Liverpool. Prof. Burr made no stay in this city, but left on the 11.30 A. M. train for Washington.

When seen at the dock and questioned as to the result of his mission to Europe, Prof. Burr said as far as he individually was concerned his labor of research had been entirely satisfactory.

"My mission," he said, "was to find out geographical conditions. I examined a great body of documents which before had not been searched. I found them in Dutch archives at The Hague, where I went direct from here.

"My work was not in connection with diplomats, but I was accorded every possible courtesy, both in England and Holland. The documents I examined went back as far as the sixteenth century.

Prof. Burr said he had formed no conclusions favorable to one side or the other.

When asked whether the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, had brought a settlement of the question with him when he returned to this country, the professor said he did not know.

The documents found in the Dutch archives naturally contained very good material.

Asked whether he thought the question in dispute would be shortly settled, Prof. Burr replied: "I cannot say; I fervently hope it will. The evidence is so vague that it must be interpreted. I have right to anticipate the commission.

Dr. De Hann of Johns Hopkins University accompanied Burr abroad, and assisted him in his research.

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THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION

Sir Edward Clarke, Solicitor General under the Liberal Government, has aroused a good deal of bad feeling by his speech to his constituents at York on the 15th. Referring to the report which will be made by the Venezuelan Commission he said: "That report would be against this country

(England) not because it was a hostile commission,” but because he believed “no honest and impartial commission could decide in favor of the claims of this country upon the evidence.” And he urged a prompt settlement of the matter.

In the discussion that naturally followed it was alleged by Lord Salisbury’s supporters that Sir Edward Clarke, in portions of the speech containing this remarkable avowal, showed that he was not familiar with “the evidence.” We think that the allegation is not without foundation, for certain portions of the evidence which he declared that he had not seen discussed, and on which he placed considerable emphasis, undoubtedly had been discussed, both in the English papers and in this country. But what is significant about the speech is that a member of the present Parliament and a former Solicitor General should make such an extreme statement at all, and should base upon it a demand for an immediate settlement of the question involved. That shows a very different condition of mind from the one that prevailed only a few months since in England.

In connection with this incident in England there is to be noted the remark of Prof. Burr, the geographic expert who has been making investigations in England and Holland, to aid the commission in its labors. When asked whether he thought the question would shortly be settled, he replied: “I cannot say; I fervently hope so. The evidence is so vague that it must be interpreted. I have no right to anticipate the commission.”

This reveals in reality the character of the whole question. It is gravely to be doubted whether there is evidence on either side, whether geographic or historic, that is not “so vague that it must be interpreted.” It is not only possible but probable that the American Commission may find itself unable definitely to describe a boundary that in their judgment sharply divides the possessions of Venezuela from those of Great Britain. If that should prove to be the fact, the commission will, of course, declare it.

What, then, will be the course to pursue? Clearly it would be unreasonable for either party to insist upon forcibly maintaining a claim that a commission so impartial and competent as that named by the President can neither wholly approve nor wholly reject. Both parties, on such a decision by the commission, ought to see the necessity of accepting a compromise, to be reached either by negotiation between themselves or by the friendly offices of the United States, or by some agency to which both should agree. If this should be the outcome it must be noted that it is in effect that sought by the action of our Government, which simply asked that a matter of such obvious doubt and difficulty should not be decided by one party alone—that it should be settled not arbitrarily, but by reasonable arbitration.

[30 October 1896]

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THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION  
Members to Study the Evidence and Reassemble Nov. 10

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.—The Venezuelan Commission adjourned this afternoon to reassemble Tuesday, Nov. 10, the interim to be devoted to independent study by the individual members, and the preparation of his formal report on the Dutch archives by Prof. Burr, the chief historical expert.

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To-day's session, which was devoted to a close examination of Prof. Burr's discoveries, demonstrated that the commission's experts had unearthed much important evidence at The Hague regarding the Dutch settlements in Guiana that had escaped the attention of both the disputing nations.

Among other valuable finds was a map which had been altogether unknown to the Dutch authorities, who were astonished at the skill with which Profs. Burr and De Haan found connecting links in the fabric of evidence they were weaving. Secretary Mallet-Prevost says that while Prof. Burr's return cannot be said to signalize the speedy conclusion of the commission's labors, a distinct advance is made toward the decision.

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LONDON HAS A WRONG VIEW  
Comment in British Guiana on the Kaituma Railway

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2.—British Guiana newspapers, which reached the State Department to-day, disagree with the London press over the Kaituma Railway episode, and advocate compliance with the Venezuelan remonstrance about the violation of the status quo.

Some weeks ago the Colonial Legislature passed under suspension of rules and without adequate consideration, a grant for a railway up the Kaituma River, into the disputed territory, with a provision that the survey should be made at once and the construction should commence in January. Venezuela vigorously protested to the United States against this breach of faith, Great Britain having promised to preserve existing conditions until the whole territorial dispute was settled. When this affair was published in dispatches of The United Associated Presses, London newspapers commented upon it with many disparaging remarks in regard to the United States and possible intervention. In now appears that the Demerara papers, which take their cues from the Colonial authorities, are discussing the matter in quite a different tone, admitting that the action of the Colonial Legislature at this junction was calculated to upset all plans for arbitration.

In the copies reaching here to-day the possibility of international friction over a minor issue is deplored, and the London papers are advised not to lose their temper. Confidence is expressed that the forthcoming settlement of the boundary question will give the colony the projected railway line, and that no actual work will be attempted on it until that decision is rendered. From other sources it is learned that this changed attitude in the colony is due to a very forcible cablegram from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[3 November 1896]

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Great Britain and Venezuela

LONDON. Nov. 7.—The Pall Mall Gazette announces that it is authorized to deny the truth of the report that Great Britain has granted railway concessions in the interior of Venezuela, the line of the proposed railway crossing territory reserved for delimitation. The projected railway, if built at all, The Gazette says, will not encroach upon the Schomburgk line. If Great Britain and the United States agree to settle the Venezuela matter by arbitration the line of the proposed railway will be referred to the arbitrators wherever it touches debatable land.

[8 November 1896]

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LORD SALISBURY'S ADDRESS  
England's Foreign Policy as to Venezuela and Other Countries

LONDON. Nov. 9.—When Lord Salisbury arose to reply to the toast. "Our Ministers," he received an ovation.

Lord Salisbury's Speech

After thanking the Lord Mayor and the others present for the warmth of the welcome extended to him he said:

"I thank the Ambassador of the United States for his presence here and for joining a great historic meeting. By the few words he has uttered he has raised his own plane of observation so high above the mere level of party that, though contrary to practice to remark upon the internal politics of other States, I may be permitted, without impertinence, to congratulate him upon the splendid pronouncement the great people he represents have made in behalf of the principles which lie at the base of all human society. [Cheers.] It is rather bathos to have to turn therefrom to the rather unimportant controversy his country and ours have had in recent months. I only do so for the purpose of expressing the belief that it is at an end. [Cheers.] You are aware that in the discussion had with the United States on behalf of their friends in Venezuela our question has not been whether there should be arbitration, but whether arbitration should have unrestricted application, and we have always claimed that those who apart from historic right had the right which attaches to established settlements should be excluded from arbitration. Our difficulty for months has been to define the settled districts, and the solution has, I think, come from the Government of the United States that we should treat our Colonial empire as we treat individuals; that the same lapse of time which protects the latter in civic life from having their title questioned should similarly protect an English colony, but beyond that, when a lapse could not be claimed, there should be an examination of title and all the equity demanded in regard thereto should be granted.

"I do not believe I am using unduly sanguine words when I declare my belief that this has brought the controversy to an end. [Loud cheers.]

"It is a matter of no small satisfaction to the Government that at a time when anxious social questions which are far more important than political questions are troubling the United States, and therefore troubling the world, we should remove any semblance of political difference that might hinder common action in defense of the common heritages of society.

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We have had an anxious year at the Foreign Office, but we have floated into a period of comparative calm, and I do not intend to trouble you with matters that have passed away.”

[10 November 1896]

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THE VENEZUELA DISPUTE  
LORD SALISBURY SAYS IT IS AT AN END  
Official Statement to That Effect Made by England's Prime Minister at the  
Lord Mayor's Banquet—An Address by Ambassador Bayard

LONDON, Nov. 9.—At the banquet given this evening to celebrate the installation into office of George Faudel Philips, the new Lord Mayor of London, Lord Salisbury made the statement that in his belief the controversy between England and the United States with reference to Venezuela was at an end.

This utterance of Salisbury's was the important feature of the banquet. It was made in the course of a speech, in which, as Premier, according to the custom of recent years. Lord Salisbury made a statement concerning the foreign and domestic policies of the Government. Ambassador Bayard made an address in response to the toast, "The Foreign Missions."

Mr. Bayard, in treating of the community of interests of the nations of the world, all being affected by the doings of others, referred to the Presidential election in the United States, saying:

"I am very sure that it was in no narrow party sense, no merely National sense, that the heart of the people which it is my highest honor to represent was echoed in a verdict that could not be misunderstood, standing as it does for National honor and the continuity of National obligations, making the world safer in the trust of each part, and speaking as emphatically as the human mind and human heart ever spoke in favor of that honesty which is an essential condition of civilization everywhere."

Lord Salisbury was the next speaker. After referring in the kindest terms to Mr. Bayard and the result of the Presidential election in the United States, which he said embodied the "splendid pronouncement of a great people in behalf of the principles which lie at the base of all human society," the Premier made his statement with reference to the Venezuelan trouble.

"It is rather bathos," he said, "to turn to the rather unimportant controversy his (Bayard's) country and ours has had in recent years. I only do so for the purpose of expressing the belief that it is at an end."

This announcement and the balance of Lord Salisbury's remarks with reference to the Venezuelan case provoked enthusiastic applause from all present.

The banqueting hail of the Guildhall, where the Lord Mayor's banquet was served, was crowded, many of those present being of world-wide celebrity, including Prime Minister Salisbury, the Right Hon. George J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India; Lord Halsbury. Lord High Chancellor: the Right Hon. Charles T. Ritchie, President of the Board of Trade; Gen. Lord Wolseley, Commander in Chief of the British Forces: Gen. Sir Herbert Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army; the Right Hon. William Court Gully, Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Hon. Thomas P. Bayard, the American Ambassador.

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COMMENTS OF THE LONDON PRESS  
Great Britain and the United States Both Won a Victory

LONDON, Nov. 9.—The Daily News, commenting to-morrow upon Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall, will say in reference to his explanation of the Venezuelan matter that the terms of the settlement as stated by the Prime Minister are perfectly satisfactory, involving no surrender of essential principles. The solution arrived at will enable each side to claim a victory. Lord Salisbury can justly say he succeeded in protecting the rights of the British settlers, and Mr. Olney can claim with literal truth that he succeeded in bringing Great Britain to consent to arbitration.

The Post will say that the settlement of the Venezuelan dispute is wholly satisfactory to Great Britain and the United States.

The Daily Graphic holds that the solution of the vexatious question reflects the highest credit upon a concerned. It fully justifies the intervention of the United States.

The Standard will briefly welcome "the auspicious announcement."

The Chronicle will say that it finds Salisbury's statement rather puzzling. It doubts whether settled colonists exist in any great numbers, but supposes it is all right.

The Daily Telegraph says the terms of the settlement leave the dignity and interests of Great Britain and the United States unimpaired.

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A TRIUMPH FOR OLNEY  
General Treaty of Arbitration May Be Submitted to the Senate—Great Britain  
Has Yielded Many of Her Contentions

WASHINGTON. Nov. 10.—Americans who have followed the Venezuela case, and who are impatient to hear from their own Government the latest developments of the effort to bring about arbitration of the boundary dispute, are doubtless wishing to-night that a banquet could be provided at which Secretary Olney might add to the welcome information last night volunteered by Lord Salisbury at the Lord Mayor's dinner in London. That Secretary Olney has something to say there is no sort of doubt. That he will not say it is almost as certain as that the British Foreign Office has from the first of this dispute, been much more willing to surrender information than has been the Department of State of the United States.

Lord Salisbury has said that the controversy is at an end. Secretary Olney does not talk about it as freely, and the assumption must be that he does not feel justified in being so emphatic and conclusive as was Lord Salisbury. That he is gratified is evident and he has reason to be. A glance at the correspondence, begun in February last, and just made complete by the release of two letters

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referred to in Lord Salisbury's revelations last night, shows that Mr. Olney has argued the British Foreign Office around to his side of the proposition for arbitration so completely that he must come out of the State Department entitled to wear some plumes of satisfaction. He has about achieved the greatest of victories in the name of arbitration.

An important contention insisted upon by Mr. Olney, to which Lord Salisbury has as yet offered no convincing answer, is that in any scheme of arbitration, either general or particular and special, between the United States and Great Britain, it must be agreed beforehand that the arbitration shall be final. Lord Salisbury argued that in certain cases there should be the right of appeal after arbitration which Secretary Olney cogently insisted would make arbitration farcical.

While much remains to be cleared up in the correspondence to be published, it is plain that the treaty of arbitration of the Venezuelan boundary will be offered to the Senate with a proviso that the finding of the arbitrators must be final, and that, in defining the boundary, the line will be run so as to exclude all settlements not made within fifty or forty years. Secretary Olney suggested sixty years as the limit within which settlement of occupation should be regarded as valid for establishing a right to claim, and it is understood that Lord Salisbury proposed forty years as a substitute. The fifty-year limit of occupation, therefore, seems to have been the compromise accepted as reasonable and satisfactory as a basis of agreement.

The prompt action of the Venezuela Boundary Commission in announcing that it will defer its report is at the suggestion of the Department of State. It would be indelicate and perhaps embarrassing for that body to go on preparing its report on the matter with the announcement from Salisbury that the dispute is settled. But there is assurance that the material collected by the commission will not be cast aside.

It will be submitted to the President in due season, and by and by it is supposed that it will find its way into print after the Venezuelans shall have accepted the settlement that has been brought about by the exercise by the United States of its good offices to settle a vexatious and sometimes threatening question, which not many months ago appeared likely to embroil at least two nations in war.

As yet Venezuela has not taken part in the effort to settle the boundary, except through the United States. With its settlement, or perhaps before, in order to facilitate business, it is probable that Venezuela and Great Britain will once more resume diplomatic relations.

Secretary Olney's effort to bring about a settlement of the Venezuela boundary dispute will be a great achievement if it shall result in a finding acceptable to Great Britain and Venezuela; but it shall bring about a convention between the United States and Great Britain for the arbitration of all disputes between those countries, as a Secretary Olney hopes it will, the winning of the pacific adjustment of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary will constitute but a small part of the claim that the Secretary will have won to the gratitude of two great nations.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE  
Secretary Olney Insists on a Clear Statement of England's Position

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10.—Two letters which were exchanged between the United States and Great Britain regarding Venezuela since the presentation of Mr. Olney's counter proposition of June 12, were given to the press at the State Department this afternoon, and help materially to clear up the situation. In a dispatch of May 22, 1896, Lord Salisbury had proposed an evenly divided commission to report upon territory in dispute outside the so-called settled districts, and Secretary Olney had suggested the provision for a commission of unequal numbers. The next dispatch was from Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote, and was as follows:

Foreign Office, July 3, 1896.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge your Excellency's dispatch of 15th June, inclosing a note from Mr. Olney, in which he explains the reasons that induce the Government of the United States to withhold their assent from the proposals with respect to the Venezuelan frontier contained in my dispatch of the 22d May.

The arguments by which Mr. Olney supports this view will receive the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I am not now writing to you for the purpose of discussing them. My object in addressing your Excellency is to point out, that in a matter of some importance, Mr. Olney—owing doubtless to the inadequacy of my own explanation—has misapprehended the purport of the proposal which I had the honor to make to him—he states that 'it appears to be a fundamental condition that the boundary line, decided to be the true one by the arbitrators, shall not operate upon territory bona fide occupied by a British subject—shall be deflected in every such case so as to make such territory part of British Guiana.'

This was not the intention of my proposals, and the language of my dispatch of 22d May does not, I think, fairly bear this construction. I proposed that 'the tribunal should not have power to include such districts as the territory of Venezuela,' but I did not propose that they should necessarily be assumed, without further proof, to be part of British Guiana. I only stipulated that the ownership of them was not to be decided by the tribunal, which, in our judgement, was inadequate for this purpose, though it was adequate for the assignment of the unsettled districts. The settled districts shown to be in dispute by the inquiries of the commission were to be disposed of by subsequent negotiation.

The claim of Venezuela is so far-reaching that it brings into question interests and rights which cannot properly be disposed of by an unrestricted arbitration. It extends as far as the Essequibo: it covers two-thirds of the Colony of British Guiana; it impeaches titles which have been unquestioned for many generations. These districts must be treated separately, and until further inquiry has thrown more light upon the matter, it is only by reserving the settled districts generally that this can be done.

The view of Her Majesty's Government is that, where the matter in issue is of great importance and involves rights which belong to a considerable population, and are deeply cherished by them, special precautions against any miscarriage of justice are required, of which I have indicated the general character in this correspondence, but which are not required where a little unoccupied territory is alone in question.

It is for this reason that Her Majesty's Government proposed to except these districts from the jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal, though it could deal adequately with the disputed claims to territory that is not occupied. But they did not intend by that stipulation to ask the Government of the United States to prejudge any questions which had been raised, or might be raised, with respect

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to the ownership of settled districts. This part of the subject, confessedly the most difficult part, would have been reserved for separate examination.

I should wish you to offer this explanation to Mr. Olney when you have an opportunity, and if he desires it, give him a copy of this dispatch. I will reserve for another occasion the observations which, after consideration, I may have to make in reply to the general argument of his note.

(Signed) SALISBURY

#### Secretary Olney's Reply

Secretary Olney's reply to this letter follows:

Department of State.  
Washington, July 13, 1896

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt from you of a copy of Lord Salisbury's dispatch to you of the 3d inst. Its object is to explain that his Lordship, in his previous dispatch of May 22, did not intend that the boundary line fixed by the proposed arbitral tribunal should include in British Guiana any territory bona fide occupied by a British subject January 1, 1887. But as such territory must fall upon one side or the other of any complete boundary line, and was certainly not in any event to be assigned to Venezuela, all the present explanation would seem to show is that Lord Salisbury's proposals of May 22 contemplated not a complete boundary line, but a part or parts of such line—namely, such part or parts as might divide uninhabited or unsettled territory. Such a conclusion requires a heroic construction of a paper which, in terms, "proposes the following basis of settlement of the Venezuelan boundary dispute," by which the two Governments are to endeavor to agree "to a boundary line" upon the basis of a certain report, and by which, in absence of such an agreement, an arbitral tribunal is to "fix the boundary line upon the basis of such report."

Nothing in this language intimates that anything less than a complete boundary line, is to be the outcome of the plan suggested.

The discussion, however, is hardly worth pursuing. If Lord Salisbury did not make us meaning clear in the dispatch of May 22, he certainly is entitled to make it clear now. There is another part of the dispatch which seems in me of more importance and upon which I wish to base an inquiry.

"The claim of Venezuela," it is claimed, "is so far-reaching that it brings into question interests and rights which cannot properly be disposed of by an unrestricted arbitration. It extends as far as the Essequibo; it covers two-thirds of the colony of British Guiana; it impeaches titles which have been unquestioned for many generations." That Venezuela claims territory extending to the Essequibo or covering two-thirds of the colony of British Guiana cannot be regarded as being of itself an insuperable obstacle to unrestricted arbitration. But the objection that the Venezuelan claim "impeaches titles which have been unquestioned for many generations" is undoubtedly of the most weighty character. The inquiry I desire to put, therefore, is this. Can it be assumed that Her Majesty's Government would submit to unrestricted arbitration the whole of the territory in dispute, provided it be a rule of the arbitration, embodied in the arbitral agreement, that territory which has been in the exclusive, notorious, and actual use and occupation of either party for even two generations, or, say, for sixty years, shall be held by the arbitrators to be the territory of such party? In other words,

will Her Majesty's Government assent to unrestricted arbitration of all the territory in controversy with the period for the acquisition of title by prescription fixed by agreement of the parties in advance at sixty years?

I inclose copy of the dispatch for Lord Salisbury's use. I should be glad to have its substance transmitted by cable, that it may be published with the other correspondence on the 18 inst.

(Signed) RICHARD OLNEY

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ENGLISH PRESS COMMENTS  
It Looks Like a Square Backdown by Great Britain

LONDON, Nov. 11.—The St. James's Gazette asks whether the agreement will not throw into arbitration all the region between the Schomburgk line and the settled territory of Guiana, which England has declared would never be submitted to arbitration, which course the United States has declared England would be forced to take.

"If it does," says The Gazette, "the American claim that the agreement is a square backdown on the part of Great Britain will be difficult to disprove."

The Globe, commenting upon the Venezuelan arbitration treaty, says it welcomes the agreement, because it releases the United States from a false and dangerous position. If the commission had reported adversely to Great Britain, the paper adds, President Cleveland would have been forced to attempt to coerce Great Britain or eat humble pie, with the result that if the Washington Government had seen fit to enter the unequal contest with England, the development of the United States would have been retarded for half a century."

The Globe also says: "It must be clearly understood that the constitution of the new arbitration tribunal is not to establish a precedent for arranging all further disputes between the United States and the United Kingdom in North and South America, nor are we ready to recognize Monroeism as international law."

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FREDERIC R. COUDERT RETURNS  
Thinks the Venezuelan Dispute Will Be Finally Settled Soon.

Frederic H. Coudert, one of the members of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, returned yesterday from Washington and expressed himself as highly delighted with the outcome of the controversy between this Government and Great Britain.

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“I cannot say anything about future details,” said Mr. Coudert. “It will take some time yet for them to be disposed of. The outcome is sure to be of great benefit in the way of an example. The commission had been in session only two days when the news of Lord Salisbury’s announcement reached us. We have on hand a large mass of evidence which has not yet been discussed. It is not likely now that we will have to take this up. Everything will be turned over to the board of arbitration to be selected. Our labors have now practically been suspended. No decision that could be given by an ex parte tribunal could give perfect satisfaction to both sides, and possibly not to either.

“We shall not try to make any formal report upon the merits of the case until a decision is reached by the international tribunal, as we believe that the way had best be left perfectly clear for an amicable understanding. It may be that we will never make any formal report upon the question at the dispute. That all depends upon what action may be taken by the new factor in the United States. Of course, we shall make a report upon our labors, saying what we have been doing while in session. At present, however, no report of ours involving the question at issue will be allowed to interfere with the amicable settlement of the disagreeable question.

“Lord Salisbury’s announcement, while it comes in the nature of a pleasant surprise, is nevertheless an acknowledgment that England has gracefully yielded to the demands of our Government and will become a party to an arbitration treaty that will no doubt be acceptable to both Governments. I have never had any doubt that England would accede to our terms, but I did not think that the difficult would be settled as soon as this.

“Lord Salisbury has done the very best possible thing under the circumstances, and I think that in two weeks’ time Sir Julian Pauncefote and Secretary of State Olney will sign the protocol of the proposed treaty which will entirely settle the dispute, and also adjust the boundary line between Venezuela an British Guiana.

“No matter how the question is settled, I feel that the work of the commission has not been in vain, as we have gathered together a lot of useful information that will be valuable in years to come. The suggestion of a permanent court to try all disputed questions of international boundary is, I think, a good one, but I do not know that such a scheme is to be incorporated in the proposed treaty.

“Regarding the clause at the treaty that provides that in the ‘settled districts’ a term of fifty years of undisturbed residence shall be regarded as giving the right of possession, I think it is no more than right. It is only another illustration of the law of vested interests. Of course, if the Venezuelans sit idly by and see the English make improvements and cultivate the land for such a length of time, then certainly they ought not to reap the rewards of another’s work.”

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PRESIDENT GILMAN TALKS  
The War Cloud with Which the Year Opened Dissipated

BALTIMORE, Nov. 11.—President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, and one of the members of the Venezuelan Commission, was asked to-day for his opinion as to whether the effect

of the published decision was to make the Monroe doctrine international law or to establish a virtual protectorate on the part of this country over Venezuela. He declared himself very unwilling to be interviewed until more definite information as to the provisions of the treaty was in his possession. Finally, however, he made the following statement:

“It is obvious that all the data requisite to the formation of an opinion have not yet been made public by the United States or Great Britain; but enough has been said to show that the principle of arbitration is heartily accepted by both nations, and that they are very near in complete accord upon the best method of procedure, if, indeed, they are not absolutely so.

“It will be time enough to consider the relations of the correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney to the recognition of the Monroe doctrine when that correspondence is published. All that need be said at the moment is that the Administration, in every difficult and embarrassing controversy, has succeeded in securing a concert of action between the parties interested, and that this is in the interest of peace and international good will. The war cloud with which the year opened has been dissipated by arguments, investigations and concessions.”

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THE PRESIDENT PLEASED  
SETTLEMENT OF VENEZUELAN MATTER A VICTORY  
Many Congratulations Received—Venezuela Practically Ignored in the Final  
Negotiations—Further Delays Necessary

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.—Telegrams of congratulation on the peaceable settlement of the Venezuelan controversy are pouring in on the President.

Though the concessions made by Great Britain are not all that were at first demanded, her agreeing to arbitrate the question at all, even in its qualified form, is regarded by the Administration as a decided victory for this country.

The President finds further satisfaction in the result because it is, in his opinion, an assurance that a general treaty of arbitration between this country and Great Britain will now be concluded before the expiration of his term. He is keenly desirous of negotiating such a treaty. It will be considered a guarantee of peace between the two greatest nations of the world for all time. Moreover, it will pave the way for similar treaties between this and others of the great powers, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

There is already speculation as to the membership of the American part of the commission. The prevailing opinion among public men here seems to be that the two will be taken from the Venezuela Commission, and that Justice Brewer and Frederic H. Coudert are the most likely ones to be so honored.

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THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION  
King Oscar of Sweden Will Probably Be the Fifth Member

LONDON, Nov. 11.—Information comes from the Foreign Office that King Oscar II of Sweden and Norway will be asked to act as the fifth member of the board of arbitration to which the Venezuelan boundary dispute will be referred for settlement.

The officials of the Foreign Office take exceptions to the statements which have been made that Venezuela will not be represented directly in the arbitration tribunal. The Foreign Office authorities suggest that there is still doubt whether Venezuela will have her own member of the tribunal. At any rate, Great Britain regards the United States' representatives as acting for Venezuela.

It is understood that Lord Esher will retire from the office of Master of the Rolls early in 1897, and that Sir Richard E. Webster, Attorney General, will succeed him. Sir Robert B. Finlay, Solicitor General, will conduct the case of Great Britain before the Venezuela Arbitration Commission. Sir Edward Clarke is debarred from taking any part in the proceedings, in consequence of his recent speeches unfavorable to the British contentions.

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A TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT  
England, the United States, and Venezuela Will Sign

LONDON, Nov. 12.—The New-York correspondent of *The Standard* affirms that instead of entering upon a contract with Venezuela or the United States, Great Britain will sign an agreement with both. The Anglo-American document will not be technically a treaty; it will merely be a protocol for preparing an Anglo-Venezuelan treaty. This is owing to the delay that would arise in the ratification of a treaty through the peculiar Venezuela laws.

The progress of the arbitration will thus be greatly facilitated, since the protocol will stipulate that the findings of the arbitration court must be completed before Feb. 9. Each Instrument will refer to the other, compelling them to be construed together, but the less formal document is the more important of the two.

The *Daily News* will to-morrow say that rumors are current of a resumption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela.

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THE VENEZUELAN UMPIRE

KING OSCAR OF SWEDEN MAY BE SELECTED TO ACT  
Governments at Washington and London Speculating on the  
Composition of the Commission of Arbitration.

WASHINGTON. Nov. 12.—President Cleveland will consider it a bit of good fortune if he may be able, on Dec. 7 or 8, to announce the agreement of the United States and Great Britain to a treaty of arbitration of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary.

If the protocol is approved before that time, the announcement of the fact may come from England, either for Great Britain or for Venezuela. From whatever direction it may come, the President is not likely to overlook the aim that Secretary Olney has constantly kept in sight. He has disregarded all opportunities for popularity to be secured by publication of the correspondence as it led toward arbitration, preferring to await the tendency of Great Britain to acknowledge, as some of the British papers admit that Lord Salisbury has, that the Monroe doctrine is having the force of international law in such controversies as this between Venezuela and Great Britain.

Acting merely as “the friend of Venezuela,” the United States Government has about brought Venezuela and Great Britain together again in diplomatic relations, which will have been resumed when the Minister of Venezuela shall sign the treaty that is proposed for the arbitration of the boundary between Venezuela and Guiana.

It is not expected that it will be necessary to consult the Senate of the United States in the matter, so that the delay that might occur through a partisan division of that body will be avoided. Secretary Olney is apparently of the same opinion as Lord Salisbury, in considering the controversy ended. The manner of selection of the arbitrators for Great Britain and Venezuela, and the mere detail as to whether King Oscar of Sweden, or a substitute shall act as umpire, are considered as comparatively unimportant details.

The admission is made at the State Department that King Oscar of Sweden may be called into the Venezuelan arbitration, but only in case of a disagreement by the four arbitrators appointed in the first instance as to the selection of the fifth member, when the King will be asked to designate some person as President of the tribunal. This is considered an exceedingly distant contingency, as no doubt is felt that the four original appointees will have no difficulty in reaching common ground on the matter with the same facility that they are expected to reach a conclusion on the evidence in the boundary dispute. It is further said that it has never been contemplated that the King himself should be the final arbitrator, or that the tribunal should hold its sessions in Norway or Sweden, although the locality is left to their discretion. As all the evidence in the controversy has now been collected together in Washington, there is suggested a bare possibility that they might deem it advantageous to meet here, but the documents and other data are rapidly being arranged in such a way by the commission that they could be taken to any desirable place without difficulty.

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Two Arbitrators to be Chosen by the United States and Two by Great Britain—  
The Fifth Member to Preside

LONDON, Nov. 13.—The Chronicle will to-morrow publish what it claims to be a complete summary of the agreement regarding the Venezuelan question. The article is entitled “Heads of a Proposed Agreement Between Venezuela and Great Britain for the settlement of the Venezuelan Boundary Question as Agreed upon Between Great Britain and the United States of America.”

There are four heads. Under the first the appointment of an arbitration tribunal to determine the boundary is provided for.

Under the second head provision is made for the appointment of a tribunal of five members, two to be nominated by the Supreme Court of the United States, two by the Supreme Court of Great Britain, while the fifth member is to be a jurist selected by the other members.

In the event of these four members failing to agree upon the selection of the fifth member, King Oscar of Sweden and Norway will select him. The fifth member will be President of the tribunal, and he may be a Judge of either the Supreme Court of the United States or the similar court of Great Britain.

Under the third head the tribunal is directed to examine all the facts necessary to decide the controversy regarding the territory known to belong to the United Netherlands and the Kingdom of Spain, when Great Britain acquired Guiana.

Under the fourth head it is provided that the arbitrators shall ascertain all the facts necessary to arrive at a proper decision. They must be governed in their findings by three short rules, the most important of which provides a prescription of fifty years. The arbitrators may give effect to the rights of settlers. In establishing the facts the ordinary rules of law shall prevail.

The agreement is dated Nov. 12, 1896, and is signed by Secretary of State Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador to the United States.

The Chronicle adds that the foregoing will be the basis of the Anglo-Venezuelan treaty.

The St. James's Gazette says that Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M. P., formerly Home Secretary, and Sir George Baden-Powell, M. P., will probably be appointed to represent Great Britain on the Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal.

Treating of the settlement of the Venezuelan question, The Daily News, in its issue to-morrow, will comment upon certain Tory complaints that Lord Salisbury climbed down from the position first assumed by him, which was that there was “nothing to arbitrate,” and also upon the complaints of some French and German critics that Lord Salisbury has improperly exalted the United States.

The paper contends that there is no doubt that Lord Salisbury did climb down somewhat, but that Secretary of State Olney did likewise. It adds that Lord Salisbury has in nowise admitted the new version of the Monroe doctrine, either theoretically or formally, but that Mr. Olney has succeeded to some extent in establishing it. It will be interesting, The News concludes, to see how far Mr. Olney or his successor is willing to follow up the step.

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THE VENEZUELAN COURT  
The Men Whom, It Is Supposed, Lord Salisbury Will Appoint

LONDON, Nov. 14.—Sir Richard Webster, Attorney General, is supposed to be disqualified for membership in the Venezuelan arbitration court, as he is committed to an opinion through his advocacy of the British case. Sir Edward Clarke, ex-Solicitor General, and Sit Frederick Pollock, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence of Oxford University, are also disqualified, the former through his opposition to the British claims and the latter by his support of them.

It is surmised that Lord Salisbury will select Lord Herschell, formerly Lord High Chancellor and now a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and Lord Davey, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, and also a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It may be, however, that Prof. Thomas Erskine Holland, Chichele Professor of International Law at Oxford University, will be selected as one of the British judges.

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THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
CONGRESS WILL NOT HELP TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE  
By the Agreement Between Venezuela and Great Britain, the Senate  
and the House Are Avoided

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1.—In course of time, probably before Major McKinley shall have been inaugurated as President of the United States, the Congress will be informed, by a message from the President, that the Venezuela-Guiana dispute has been amicably settled, and that he settlement has been approved by the United States as the mutual friend of the disputants.

Unless the negotiations now in progress fail utterly, this settlement will be brought about without the cooperation of the Congress in either branch. The danger to which an attempt to bring about such a settlement would have been exposed was early appreciated by the Secretary of State. The difficulty of avoiding the Congress was also great. Venezuela and Great Britain were not on good terms. Years ago, in consequence or the attitude of Venezuela toward Great Britain in this matter, diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed. Two nations not having diplomatic intercourse are at a decided disadvantage then there is a bone of contention between them.

Secretary Olney was determined that the controversy should be settled, if possible, and it was an outcome of this determination that brought on the announcement by the President in his message to the Congress about a year ago, in which the Monroe doctrine was reasserted, and the determination of the Administration expressed to regard as an unfriendly act the effort of any European nation to extend its territory on this Continent at the expense of any American nation. The assumption was that the United States Government would proceed, by force, to maintain the Monroe doctrine. But correspondence between the Department of State and the British Foreign Office brought about quite a different result. An agreement between the United States and Great Britain was reached by the terms of which, if carried out, Great Britain and Venezuela will be brought together in friendly intercourse, and the boundary dispute settled without resort to bloody and expensive war.

Acting as a friend of Venezuela, the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador have agreed to the basis of a settlement of the boundary dispute. The terms of the agreement have been

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repeatedly referred to. The most important thing about this agreement is that by acting only as the friend of Venezuela and Great Britain the United States Government has avoided much delay and all opposition that might spring from factional opposition in the United States. The Senate can be depended upon, as now constituted, to refuse approval to most propositions sent to the Senate for its advice and consent.

If Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister in Washington shall succeed in the mission upon which he was sent to Caracas, by in impressing upon Venezuela the responsibility for failure to bring the negotiations to a successful issue, it is believed that the terms approved by Secretary Olney will be accepted, and that upon the return of the Venezuelan Minister there will remain to be completed only a few details so immaterial to the main questions that they can be settled without arousing the national pride of either nation to the dispute.

Several gains will be made by bringing the controversy to a close in this way. Great Britain and Venezuela will resume amicable intercourse as one result of the friendly intervention of the United States.

The unfriendliness of the United States Senate to the Administration will become of no importance whatever as an obstacle. With the signing of the agreement by the Minister of Venezuela and the Ambassador of Great Britain all necessity for a preliminary treaty between the United States and Great Britain will be done away with. Venezuela will secure such of her territory as the arbitrators decide is of right hers to hold; Great Britain will have a boundary clearly and indisputably defined, and the United States will secure a recognition of the Munroe doctrine at the same time that a war has been averted against a nation entirely unprepared to offer battle to so strong an antagonist as Great Britain.

Señor Andrade has gone to Venezuela fully impressed with the importance of overcoming any opposition that may be offered by unreasonable patriots who would prefer to assert the right of Venezuela to the most ancient Venezuelan boundary rather than yield an inch. Domestic differences may make this difficult in Venezuela, and thwart the purposes of Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote. But a refusal of the terms offered may justify the United States Government in withdrawing its good offices. Such an outcome would be mortifying to the United States and disastrous, perhaps, to Venezuela, which might be obliged to ask for a resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain in order to secure a less satisfactory adjustment only after a prolonged and hurtful war. The United States would be unwilling to be involved in that war. After a war the United States might be called upon to undertake again precisely the negotiations which have progressed almost to a conclusion without the firing of a gun, the loss of a life, or the sacrifice of national pride.

If the Venezuelan Congress proves to be moderate and appreciative of the efforts of the United States, the boundary controversy may be settled before President Cleveland leaves Washington for his new home in Princeton.

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BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY  
Rules Governing the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitrators

The London Chronicle publishes the rules which it says will govern the arbitrators under the treaty between England and Venezuela according to the agreement arranged between negotiators upon behalf of England and the United States. It appears to settle in favor of England the mooted point whether private occupation or political administration is included within the period of prescription. Both are included. How much practical effect this will have in enlarging England's award is doubtful. But it is certain that while England's individual occupation is comparatively limited and recent, scarcely ante-dating the discovery of gold, England's political control is a question of a very different sort. Venezuela, for example, has not had "political control" within the Schomburgk line since it was drawn, in 1841. Quite possibly the arbitrators may rule that disputed or protested control is no control at all, but the point will certainly be contested. The agreement was in The Times of Nov. 14. These are the supplementary rules:

1. Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district, as well as actual settlement there, sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

2. The arbitrators may recognize and give effect to rights and claims resting on any other ground whatever valid according to international law, and on any principles of international law which the arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case, and which are not in contravention of the foregoing rules.

3. In determining the boundary line, if the territory of one party be found by the tribunal to have been at the date at this treaty in occupation of the citizens or subjects of the other party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the tribunal, require.

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#### THE REAL VENEZUELAN QUESTION

In the present situation in the United States Senate it is plainly a good thing that no action by that body is needed to carry out the proposed settlement of the Anglo-Venezuelan question. But it is a still better thing that the proposed settlement does not involve positive action by the American Government at all, but is to be carried out by the two Governments directly interested. In this fact lies much if not most of the value of the outcome of the policy of the United States Government as developed in the last year.

This is a point which has escaped the attention of the leading journals of England, or, if they are aware of it, they do not give it the weight it should have, and make assumptions quite inconsistent with it. Papers of all parties—Liberal, Radical, Conservative, and Unionist—after Lord Salisbury's Guildhall speech joined in crying out, in effect, that at last the United States had been forced to take the responsibility for their policy in the Venezuela matter, and could thenceforth be made to keep all the South American Republics in order. The English papers declared that their Government, having been induced by our Government to settle a dispute with Venezuela on terms practically dictated by the United States, ignoring Venezuela, all future business with that little nation, or with others of

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South America, would be done through and by the United States, and at our risk. We had assumed a virtual protectorate and must take all the responsibilities that go with a protectorate.

Nothing of the sort is true. If Lord Salisbury had tried to conduct his negotiations on any such basis, and with the purpose of securing an open or implied acknowledgment by the United States of any such unlimited liability, the negotiations would have come to a prompt, perhaps to a disastrous, close. What the United States Government has done in this whole question is really very simple. It can easily be disentangled from the long and voluminous record, because the real purpose of our Government has been distinctly conceived and clearly kept in view. The United States Government has insisted that Great Britain, in a dispute involving the essential territorial rights of an American State, should not enforce its own decision, but should consent to submit the dispute to an impartial arbitration.

Great Britain has consented. The President has done what he could to arrange the terms of the arbitration. There the matter ends. We have not undertaken to force Venezuela to accept arbitration, nor are we bound, if she does accept it, to force her to carry out the decision arrived at. We have provided a way by which justice may be done. That is all that Venezuela had any right to ask us to do and all that we had any right to try to do, and our position is made clear and impregnable by the terms reached between the two Governments directly involved.

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THE VENEZUELAN TREATY  
A CHIEF FEATURE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE  
The Agreement Under Which Arbitration is to Proceed—  
Proposed Treaty between Great Britain and This Nation

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6.—The probable assent of Venezuela to the proposed treaty of arbitration of the British Guiana boundary dispute through the good offices of the United States and the practical conclusion of a general arbitration convention between Great Britain and the United States, it is stated, will form two of the most important diplomatic announcements in the President's message to Congress tomorrow.

What is understood to be in nearly all essential particulars a copy of the preliminary agreement entered into some weeks ago between Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote on the Venezuelan matter is made public. The draft of the proposed treaty itself, which the Venezuelan Minister, Mr. Andrade, carried with him to Caracas to lay before his Government, is more elaborate than this agreement.

It starts with a preamble of considerable length, and in that portion which refers to the fifty-year occupation of territory in dispute embodies other points besides mere occupancy and political control, which will be taken into consideration by the tribunal. These are expressed in technical terms, which international lawyers will understand, but which would not be readily comprehended by others. The language of the agreement signed by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote is largely informal. For instance, there is a blunt reference to the "King of Sweden," without any of the customary terms of courtesy and full titles. The agreement is substantially as follows:

## The Agreement

1. An arbitral tribunal shall be immediately appointed, to determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela.
2. The tribunal shall consist of two members nominated by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and two members nominated by the Judges of the British High Court of Justice, and a fifth selected by the four persons so nominated; or in the event of their failure to agree within three months from the time of their nomination, selected by the King of Sweden. The person so selected shall be the President of the tribunal. The persons nominated by the Judges of the United States and the British High Court of Justice, respectively, may be judges of either of said courts.
3. The tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might be lawfully claimed by the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain, respectively, at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela.
4. In deciding the matter submitted, the arbitrators shall ascertain all facts which they deem necessary to a decision of the controversy, and shall be governed by the following rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to be applicable to the case.

## Rules of the Tribunal

The rules which are to govern the tribunal have been broadened in the treaty itself, but as covered in the preliminary agreement they read:

“1. Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make good title. The arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district as well as actual settlement thereof sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

“2. The arbitrators may recognize and give effect to rights and claims resting upon any other ground whatever valid according to existing international law and on any principle of international law which the arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case and are not in contravention to the foregoing rules.

“3. In determining the boundary line, if the territory of one party be found by the tribunal to have been in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the tribunal, require.”

Advices received from Caracas do not bear out the impression that the Venezuelan Cabinet is dissatisfied with the treaty or that Minister Andrade who will shortly return to the United States, will bring with him the draft of a new treaty as modified by the Venezuelan authorities. On the contrary, there are grounds for the belief that President Crespo and his Constitutional advisers have given their full adhesion to the proposed treaty.

Under these circumstances, it will be signed by Mr. Andrade, representing the South American Republic, and by Sir Julian, on the part of Great Britain, after which the United States will drop out of the matter well satisfied to have been the medium of bringing the two countries together and of effecting a settlement of their long dispute through the peaceful channel of an international Board of Arbitrators.

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### The Treaty Will Be Ratified

It was only in this way, it is asserted on high authority, that such a conclusion could have been reached, as diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Great Britain have long been suspended, and it was well known that her Majesty's Government would not consent that Venezuela should have any voice in the selection of the board. While it is entirely true that the ratification of the treaty must still depend upon the will of the Venezuelan Congress, no doubt is felt that that body will indorse President Crespo's action.

In regard to a general treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain it is stated that the President's message will show that negotiations are practically concluded and that it will be the President's pleasure within a few weeks at the utmost to lay the treaty before the Senate for its consideration. It is substantially finished now, excepting a few matters of detail that are still the subject of correspondence, but respecting which there will be little if any additional delay.

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### VENEZUELA IS SATISFIED She Accepts the Treaty of Arbitration with Great Britain

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—Venezuela has accepted the arbitration as agreed upon by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote.

Secretary Olney received to-day a cablegram from Minister Andrade, at Caracas, that the memorandum between Great Britain and the United States for the settlement of the boundary question had been accepted by the Venezuelan Government.

Minister Andrade's cablegram further stated that the memorandum will be published at Caracas this afternoon, and that an extra session of the Venezuelan Congress would be called as soon as possible, in order that the memorandum may be carried into effect by the necessary treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela.

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### SECRETARY OLNEY'S REPORT General Arbitration with Great Britain Foreshadowed

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—The report of the Secretary of State, to which President Cleveland referred in his message to Congress, states that "the relations of the United States with foreign powers continue upon that footing of harmony and friendliness which has been their fortunate characteristic for so many years." The report summarizes the more important questions which have occupied the attention of the department during the current year.

THE VENEZUELAN DISPUTE  
General Arbitration Foreshadowed as the Outcome of the Discussion

Of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela it says: “The long-protracted dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela in regard to the boundary between the latter republic and British Guiana has, for a number of years past, attracted the earnest attention of this Government and enlisted its often renewed friendly offices to bring about an adjustment of the question in the best interests of right and justice, as determinable by the historical record and the actual facts. The extended discussion of the subject culminated in July of last year, in an elaborate presentation to the British Government of the views of the United States touching the opportune-ness and necessity of a final disposition of the points at issue by the pacific resort of an equitable arbitration.

“The entire correspondence having been laid before Congress by the President with his message of Dec. 17, 1895, that body provided for the appointment of a commission of eminent jurists to examine and report touching the ascertainable facts of the controversy, with a view to enable this Government to determine the further course in the matter. That commission has pursued its labors unremittingly during the present year, its researches being greatly aided by the elaborate statements placed at its disposal by both the interested Governments, together with a mass of documentary evidence furnished from the archives of the European countries that shared in the early discoveries and settlement of South America.

Amicable Counsels Prevail

“Pending this arduous investigation, however, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain have omitted no endeavor to reach a friendly understanding upon the main issue of principle through diplomatic negotiation, and it is most gratifying to announce that amicable counsels have prevailed to induce a satisfactory result, whereby the boundary question and its associated phases have been at last eliminated as between this country and England. A complete accord has been reached between them, by which the substantial terms of a treaty of arbitration to be concluded by Great Britain and Venezuela have been agreed upon, the provisions of which embrace a full arbitration of the whole controversy upon bases alike just and honorable to both the contestants. It only remains for the two parties directly concerned to complete this equitable arrangement by signing the proposed formal treaty, and no doubt is entertained that Venezuela, which has so earnestly sought the friendly assistance of the United States toward the settlement of the vexatious contention, and which has so unreservedly confided its interests to the impartial judgment of this Government, will assent to the formal adjustment thus attained, thus forever ending a dispute involving far-reaching consequences to the peace and welfare of the Western Continent.

General Arbitration Probable

“Coincidentally with the consideration of the Venezuela boundary question, the two Governments have continued negotiations for a general convention, in the line of the recommendations of the British House of Commons, to which previous messages of the President have adverted, that all differences hereafter arising between the two countries and not amenable to ordinary diplomatic treatment should be referred to arbitration. The United States and Great Britain, having given repeated proof of their acquiescence in the great principle involved, not only by treaties

between themselves by severally by concluding like adjustments with other powers for the adjudication of disputes resting on law and fact, the subject was naturally approached in a benevolent spirit of agreement, and the negotiations have so satisfactorily progressed as to foreshadow a practical agreement at an early date upon the text of a convention to the desired end.”

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VENEZUELAN TREATY SAFE  
Its Details Were Known to President Crespo Long Ago

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12.—It is ascertained from official sources that every detail of the proposed Venezuelan treaty was communicated to Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, before he left Washington, and was by him cabled to President Crespo at Caracas, and the approval of the Venezuelan Government was obtained by cable before Mr. Andrade started on his purely perfunctory mission of carrying over a copy of the proposed treaty to submit to the Cabinet.

“This,” said a high official to-day, “was simply done to invest the instrument with that dignity and character so dear to the Latin-American heart. There was not a word in the treaty which was not previously known to the Venezuelan Government, and which had not been approved in advance.”

“How do you account for the fact,” was asked, “that Mr. Andrade, before leaving the city, asserted that he was simply going over to New York to visit the Horse Show, and that he did not know anything about any treaty, but had been kept in darkest ignorance of the progress of the negotiations?”

Oh, that is diplomacy,” was the reply.

“Will the treaty be concluded before the close of Secretary Olney’s administration?”

“Most assuredly.”

The statement in these dispatches yesterday that ex-Minister Michelena’s attack on the treaty was purely a political move directed against Crespo is confirmed by dispatches received from Caracas to-day. Michelena is described as “always pestiferous,” and it is stated that his efforts have fallen flat and will fail.

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MINISTER ANDRADE COMING  
Believed That He Has Power to Sign the Venezuelan Treaty

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24.—Mr. Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister to the United States, who went to Caracas two months ago to lay the protocol of the new boundary treaty with Great Britain before the Venezuelan Cabinet, is expected to reach Washington on Saturday of this week. The State

Department, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, has every reason to believe he has been empowered by President Crespo to sign the treaty on behalf of Venezuela.

The Department has been fully advised of the protests which a few ambitious politicians in the republic made against the treaty, but its information is that these influences were strongly repressed by Crespo, who, while not satisfied with every detail, believed the treaty to be on the whole all that Venezuela can consistently ask. If Mr. Andrade, as is expected, shall reach Washington by Monday next, himself and the British Ambassador will, meet—presumably at the British Embassy—almost immediately, and formally sign the protocol, thus clearing the way for that settlement “of the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana” which formed the subject of President Cleveland’s special message to Congress a year ago, and which, it was feared for a time, would involve us in war with her Majesty’s Government.

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ARBITRATION IS ASSURED  
TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN TO BE SIGNED THIS WEEK  
Señor Andrade and Sir Julian Pauncefote Arranging Final Details  
in Relation to the Venezuelan Boundary Settlement

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28.—The latest information respecting the Anglo-American treaty, under the terms of which all future disputes between the United States and Great Britain not involving the National honor of the two Governments are to be referred to an arbitration tribunal, is that it will be signed by the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, and by Secretary Olney, representing the United States, this week. The last point of difference between the two gentlemen was settled a few days ago and the result cabled to Lord Salisbury for his approval. State Department officials believe that Lord Salisbury’s reply, which is expected to be favorable, will reach Washington not later than Wednesday, in which event the formal signing of the treaty will immediately follow. It is predicted to-day that the treaty will be sent to the Senate within a few days after the reassembling of Congress next week.

The international incident of the Venezuelan boundary dispute is considered closed as far as the United States is concerned, and all further negotiations for its adjudication lie wholly with the two parties to the controversy, Venezuela and Great Britain. At the State Department it is that with the acceptance by the Venezuelan Executive three weeks ago of the heads for the proposed treaty of arbitration as signed by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Mr. Olney on Nov. 12, the friendly intervention of the United States had been completed and the only additional acts of the United States in the matter will be the publication of the evidence and reports collected by the Venezuelan High Commission and the eventual reference to the United States Supreme Court of the concurrent request of the two countries for the appointment of two jurists as members of the tribunal.

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## THE TREATY OF ARBITRATION

A year ago to-day nobody could possibly have foreseen what the ultimate result of the special message of the President upon the question of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela would be. There were many who thought it meant war. There were more who, regarding it as an obstacle to peace, yet maintained that peace would be preserved in spite of it. But not a solitary prophet proclaimed that it would establish peace between the foremost two of the English-speaking nations on a firmer basis than ever and make it more difficult than it had before been for a flurry of popular excitement or a fog of popular confusion to hurry England and America into war.

It is true that the option of going to war is still left open to both nations, and it is well that this should be so. War remains, what it has always been, the "last argument of Kings." A nation which proclaims that under no compulsion will it fight invites oppression and insult. In the proposals for a Pan-American union which involved a general scheme of arbitration more than one State refused to acquiesce beforehand in an unlimited application of the scheme. Questions of national honor and questions of territorial integrity, they declared, were not arbitrable. This is the ground that Lord Salisbury has taken, and a reservation is accordingly made in the treaty. When either nation is really bent upon war, the right of carrying out the national will remains to it under the treaty.

But, while the right remains, the difficulty of exercising it is immensely increased. It is quite true that a nation so disposed may withdraw from arbitration almost any question under the pretense that it is not arbitrable. But it must do so deliberately, formally, and in the face of the world. It is not to be expected that a great nation will ever resume to quibble under such a scrutiny and such a responsibility, that it will venture to withdraw from arbitration a question which to impartial mankind seems a proper subject for arbitration. We have had but one war with Great Britain since the war by which we obtained our independence of her. It is difficult to imagine that the war of 1812 could have occurred if the treaty now ready for signature had then been in force. It is inconceivable that the claims for the enforcement of which the war was undertaken would have been either presented to a tribunal of arbitration or withheld from it under the pretension, publicly made and submitted to the judgment of mankind, that they were not proper for arbitration.

As we have said, the great result now about to be consummated would not have been brought about but for the action which so many of us a year ago deprecated or deplored. That England and America might submit their disputes to arbitration was merely a vague aspiration or a pious opinion until the Venezuelan question made of it a living issue and forced it to a solution. It is to be hoped that the treaty may receive its signature before the close of the year and of the holiday season. No more acceptable New Year's gift could be made to mankind than the agreement which marks the longest stride ever taken toward reducing to practice the sentiment of the Christmas season: "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

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THE VENEZUELAN TREATY  
Only Point of Difference on the Place of Tribunal's Meeting

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11.—Sir Julian Pauncefote and Minister Andrade as Plenipotentiaries of their respective countries to negotiate the Anglo-Venezuela arbitration treaty have, it is claimed, not yet completed their work, although the main points of the convention as agreed upon in the Olney memorandum were long ago disposed of. Other details, with one or two exceptions, involved no delay. The place of meeting of the tribunal is the chief point of difference, Venezuela preferring Washington.

Minister Andrade says that the Venezuelan Congress could, however, even at this late day, be assembled on a few days' notice, and he expressed the hope that the treaty will be ready for ratification early in February, although he declines to say how long it will take to reach an agreement.

It is believed that the two Plenipotentiaries reached a practical agreement last week on a provisional treaty, and that copies thereof have been sent to London and Caracas in which blank spaces were left for the place of the tribunal's sessions, to be filled in by cable messages.

No doubt is expressed in the certain eventual ratification of the treaty which has been considered by all parties to have been practically concluded, on Nov. 12, when Sir Julian and Secretary Olney signed the memorandum.

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HISTORY OF THE TREATY  
It Represents the Ideas of the President, Gresham, and Olney

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11.—President Cleveland has to-day crowned his Administration as Chief Magistrate by sending to the Senate a general treaty of arbitration negotiated by Secretary of State Richard Olney and her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote.

With the approval of the Senate, this will, it is believed, prove to be an instrument of inestimable benefit in assuring a continuance of cordial relations between the two great English-speaking powers, and will entitle the President and Secretary Olney to the gratitude of many generations of Americans.

The treaty that was signed to-day has been negotiated within a year of the time when the two Governments began to address themselves seriously to the question. General arbitration had been proposed when the Venezuelan controversy became critical, and the necessity for disposing at once of that dispute made it easy to try arbitration in that case, to test the practicability of extending the jurisdiction of arbitration. The success met with in reaching a basis of agreement to arbitrate the Venezuela-Guiana boundary matter pointed the way to the larger and more important general arbitration treaty, and under the terms of the thirteen articles in the pending convention about everything upon which the United States may disagree with Great Britain, except questions touching

National integrity or honor, will hereafter be settled by a court of arbitrators and an umpire to be selected by the court.

### The First Step

The first step toward the accomplishment of this gratifying result was taken by the late Secretary Gresham, in February, 1896. Ambassador Bayard asked Lord Salisbury to permit her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to enter upon negotiations with Secretary of State Olney for a settlement of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary by arbitration. This was on March 3, readily concurred in by Lord Salisbury, who gave permission to Sir Julian Pauncefote to discuss the question, either with a representative of Venezuela or that of the United States as the friend of Venezuela.

In a note to Sir J. Pauncefote, written March 5, 1896, Lord Salisbury referred to the fact that a year earlier communications had been exchanged between Sir J. Pauncefote and Secretary Gresham upon the establishment of a system of international arbitration for the adjustment of disputes between the two Governments. It appeared to Lord Salisbury that the occasion was favorable for renewing the discussion upon a subject in which both nations feel a strong interest. The British Prime Minister discussed the question at liberal length asserting at the outset that "neither Government is willing to accept arbitration upon issues in which the National honor or integrity is involved." He sent the heads of a proposed plan for two permanent judicial officers to be named by each Government. Upon the appearance of difference, not to be settled by negotiation, each power was to designate one of the permanent officers as arbitrators, they to select an umpire, whose decision was to be binding upon the arbitrators. But provision was made for an appeal to a court composed of three Judges of the Supreme Court of Great Britain and three of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which a decision must be rendered by a vote of not less than five to one to make a valid determination.

### Mr. Olney Objects

Secretary Olney, on April 11, wrote to Ambassador Pauncefote to commend much that had been suggested by Lord Salisbury, but objecting to the requirement that an award must be concurred in by five out of six appellate arbitrators. He proposed certain substitute heads, providing, in place of the features in Lord Salisbury's plan regarded as objectionable, a scheme making all disputes *prima facie* arbitrable, each dispute to go before the tribunal unless Congress or Parliament should displace the jurisdiction, any agreement by the arbitrators to be final or a decision on appeal to three Justices of the Supreme Court of each country to be final if agreed to by a majority of the appellate tribunal.

Mr. Olney argued that when Congress and the Parliament had agreed that a dispute was arbitrable it would be inconsistent with any reasonable theory of arbitration that an award concurred in by the arbitrator of the defeated country should be appealable by that country. He stated this proposition elaborately, analyzing Lord Salisbury's propositions to show why they must be modified to make an agreement to arbitrate effective, when arbitration was to be resorted to. Mr. Olney closed his letter by suggesting that if no treaty for general arbitration could be then expected it was not improper to add that the Venezuela boundary dispute seemed to offer a good opportunity for one of those tentative experiments at arbitration which, as Lord Salisbury had intimated, would be

of decided advantage as tending to indicate the lines upon which a scheme for general arbitration could be judiciously drawn.

### Lord Salisbury Yields

Lord Salisbury's answer to Mr. Olney was full and learned, and his argument was directed largely against the submission to arbitration of territorial disputes. He was plainly against surrendering control over claims of that kind. He did not look for a hearty adoption and practice of arbitration in the case of territorial demands, "unless the safety and practicability of this mode of settlement are first ascertained by a cautious and tentative advance." The suggestion by Secretary Olney that a trial of arbitration be made in the Venezuela case was accepted. The negotiations for the agreement between Venezuela and Great Britain cleared the way for the later and more important treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

While the success of the Administration in securing an agreement to arbitrate the Venezuela boundary was gratifying to Secretary Olney, and the implied recognition of the force of the Monroe Doctrine was regarded as a triumph for the United States, the Secretary of State undoubtedly considers the treaty of general arbitration as a more important achievement, and one of greater value, not only for the United States and Great Britain, but to the whole world. It is a victory for peace, making war impossible for trivial reasons, and supplying the machinery which may reduce the chances of war in cases that might otherwise involve two great nations in bloody and expensive strife.

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### CLAIMED AS A BRITISH VICTORY

WASHINGTON Jan. 12.—The first British Guiana papers published since the Venezuelan agreement between this country and England reached the State Department to-day, dated as late as Dec. 23. They show that the whole arrangement, particularly the fifty-year clause, is highly satisfactory to the colonists, who consider that Great Britain has got the best at the bargain in every way.

While the utterances are cautious, the papers express satisfaction "that Great Britain was able to secure its side without any recognition of the Monroe Doctrine."

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### THE VENEZUELA AFFAIR Uruan Military Post Discontinued by the British

WASHINGTON. Jan. 22.—By direction of Lord Salisbury the military post of the Uruan, in British Guiana, which led to acute trouble with Venezuela, has been discontinued.

An Indian post holder has been substituted for the police garrison, in obedience to directions from the Colonial Office in London, and one of the greatest thorns in Venezuela's side is thereby removed.

The news of the abandonment of the post reached the State Department to-day through the Demerara newspapers, which made the announcement Jan. 6. The colonists are philosophical over the setback, and claim that the Indian holder will constitute as effective a maintainer of their territorial title as the soldiers, who will not be exposed to the frequently fatal malarial influences of the locality. It also is stated the indemnity secured from Venezuela on account of what was known as the "Uruan incident," has been apportioned among the Britons involved, Inspector Barnes and Baker getting \$2,500 each, and the constables \$500 each.

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THE VENEZUELA TREATY  
Chief Justice Fuller and Judge Brewer Arbitrators for the Republic

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court to-day practically confirmed the report that Chief Justice Fuller and himself had been selected as arbitrators on behalf of Venezuela in the matter of the settlement of the boundary-line dispute between that country and Great Britain. The formal signing of the treaty has not yet been done, but Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, and Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, have been in daily conference, and it is understood that the convention is now ready for signatures.

While these conferences have been in progress, various matters in detail, it is said, have been considered and determined on by the parties to the controversy, one of which was the choice by Venezuela of Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer as its arbitrators.

The selection of Justice Brewer, who for a year or so has been the head of the commission appointed by President Cleveland to make an investigation of the boundary-line question for the United States, is accepted as proof that the conclusions reached by the commission, which as yet have been withheld from the public, are that Venezuela's claims are well founded. If it were otherwise, it is claimed, Venezuela would not commit her case to an unfriendly arbitrator.

Sir Julian Pauncefote and Señor Andrade expect to complete the boundary arbitration treaty and sign it in time to send the Venezuelan copy to Caracas for ratification by the steamer leaving New York for La Guayra a week from to-day. The delay in the negotiations has been caused altogether by the conceded desirability of naming the arbitrators in the draft instead of providing for their subsequent selection. It was decided that considerable time might be saved in this way, which would also present the additional advantage of making known to both the contracting parties who the individual arbitrators would be before the exchange of ratifications.

This suggestion, which came from Venezuela, received the prompt acquiescence of Lord Salisbury, and it is understood that the four representatives have already been named. The place of

meeting is also understood to be closed by agreement on Geneva, Switzerland, instead of Brussels, proposed by Great Britain, and Washington, proposed by Venezuela.

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VENEZUELA TREATY SIGNED  
The Ceremony Performed in Secretary of State Olney's Office Yesterday Afternoon  
SPECIAL PEN FOR THE SIGNING  
Sir Julian Pauncefote and Señor Andrade Amicably Settle the Controversy  
Between Great Britain and Venezuela

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—The Anglo- Venezuelan arbitration treaty was signed by Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, and Señor José Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, in the office of Secretary Olney, at the State Department, at 4:30 o'clock this afternoon, signaling the amicable termination of a controversy that has lasted nearly a century, as well as the resumption of diplomatic negotiations between two countries which had been suspended for ten years.

The British Ambassador, accompanied by Mr. Henry Outram Bax-Ironside, attaché of the embassy, reached the department just before 4 o'clock, and a few minutes later the Venezuelan Minister appeared with Mr. Manuel M. Ponte, Jr., Secretary of Legation, and Mr. James S. Storrow, the counsel of Venezuela before the commission and the arbitration tribunal.

Señor Andrade brought with him a magnificent pen, with which the important document was subsequently signed. It was sent to him by his brother, who, it is universally conceded, will be the next President of the Venezuelan Republic, and to whom it will be returned as a souvenir. It consisted at a gold pen fastened in a holder made from an eagle's quill, bearing midway from the top a gold heart thickly incrustated with diamonds. While the two plenipotentiaries were formally exchanging their credentials, the copies of the treaty, which was printed, were carefully compared by Mr. Bax-Ironside and Mr. Cridler, Chief of the Diplomatic Bureau of the State Department, who made all the drafts of the document and printed the copies. These were in the English language, Spanish not being used, although the tongue of Venezuela, the only difference being that in the Venezuelan copy that country is mentioned always first, and in the British vice versa.

The British Ambassador signed "Julian Pauncefote" to both copies, Señor Andrade following, affixed his signature, and Mr. Cridler affixed their respective seals. The formalities having been quickly completed, there was a general exchange of congratulations, which were pressed upon Secretary Olney with particular cordiality, and before 5 o'clock the negotiators had returned to their official residences.

An interesting effect of the treaty will be the abolition of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, of which Justice Brewer is President. The dissolution will occur when Secretary Olney notifies Justice Brewer that the purposes for which it was organized have been made null by the signing of the treaty. The evidence taken by the Venezuelan Commission will be laid before the treaty tribunal when it convenes.

[3 February 1897]

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FULL TEXT OF THE TREATY  
Provision for the Arbitration Between Great Britain and Venezuela

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 —The full text of the Anglo-Venezuelan treaty follows:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the United States of Venezuela, being desirous to provide for an amicable settlement of the question which has arisen between their respective Governments concerning the boundary between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela, having resolved to submit to arbitration the question involved, and to the end of concluding a Treaty for that purpose, have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Sir Julian Pauncefote, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of Bath, and of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, and Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States:

And the President of the United States of Venezuela, Señor José Andrade, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Venezuela to the United States of America:

Who having communicated to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to and concluded the following Articles: —

ARTICLE I

An Arbitral Tribunal shall be immediately appointed to determine the boundary-line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela.

ARTICLE II

The Tribunal shall consist of five jurists; two on the part of Great Britain, nominated by the members of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, namely, the Right Honourable Baron Herschell, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of Bath, and the Honourable Sir Richard Henn Collins, Knight, one of the Justices of Her Britannic Majesty's Supreme Court of the Judicature; two on the part of Venezuela, nominated, one by the President of the United States of Venezuela, namely, the Honourable Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States of America, and one nominated by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, namely, the Honourable David Josiah Brewer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America; and of a fifth jurist to be selected by the four persons so nominated, or in the event of their failure to agree within three months from the exchange of ratification of the present Treaty, to be so selected by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway. The jurist so selected shall be the President of the Tribunal.

In the case of death, absence, or incapacity to serve of any of the four Arbitrators above named, or in the event of any such Arbitrator omitting or declining or ceasing to act as such, another jurist

of repute shall be forthwith substituted in his place. If such vacancy shall occur among those nominated on the part of Great Britain, the substitute shall be appointed by the members for the time being of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, acting by a majority, and if among those nominated on the part of Venezuela, he shall be appointed by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, acting by a majority. If such vacancy shall occur in the case of the fifth Arbitrator, a substitute shall be selected in the manner herein provided for with regard to the original appointment.

### ARTICLE III

The Tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might lawfully be claimed by the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain respectively at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary-line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela.

### ARTICLE IV

In deciding the matters submitted, the Arbitrators shall ascertain all facts which they deem necessary to the decision of the controversy, and shall be governed by the following Rules, which are agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties as Rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the Arbitrators shall determine to be applicable to the case—

### RULES

(a) Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The Arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district, as well as actual settlement thereof, sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

(b) The Arbitrators may recognise and give effect to rights and claims resting on any other ground whatever valid according to international law, and on any principles of international law which the Arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case, and which are not in contravention of the foregoing rule.

(c) In determining the boundary-line, if territory of one Party be found by the Tribunal to have been at the date of this Treaty in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other Party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the Tribunal, require.

### ARTICLE V

The Arbitrators shall meet at Paris, within sixty days after the delivery of the printed arguments mentioned in Article VIII, and shall proceed impartially and carefully to examine and decide the questions that have been, or shall be, laid before them, as herein provided, on the part of the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of Venezuela respectively.

Provided always that the Arbitrators may, if they shall think fit, hold their meetings, or any of them, at any other place which they may determine.

All questions considered by the Tribunal, including the final decision, shall be determined by a majority of all the Arbitrators.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall name one person as its Agent to attend the Tribunal, and to represent it generally in all matters connected with the Tribunal.

#### ARTICLE VI

The printed Case of each of the two Parties accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and other evidence on which each relies, shall be delivered in duplicate to each of the Arbitrators and to the Agent of the other Party as soon as may be after the appointment of the members of the Tribunal, but within a period not exceeding eight months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty.

#### ARTICLE VII

Within four months after the delivery on both sides of the printed Case, either Party may in like manner deliver in duplicate to each of the said Arbitrators, and to the Agent of the other Party, a Counter-Case, and additional documents, correspondence, and evidence, in reply to the Case, documents, correspondence, and evidence of the other Party.

If in the Case submitted to the Arbitrators either Party shall have specified or alluded to any report or document in its own exclusive possession, without annexing a copy, such Party shall be bound, if the other Party thinks proper to apply for it, to furnish that Party with a copy thereof, and either Party may call upon the other, through the Arbitrators, to produce the originals or certified copies of any papers adduced as evidence, giving in each instance notice thereof within thirty days after delivery of the Case, and the original or copy so requested shall be delivered as soon as may be, and within a period not exceeding forty days after receipt of notice.

#### ARTICLE VIII

It shall be the duty of the Agent of each Party, within three months after the expiration of the time limited for the delivery of the Counter-Case on both sides, to deliver in duplicate to each of the said Arbitrators, and to the Agent of the other party, a printed argument showing the points, and referring to the evidence upon which his Government relies, and either party may also support the same before the Arbitrators by oral argument of Counsel; and the Arbitrators may, if they desire further elucidation with regard to any point, require a written or printed statement or argument, or oral argument by Counsel upon it; but in such case the other party shall be entitled to reply either orally or in writing, as the case may be.

#### ARTICLE IX

The Arbitrators may, for any cause deemed by them sufficient, enlarge either of the periods fixed in Articles VI, VII and VIII by the allowance of thirty days additional.

#### ARTICLE X

The decision of the Tribunal shall, if possible, be made within three months from the close of the argument on both sides.

It shall be made in writing and dated, and shall be signed by the Arbitrators who may assent to it.

The decision shall be in duplicate, one copy thereof shall be delivered to the Agent of Great Britain for his Government, and the other copy shall be delivered to the Agent of the United States of Venezuela for his Government.

#### ARTICLE XI

The Arbitrators shall keep an accurate record of their proceedings, and may employ the necessary officers to assist them.

#### ARTICLE XII

Each Government shall pay its own Agent and provide for the proper remuneration of the Counsel appointed by it, and of the Arbitrators appointed by it or in its behalf, and for the expense of preparing and submitting its Case to the Tribunal. All other expenses connected with the Arbitration shall be defrayed by the two Governments in equal moieties.

#### ARTICLE XIII

The High Contracting Parties engage to consider the result of the proceeds of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect, and final settlement of all the questions referred to the Arbitrators.

#### ARTICLE XIV

The present Treaty shall be duly ratified by Her Britannic Majesty and by the President of the United States of Venezuela, by and with the Congress thereof, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London or in Washington within six months from the date hereof.

In faith whereof, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this Treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate, at Washington, the second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE (Seal)

JOSÉ ANDRADE (Seal)

[3 February 1897]

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A PAGE OF HISTORY

“It was intended to apply to every stage of our National life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.” So wrote President Cleveland of the Monroe doctrine in his Venezuela message of Dec. 17, 1895.

“It is impossible to admit that the [the principles of the Monroe doctrine] have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law,” wrote Lord Salisbury in his letter of Nov. 26, 1895, to Sir Julian Pauncefote, “and the danger which such admission would involve is sufficiently exhibited by the strange development which the doctrine has received in Mr. Olney’s hands.”

“Great Britain’s assertion of title to the disputed territory,” said Mr. Olney in his letter of July 20, 1895, to Mr. Bayard, “combined with her refusal to have that title investigated, being a substantial appropriation of that territory to her own use, not to protest and give warning that the transaction will be regarded as injurious to the interests of the people of the United States, as well as oppressive in itself, would be to ignore an established policy with which the honor and welfare of this country are closely identified.”

“But they [her Majesty’s Government cannot consent to entertain or to submit to the arbitration of another power or of foreign jurists, however eminent, claims based on the extravagant pretensions of Spanish officials in the last century,” rewrote Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote in his second letter, of Nov. 26.

Nevertheless, Article I of the treaty signed by Sir Julian and Señor Andrade in the office of Secretary Olney on Tuesday declares that “an arbitral tribunal shall be immediately appointed to determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela”; and in Article XIII the high contracting parties “engage to consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect, and final settlement of all the questions referred to the arbitrators.”

And so a just case triumphs. Sustained with firmness and with reason on the part of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney, it was considered with candor by Lord Salisbury and the law officers of the Crown who were his advisers, and decided in a spirit of fairness that does honor to the English people. It is an important and valuable page of history, equally creditable to the two great nations that have written it.

The tribunal named in this treaty, Baron Herschell and Sir Ricard Henn Collins on the part of Great Britain and on the part of Venezuela Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, together with a fifth jurist to be chosen by these four, will have before them the task of ascertaining how much of the disputed territory belonged to, “or might lawfully be claimed” respectively by, Spain and Holland at the time Great Britain “took title” from the Dutch. Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the American Geographical Society, in a careful review of the testimony of the maps and authorities a year ago, declared that it would be difficult if not impossible to determine “the true divisional line,” but that a board of arbitration might draw “what, in view of all the circumstances, would be a fair line of separation or boundary.” The evidence collected by our Venezuela Commission will of course be put at the disposal of the tribunal, now that the necessity of pursuing its own investigations has terminated.

It is interesting to observe the care with which the treaty provides that copies of all reports and documents in the exclusive possession of either party shall be delivered to the other party on demand. This forethought is likely to avert any such “battle of the maps” as ensued upon the negotiation of the Ashburton treaty, when Webster’s map, found in Paris, supporting the English claim, and the old map, found in the Foreign Office, authenticated by the hand-writing of George III, sustaining our contention, were made the subject of such bitterness and suspicion.

The only part of the treaty that is now likely to occasion serious anxiety is “Rule A,” which awards title by prescription to any part of the disputed territory on proof of adverse holding for fifty years. This rule is made applicable not only to private rights, but to the political control of a district, even without actual settlement. We may be sure that Great Britain’s case will be fortified with more abundant proofs under this rule than the case of Venezuela, as her citizens are more likely not only to have pushed into the disputed territory, but also to have preserved the tangible records of their occupancy.

[4 February 1897]

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WHITE HOUSE PRESENTATION  
Venezuelans Send Gifts to President Cleveland and Secretary Olney  
as a Token of Appreciation

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5.—The Red Parlor of the White House was the scene to-day of a presentation by Mr. Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, to President Cleveland and Secretary Olney, of a testimonial from the Governor and people of the Venezuelan State of Zulia, in token of their appreciation of the efforts made by the President and Mr. Olney to bring about a peaceable settlement of the British Guiana boundary dispute.

The testimonial consisted of a rosette and cane, each formed of specimens of precious woods from the Zulian forests. The cane contained 125 pieces and the rosette 172 pieces.

It is probable that the presents will be placed in the State Department Library. The President and the Secretary of State could not accept them as personal gifts without the consent of Congress.

[6 February 1897]

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VENEZUELA TREATY SAFE  
Assurances from Caracas that It Will Be Ratified

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Satisfactory assurances have just been received from Caracas here that the Venezuelan boundary treaty will be ratified promptly.

The Government is in a position to assert this confidently after the careful canvass that has been made among its supporters. The opposition is declared to be confined to an insignificant minority,

which has weakened instead of gaining strength as a result of its efforts to upset the work of the negotiators.

[14 February 1897]

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THE VENEZUELAN TREATY  
It Probably Will Be Ratified at Caracas Next Week

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19.—The Venezuelan Congress will meet at Caracas to-morrow when it is expected President Crespo's message will strongly urge the prompt ratification of the Guiana boundary arbitration treaty. It is thought at the Legation here that this treaty will take the precedence over all other matters, and the impression is that decisive action will be secured next week. No doubt whatever is expressed that the agreement will be approved without modification, and that the necessary executive steps soon will be taken to give effect to its provisions.

It is definitely announced that the tribunal of arbitration will not meet in Paris to consider evidence before the Summer of 1898, as all the intervening time will be required for the completion of evidence and the presentation of arguments. The time of meeting must be arranged to meet the convenience of Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, who consented to serve on the board only on the assurance that the sessions should be held during the long vacations of the United States Supreme Court.

[20 February 1897]

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THE VENEZUELAN TREATY  
An Obstacle to Its Prompt Ratification in Its Language

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25.—An obstacle to the prompt ratification of the Anglo-Venezuelan arbitration treaty has been encountered in a provision of the Venezuelan Constitution necessitating the use of the Spanish language in documents for consideration of the Congress. When the convention was concluded, Feb. 2, both the copies signed by the plenipotentiaries were in the English language, this being deemed advisable, as the proceedings of the tribunal would be conducted in that tongue. This departure from the customary rule of having treaties in the languages of the countries participating has led to a delay that will in all probability postpone the exchange of ratifications for some time, though it was thought every precaution had been taken to secure the approval of the Venezuelan Congress to the agreement before March 4.

With a view of expeditiously remedying the difficulty, a translation of the document has been hurriedly but carefully made, and sent to England for Lord Salisbury's formal approval, Sir Julian Pauncefote hesitating to assume so great a responsibility alone, and a duplicate was forwarded to Caracas to-day by mail. If corrections are required by the British Foreign Office they will be cabled

here and repeated to Caracas by the same method, but in any event it is thought unlikely that President Crespo will be able to lay the treaty before Congress for at least another week, and fears are expressed that the delay will be of much longer duration, on account of the exceeding precision required in rendering Article 4 of the treaty, which includes the memorandum of rules governing the arbitration agreed upon by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, Nov. 12 last. This memorandum, constituting the gist of the entire settlement, while perfectly clear in the English idiom, loses some of its exactness in Spanish.

The belief is expressed, however, that Venezuela will not be able before the tribunal to dispute the English version.

[26 February 1897]

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VENEZUELAN TREATY SIGNED

The Spanish Draft Accepted by Andrade and Pauncefote  
— Report of the United States Commission Made to President

WASHINGTON Feb. 27.—At the British Embassy at noon to-day the Spanish draft of the Anglo-Venezuelan treaty was signed by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Señor Andrade, and that document is finally ready for submission to the Venezuelan Congress, conforming to the Constitutional provision of being in the language of that country.

Not until this morning did Sir Julian receive Lord Salisbury's cabled authority to sign the translated copy, and upon being notified, Señor Andrade waived all the formalities of going to neutral ground at the State Department, and, accompanied by Secretary Ponte at his legation, at once drove to the British Embassy, where the signatures and seals were affixed.

Lord Salisbury suggested no change in the document, and, after signing it, Señor Andrade cabled his Government at Caracas of the successful conclusion of the negotiations.

The Venezuelan Commission terminated its existence to-day at noon, when its members, Justice Brewer, Frederic H. Coudert and Andrew D. White, Justice Alvey, and President Oilman, accompanied by Secretary Mallet-Prevost, called on the President and delivered its report on the work accomplished in the year of its existence.

While the report does not indicate any conclusion as to the merits of the controversy which led to the appointment of the commission, its work having stopped before the actual "determination of a true divisional line between British Guiana and Venezuela" had actually been undertaken, it is understood that the enormous mass of evidence collected through the commission's efforts will make the decision possible by an impartial court in future.

This evidence, which has not yet been printed, is completely arranged for filing in the archives of the State Department where it will be available for the arbitral tribunal which will meet in Paris in 1898.

To-day's visit to the President was brief and marked with cordial expressions of the President's satisfaction.

[28 February 1897]

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SENDS MINISTER TO ENGLAND  
Diplomatic Relations Between Great Britain and Venezuela Resumed

WASHINGTON, March 2.—Secretary Olney received the following dispatch from our Minister at Caracas this afternoon:

“Venezuela has appointed Minister to England Dr. Juan Pietrie, who is now in Europe as Venezuelan Minister to Germany and Spain.”

This act is a practical resumption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela.

[3 March 1897]

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THE VENEZUELA REPORT

The report of the Venezuela Commission is not only the record of a piece of public work which has been most faithfully performed. It has the curious fate of having been rendered quite useless for its original purpose by the progress of events, and yet of serving even a more important purpose and of having a value beyond that which was expected of it.

For the original purpose of the appointment of the commission was to inform our Government whether the facts of the Venezuelan boundary disputed warranted our interference in that dispute. Venezuela had maintained that a European power was attempting to extend its political system beyond the bounds of its existing colonies or dependencies. For more than seventy years it had been our avowed policy to resist such an extension on the part of any European power. In this case we had urged Great Britain to submit the dispute with Venezuela to an impartial tribunal of arbitration, and Great Britain had declined to do so. It therefore became necessary for us to know the merits of the case for our own guidance, and it was for that purpose that the commission was appointed.

But before the commission had concluded its labors it became evident that we had no need of it. In the interval Great Britain had consented to our original proposition to submit her claim to arbitration. In the result of the arbitration we were bound beforehand to acquiesce, as were both the contending parties. But before this conclusion was reached the United States commission had collected all the information extant that bore upon the question at issue and had established that the question is one in which neither party can sustain its whole contention, and is therefore eminently one to be settled by arbitration. The commission is therefore fully justified in saying that its own work, while it has been terminated by the treaty of arbitration, “has been a factor of no inconsiderable importance in the solution of the problem.” Moreover, it has collected for the use, as it turns out, of another tribunal all the evidence in the case, and has collected it and presented it with complete impartiality. There is no need either of duplicating or of verifying its investigations. Its report will necessarily “impose itself” upon the tribunal of arbitration. The commission has, in effect, done the work of the tribunal for it in advance, and in this way has rendered even a more important service than it was appointed to render to the cause of justice and the cause of peace.

[3 March 1897]

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THE VENEZUELAN TREATY

President Crespo's Message to Congress Regarding the Document Received Here.

THIS NATION GREATLY PRAISED

It Is Believed that the Treaty Will Be Ratified by an Almost  
Unanimous Vote—The Proceedings Which Will Follow

WASHINGTON, March 11.—The State Department to-day received a copy of President Crespo's message to the Venezuelan Congress, Feb. 20, sent by the American Minister at Caracas, in which he discusses the Venezuelan arbitration treaty at considerable length. He says in part:

“The Department of Foreign Affairs has given during the past year particular attention to the boundary question of British Guiana, a question of absorbing interest ever since his Excellency, Mr. Cleveland, demonstrated to the world the way in which the United States intended to exercise the intervention solicited by Venezuela. After this the dispute assumed a most favorable aspect.”

He narrates in detail the course taken by the United States in establishing the Venezuelan Commission, and the voluminous proof which Venezuela submitted to that body in support of its rights to the disputed territory, and continues:

“While the Venezuelan Government, through the patriotic and earnest efforts of its Foreign Office, was presenting and urging its rights before the Boundary Commission, the State Department at Washington, with laudable efforts, was endeavoring to secure arbitration from the British Ministry, in order to adjust with greater facility and success this unpleasant dispute of almost a century. The first official knowledge the Executive power had of the means employed to induce our powerful adversary to accept arbitration unreservedly and unconditionally, for which Venezuela had always contended, was derived from the publication of the correspondence between the Governments at Washington and London from February to June of the past year, and which, being so favorable to this republic, was sent here to be translated into Spanish and printed. Latterly this Government, through its Legation at Washington, was consulted as to a point in relation to those negotiations for arbitration. The reply of the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, with an opinion contrary to that which was seemingly suggested on this point, arrived in Washington at the time when the answers from Great Britain were expected as to the determinate points of the arbitration.”

This Government's Efforts

“At this juncture the Government was informed that on the 12th of November there had been signed in Washington by his Excellency Mr. Olney, Secretary of State of the United States, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty in Washington, a protocol with the essential bases for a treaty between Venezuela and Great Britain, which, by means of arbitration, would put an end to the old dispute between the two nations. The bases were then submitted by the Washington Government for the consideration of this Government by means of a letter to me from

his Excellency Mr. Cleveland, in which he manifested the noble desire to see accepted a compact which, in his opinion, was just and advantageous.

“The responsibilities of those who are intrusted with the administration of public affairs by the suffrage of the people increase and become graver when the preservation of interests closely linked with the National life is the subject to be dealt with. There is in the breast of the Chief Magistrate who has the good of the Republic at heart a struggle between the ideas of the moment and those born of a concern for the future.

“To study well the former and the latter, to weight the advantages and risks of the one and the other without silencing the dictates of conscience and reason, such are the duties, truly arduous, of the ruler during whose term of office has chanced to fall the settlement of an affair which, like that of the Guiana boundary question, has been growing graver—a struggle without a truce and full of lamentable incidents to the party weak to material defenses. Public opinion, to which the governing power must always listen, especially when the territorial integrity is the subject of discussion, manifested itself so divided as to the bases proposed to Venezuela that it would have been in vain for the most expert observer to have deduced from such adversity of opinions any expression of the public sentiment.

“The Government, in forming its opinion, should naturally take into consideration the conditions under which the protocol was signed and presented. One of the signers was the Secretary of State of the Nation which, fully alive to the grave consequences of its action, generously interposed in this dispute, seeking an arrangement which would at once preserve the laws of the National decorum and the continental integrity. The recourse to arbitration offered itself, and, although by no means in the manner wished for by Venezuela, was more consonant than any other with the desires manifested.

“The Government deemed it proper to insert in the treaty a provision that Venezuela should have a voice in the naming of the arbitral tribunal. As soon as this change was proposed its acceptance was procured. The action of the United States had produced a result the after effects or which were, from a moral point of view, indispensably subject to the effective and powerful prestige of said Nation.”

### Speedy Action Asked For

“The plan of settlement was presented for the consideration of Venezuela, with no proposition for co-operative participation, contrary to the sovereignty and independence of the republic; further, as the United States had conducted the negotiations according to their judgment alone, the definite acceptance of the bases will always involve for them a sort of friendly responsibility which will be in every case a guarantee of future harmony between the two nations represented by the arbitral tribunal.

“It is eminently just to recognize the fact that the great Republic has strenuously endeavored to conduct this matter in the most favorable way, and the result obtained represents an effort of intelligence and good will worthy of praise and thanks from us who are so intimately acquainted with the conditions of this most complicated question.

“It is your duty, according to the constitutional law of the republic, to examine the treaty which the Venezuelan Minister Plenipotentiary signed in accordance with the bases referred to and the change proposed by the executive power in regard to the formation of the arbitral tribunal. And as this is an affair of such importance involving as it does such sacred interests, I beg you that from the

moment it is presented for your consideration you will postpone all other business until you shall decide upon it.”

An unsigned copy of the Venezuelan boundary treaty was sent to Caracas for the information of the Ministry a fortnight ago. A Spanish translation of the treaty, signed by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Señor Andrade, was mailed on the 7th inst., and will reach Caracas on Saturday of this week. It will be laid by President Crespo before the Venezuelan Senate on Monday next. Under the rules of the Venezuelan Congress, all bills and treaties are discussed on alternate days for a period of six days, in order that members who were absent on the first day may have an opportunity of participating in the debates, while the Senate generally may have the additional time in which to consider and digest the matter under discussion. The treaty will thus reach a vote on Saturday, the 20th inst.

### Approval of the Treaty Undoubted

All the advices from Caracas indicate its approval by the Senate by a practically unanimous vote. The opposition papers in Caracas still criticise certain provisions of the treaty, but maintain that, notwithstanding these objections, it ought to receive the approval of the Senate.

After the treaty has had a similar approval from the British Parliament, ratifications will be exchanged in Washington between Sir Julian and Señor Andrade. Within the three months following this exchange, the tribunal of arbitration will endeavor to select the fifth member of the board, failing in which the appointment will be made by King Oscar of Sweden. The evidence will then be submitted to the arbitrators and the five members will not come together until next Summer a year, when they will meet in Paris prepared to settle the points at issue.

Meanwhile, diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela, which have been suspended for a term of years, will be renewed. Mr. Pietra, who is now a general diplomatic representative in Europe for Venezuela, will receive such enlarged powers for the time being as will enable him to represent his country in Great Britain. Until Mr. Pietra shall present himself at London, announcing the desire of his country to resume diplomatic relations, no appointment will be made by Great Britain, inasmuch as Venezuela was the first to sever these relations, and the request for the renewal must first come from her.

[12 March 1897]

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### GUIANA BOUNDARY TREATY Minister Andrade Expects Ratification in Venezuela This Week

WASHINGTON. April 6.—Although he has no official advices on the subject, Minister Andrade expects that the Guiana boundary arbitration treaty will be ratified by the Venezuelan Congress and signed by the President this week. After its ratification by Venezuela, the British Government will formally approve it, and then ratifications will be exchanged either at Washington or London.

The active resumption of diplomatic relations between the two Governments, which have been suspended for some time, is expected to promptly follow the ratification.

[7 April 1897]

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VENEZUELAN TREATY RATIFIED  
Minister Thomas Sends the News to Washington

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Confirmation of the reported ratification by the Venezuelan Congress of the arbitration treaty has come to the State Department from United States Minister Thomas at Caracas, the Venezuelan capital. He sent the following cablegram, dated yesterday:  
“Treaty was ratified by Congress yesterday.”

[8 April 1897]

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JAMES J. STORROW DEAD  
Boston Lawyer Who Was Counsel for Venezuela in the Arbitration Proceedings

WASHINGTON, April 15.—Judge James J. Storrow, a lawyer of Boston dropped dead to-day in the Congressional Library.

Judge Storrow took an important part in the proceedings incident to the arbitration treaty between the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela for the settlement of the boundary line dispute.

He was appointed special counsel by the Venezuelan Government to represent it, and his brief was considered one of the clearest and best presentations on the boundary question that was prepared. After Minister Andrade and Sir Julian Pauncefote had agreed on the terms of a treaty, Mr. Storrow accompanied the former to Venezuela, when the treaty was presented to the President of that country. He returned to the United States with Mr. Andrade, and since then spent most of his time in Washington.

He appeared to be in good health, and his sudden death was a great shock to his friends.

[16 April 1897]

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COURCEL AS ARBITRATOR  
Probability that the French Jurist and Diplomat Will Be Chosen in the Venezuelan Case  
THE COURT TO SIT IN 1898  
Little Doubt that the Four Arbitrators Will Agree upon Baron Courcel,  
in Which Event King Oscar Will Not Be Called On

WASHINGTON, April 18.—The name of Baron Courcel, the eminent French jurist and diplomat, at present French Ambassador to Great Britain, probably will be chosen as the fifth, or final, arbitrator in the court of arbitration between Venezuela and Great Britain. The treaty of arbitration recently ratified by these two Governments provides that the fifth arbitrator shall be chosen by the four designated to represent the two countries, and in the event of their inability to agree on a fifth, then King Oscar of Norway and Sweden is to name the final arbitrator. There appears to be little doubt, however, that the four arbitrators will reach an agreement, and with this end in view, semi-official inquiries have been made as to the availability of Baron Courcel. His choice would add another notable name to a court which promises to be remarkable for the personnel of its members, who thus far are Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, in behalf of Venezuela, and Baron Herschell and Sir Richard Henn Collins in behalf of Great Britain.

The court will meet in Paris in the Summer or 898, the preceding time being required for the exchange of pleadings. In the meantime, and within three months of the exchange of ratifications, the final arbitrator must be chosen. As the treaty is ratified by both Governments, the formal exchange of ratifications will follow at an early day, either in Washington or London, and negotiations toward naming the fifth arbitrator will immediately follow in order that an agreement may be reached within the three months prescribed by the treaty.

Up to the time of his sudden death a few days ago, Mr. James S. Storrow, chief counsel for Venezuela, had made careful inquiry as to the availability of Baron Courcel as the fifth arbitrator. The abilities of the French diplomat were regarded as eminently fitting him for the place. It was felt, however, that as France had a boundary dispute with Brazil involving the same points as the Venezuela-British case, Baron Courcel might have fixed convictions concerning the issue involved. Mr. Storrow conferred with the French Embassy in Washington, and the general conclusion reached was that Baron Courcel could have no prejudices by reason of the Franco-Brazilian boundary contest, which also has been submitted to arbitration by a treaty just signed.

Baron Courcel is one of the foremost jurists of Europe, and as such was chosen as President of the court of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain on the Bering Sea question. He comes from one of the old Royalist families of the empire, but is a sturdy Republican, and has taken front rank among French leaders. It was during the strained condition of European affairs a year ago, requiring skillful diplomacy, that France availed herself of his services as Ambassador to Great Britain. He speaks English fluently, which would materially aid in a court made up of English-speaking arbitrators.

[18 April 1897]

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VENEZUELA BOUNDARY TREATY  
Final Ratification Exchanged Between England and Venezuela  
at Washington Yesterday

WASHINGTON, June 14.—The final ratification of the boundary treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela was exchanged at the State Department at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

Because this exchange of ratifications marked the closing chapter in the negotiations begun in the last and deciding phase, almost two years ago, the occasion was marked with some formality. There were present in the diplomatic room of the State Department Sir Julian Pauncefote, Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, and his Secretary of Legation; Acting Secretary of State William R. Day, and Assistant Secretary Thomas W. Cridler, who has been instrumental in framing the various treaties, protocols, and other writings connected with the treaty.

What remained to be done to-day was to exchange the copies of the treaties held by each party and to sign what is known as the exchange protocols. For this purpose Señor Andrade brought along the same magnificent golden penholder, with its eagle quill and diamond-studded heart, that had been used last February to sign the original drafts of the treaties. This pen is the property of the brother of the Minister, and was made for this particular purpose. It will be sent to Venezuela now that it has fulfilled its functions, not to be used again, but to be preserved as a relic.

When the signing was over and each of the parties held the exchange copies of the treaties, there was a mutual exchange of congratulations, and Mr. Cridler was thanked for the pains he had taken to prepare all of the documents for the occasion.

The treaty now becomes binding upon both Governments, Great Britain, and Venezuela and they must at once begin the preparation of the easements to be submitted to the arbitrators, who will meet in Paris for organization, probably some time next Winter.

With to-day's ceremony, the connection of the United States Government with the negotiations ceases, and the two Governments will be left to work out the boundary dispute to a conclusion, unless there should be some totally unexpected interruption in the workings of the machinery which has been so carefully prepared to insure a settlement of this celebrated cause.

[15 June 1897]

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ENGLISHMEN FIRED UPON  
 Commander of Venezuelan Frontier Police Exchanges Shots with a Hunting Party  
 AND IS SLIGHTLY WOUNDED  
 The Englishmen, by a Strategic Move, Capture Him and His Force—  
 A Truce Patched Up and No International Complications Likely

KINGSTON. Jamaica. Aug. 24.—Advices just to hand from the northwest territory of British Guiana tell of an attack made on an English settler and his party by the Venezuelan frontier police. George H. Moore is a grant holder on the English side of the Amacura River. The other day he left his residence with a party of Englishmen for a fishing and hunting expedition to Barima.

When the boat got opposite to the Venezuelan outpost station at the mouth of the Amacura, the party were hailed by the garrison and informed that they would not be allowed to proceed. Mr. Moore asked why, on what grounds, and by what authority?

No answer was given, and thereupon the boat which had been puffed up at the challenge, hauled its wind and proceeded outward. On seeing this Col. Castania, the officer in command of the station ran out on the shore flourishing a rifle and yelling that he would shoot if the boat did not run in.

Not believing that the officer could be in earnest Mr. Moore made a derisive reply, whereupon Castania opened fire. By the time he had got two shots Moore and his friends were answering, and Castania was hit in the leg. The wound was a very slight one, but it stopped him, and he hobbled into the station.

Meanwhile the soldiers of the guard were seen to be busy with a gun that stood on a little eminence and commanded the mouth of the river. To get out of range Moore had to run his boat right in under the gun. Seeing this the Venezuelans supposed that the Englishmen were going to surrender, and ran down to meet them.

But Moore and his friends were by this time in a fine rage and up to mischief. The opportunity was too good to be lost. At the first sign of fight the whole garrison of six men had run out off the station to man the gun, leaving their arms in the building. When the boat grounded within a few yards of the station door, the garrison were still some twenty yards oft, and there was only Castania in the station nursing his wounded leg.

Apparently Castania had not seen the boat coming in. At any rate before he knew what hit him Moore and his three companions were in the station and had him down, and by the time the garrison were on hand they found four rifles covering them.

Castania threatened the Englishmen with instant death and destruction, calling on his men to shoot down the “gringoes.” But unfortunately, the “gringoes” were between the men and their arms, thus being completely masters of the situation.

Eventually a truce was patched up, and the party of Englishmen left their disconcerted assailants cowed, but in no amiable mood. The incident was at once reported to the colonial authorities at Georgetown, but it appears that sooner than interrupt the present friendly conditions of diplomatic negotiations, no action has been taken in the matter. The Venezuelan Government is reported to have recalled Castania from the frontier, but it is not known what has been done with him.

The strangest part of the matter is, that since this incident the Colonial Government has stringently enforced in the whole frontier region the regulations against citizens carrying arms of any sort, and the police have accordingly disarmed the settlers. This action has created great dissatisfaction, and a petition is to be sent to the Governor embodying a protest and threatening to abandon the territory if the means of self-defense on emergencies are not restored or an adequate protective police force provided.

[31 August 1897]

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#### THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The Venezuela Boundary Commission was less than a year in existence, having been appointed Jan. 1, 1896, and notified by Secretary of State Olney on Dec. 28 of the same year, with the assurance of the highest appreciation by the President of “the diligence, skill, and effectiveness” with which its labors had been conducted, that there was no further occasion for the prosecution of those labors.

In closing up its work, the commission put in permanent, convenient, and useful form the results of its labors – results declared by Secretary Olney to be “of great and permanent value to the

peoples of the three countries concerned” in the controversy about the Venezuela-Guyana boundary that led to its appointment. The commission made a closing report to President Cleveland on Feb. 7 of this year; but that report conveyed to those who read it no information or opinion to show that the Commissioners had been absolutely convinced for one side or the other. Indeed, the Commissioners carefully avoided saying more than that “there is no such absolute certainty of right on the part of either [Venezuela or Guiana] as to justify a more forcible assertion thereof.”

Great Britain had maintained very positive language about this boundary dispute until the American commission began its work. This may have come to be the case because it was assumed that the controversy would never be pressed as it was after President Cleveland’s startling message of 1895. But the British examination, or re-examination, of the case seems to have been taken up at the same time that our Commissioners took it up; presumably their examiners became acquainted with the same history that was looked up, verified, compared and sifted by our Commissioners, and the British assent to have the question between Great Britain and Venezuela submitted to arbitration justifies the conclusion that the British examiners were convinced, quite as early as the American Commissioners, that there was “no such absolute certainty of right on the part of either as to justify a more forcible assertion thereof.”

The commission made a report in four volumes, Volume I appearing last. Volumes II, III, and IV, presenting Prof. Burr’s quotations from the Dutch archives and documents furnished by the Venezuelan Government, cartographical reports and an atlas of seventy-six maps, were followed by the first volume, containing the report of the commission and the historical reports of Prof. T. Franklin Jameson and Prof. George Lincoln Burr. This historical volume of 400 pages is the most interesting of the four produced by the commission, and in many respects the most important, although it may be assumed that the cartographical history collected contributed in some degree to bring about the consent of Great Britain to submit its contention to an arbitral tribunal.

Prof. Jameson, in his report on “Spanish and Dutch Settlements Prior to 1648,” beginning with the history of Santo Thomé, at the head of the Orinoco delta, and examining the question of “other Spanish settlements,” the missions, Dutch ports, and the question of Point Barima, finds no evidence of any Spanish occupation of the disputed territory in 1648, nor of any but temporary occupation of it before that time. Nor does he find evidence of any Dutch occupation in 1648 northward or westward of the Essequibo, nor any evidence of occupation of Point Barima before 1648.

Prof. Burr, whose investigations were more extended and minute than those of Prof. Jameson, involving laborious examination of archives, concluded, as the result of his examination of the meaning of Articles V and VI of the Treaty of Münster, that: “It is improbable that in the intent of its framers and its ratifiers, the Treaty of Münster conceded to the Dutch a right to win from the natives lands claimed by Spain,” and that “It does not appear that it was ever interpreted in this sense by either Spain or the Dutch.”

His examination of the Dutch archives led Prof. Bunn to infer the assumption by the Dutch Government of a right to plant colonies in the district known as the Wild Coast; but he found nothing to suggest that this was counted exclusively a Dutch right; nor was there, in the grants examined by him, any claim of sovereignty over the coast as a whole.

When he looked carefully through all the accessible archives he found that the earliest Dutch expedition to Guiana, then conceived of as a part of the Spanish Kingdom of Peru, reached that coast in 1598, and was formally recognized by the Dutch States General as one to a place theretofore unvisited by Netherlanders. The earliest date of Dutch occupation was 1613, and there

was no intimation of any claim by the Dutch to Guiana as a whole, or to any part of its western Coast. Occupation of the Essequibo by the Dutch dates from 1625: settlement began in 1657, was carried on with vigor in the Essequibo and Pomeroon; trade, very primitive in its methods and narrow in its limits, after the middle of the eighteenth century passed from the hands of the Dutch to the Spanish. Generally, the testimony of the Dutch archives is that there was no exclusive claim by the Dutch to the Guiana coast, and that even as late as 1801-2 the delimitation of the Guiana boundary was in doubt.

On the other hand, the history of the Spanish claim as to the boundary in Guiana was not clearly made out. There were Dutch remonstrances in 1759 and 1769, to which Spanish authorities never gave formal answer. Claims were once or twice implied by the Spanish authorities of the Orinoco, when encroachments by the Dutch were made upon the Cuyuni. But among all the claims Prof. Burr found none which had the form of an official utterance or which undertook to state with definiteness the rightful course of a boundary.

Enough has been given to show that there has been for many years much blind following, by diplomatic officers and careless historians, of misleading assertions concerning the Venezuela-Guiana boundary; and the turn that was given to the controversy by the United States becomes most satisfactory to contemplate in the light of this report, which will doubtless be a new light to the arbitral tribunal that is to settle the boundary for Great Britain and Venezuela.

[9 September 1897]

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BRITISH-VENEZUELA UMPIRE  
Fifth Arbitrator Chosen Without King Oscar's Assistance

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24.—A final decision has been reached by the arbitrators who are to determine the British-Venezuela boundary line, as to the fifth arbitrator, or umpire, who is to act with them. His name is for the present withheld. It is not Baron Courcel, whose name has been mentioned in this connection, nor King Oscar of Sweden, who was to name the umpire only in case the arbitrators failed to agree.

An agreement was reached without the necessity of calling on the Swedish sovereign. The umpire is a European, but this is said to without significance, since no question involving the Monroe doctrine is to be submitted to the tribunal. The arbitrators In behalf of Venezuela are Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court.

[25 September 1897]

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ARBITRATION AND VENEZUELA  
England Will Continue the Old Negotiations—Signor Andrade to Go to London

## From The London Standard

A correspondent says: "I have reason to state that neither the State Department at Washington nor Sir Sultan Pauncefote, British Ambassador now on leave, has received any instructions to reopen negotiations on the question of general arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, for the very reason that there is no need for instructions, and that the United States and Great Britain have never actually broken off the arbitration negotiations, which have only been delayed on account of the necessity of passing the Tariff bill. The arbitration negotiations will be continued next month in the most friendly manner, when Sir Julian Pauncefote returns to his post at Washington, and may state that on this side of the Atlantic In diplomatic circles there is a great desire to come to a settlement with a fair recognition of each country's claims. Sir Julian Pauncefote had interviews yesterday with the permanent officials of the Foreign Office in Downing Street, mainly for the purpose of knowing when it would be absolutely necessary for him to return to his post, which practically depends upon the date when the special Commissioners for England and the United States—Mr. D'Arcy Thomson (England) and Prof. Jordan (United States)—on the Bering Sea inquiry, return from their special inquiry in Alaska as to scaling.

"It is believed that these officers cannot reach Washington where the negotiations are to be continued until late in October, when it is necessary that Sir Julian Pauncefote should be at his post, and his intention is that he should be at Washington when the Bering Sea Special Commissioners arrive, so that negotiations may not be delayed. The two experts were due in the middle of October, but it is now more likely they cannot return until November, in which case Sir Julian Pauncefote will not return to Washington until the end of October. His Excellency will, however, remain in town from now to the time of his departure to the States, as matters may at any moment demand his attention. In connection with the Venezuelan question, I am able to state that every appearance of negotiations is favorable. The announcement of M. Andrade's appointment as the new President of Venezuela did not come in the least as a surprise. It was all along expected. He is the elder brother of the M. Andrade, Venezuelan Minister at Washington, who so ably carried out with Sir Julian Pauncefote the negotiations on the Venezuelan question.

There is even more favorable news in that there is an almost certain possibility that Signor Andrade of Washington may be appointed at once permanent resident Minister to this country for Venezuela. It is, of course, known that the Venezuelan Minister at Berlin was accredited to this country at a certain time in the negotiations, but his appointment was considered temporary. M. Andrade, brother of the President and representative of Venezuela in America, has the whole history of the negotiations in re the British Guiana frontier at his fingers' ends, and negotiations would be much expedited by his appointment to this country. M. Andrade is a very well read diplomatist, a man well informed upon every subject, and even outside this is one of the most courteous servants in the foreign diplomatic service. He will no doubt be a persona grata at the Court of St. James's.

[26 September 1897]

LONDON, Oct. 1.—The Daily News says this morning that the fifth Venezuelan arbitrator will be an international lawyer of the highest reputation, whose name will be published in the course of a few days if he finally accepts the post.

[1 October 1897]

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BRITISH-VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
M. Maertens, the Russian Jurist, Chosen as Umpire and President  
of the Arbitration Court

WASHINGTON, Oct 13.—The international court of arbitration which is to pass on the British-Venezuela boundary has been completed by the selection of M. Maertens, a distinguished Russian jurist, as umpire, and arrangements are being made for the assembling of the court at Paris during the late Summer or Fall of next year.

In the meantime the briefs of Great Britain and of Venezuela are being prepared, but none of the papers has yet been submitted. M. Maertens will act not only as umpire, but also as President of the court.

The announcement that a European umpire had been chosen was made in these dispatches some time since, but the name had been withheld until the sanction of the Czar could be secured for M. Maertens's services as arbitrator. Great Britain and Venezuela each submitted a list of distinguished jurists who would be acceptable as umpire. These embraced some of the most noted men of Europe, but M. Maertens's name was the only one on the lists of both countries. He is an official of the Russian Foreign Office, professor of international law at the University of St. Petersburg, and author of "Maertens's Treaties," the standard book of reference on all the treaties of the world. Little doubt is felt as to his acceptance.

Prof. Maertens was one of the delegates named by the Russian Government to represent it at the approaching Bering Sea sealing conference in this city. It is understood that his selection as the fifth arbitrator and head of the commission makes it impossible for him to participate in the Washington conference, so that the Russian interests in the meeting probably will remain in the care of Mr. Botkine and the two delegates who will sit with him.

[14 October 1897]

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THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
Documents Found in Georgetown Are Said to Confirm the British Contention  
COLONIAL ARCHIVES SEARCHED  
The Memoranda Give a Running History of the Dutch Settlement of Guiana  
During the Seventeenth Century

LONDON. Nov. 25.—A letter received here from Georgetown, British Guiana, announces that Great Britain's legal experts have unearthed in the Colonial archives there a series of volumes containing memoranda giving a running history of the Dutch settlement of Guiana, from the middle to near the close of the seventeenth century, fully confirming the British boundary claims.

The memoranda, it is added, were written or dictated by the Commander of the settlement, the seat of the Government being on the River Essequibo. They contain frequent references to trading expeditions to the Dutch depots on the Upper Cuyuni, to the Moruca, and to all the northwest country which the Venezuelans assert the Dutch never possessed.

It is claimed that the discoveries clear the question and will greatly facilitate the work of the arbitrators.

[26 November 1897]

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THE VENEZUELAN DOCUMENTS  
Colonial Office Believes Them "Altogether Insignificant"

LONDON, Nov. 27.—The newspapers were apparently too previous in crowing over the find of alleged important Venezuelan documents at Greytown,\* which was immediately hailed as settling the case, and as a useful rebuff to American "meddlers in their neighbors' concerns."

The Colonial Office now announces that the value of the documents is believed to be "altogether insignificant," and that they will not necessitate an alteration in the statement of the British case, as already submitted.

[28 November 1897]

(Editor's note: \* This is obviously an error in the original report. It should be "Georgetown".)

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BRITISH-VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
Briefs to be Ready In February, When the Arbitration Court Will Sit

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29.—The briefs in the British-Venezuela arbitration case are expected to be ready the middle of February, and the preliminary work of the arbitration court will then begin. The Venezuelan Government has named Dr. Rojas, a prominent lawyer and diplomat, lately resident in Paris, as its agent before the court. With him will be associated eminent counsel, whose names have not yet been announced.

It had been intended to hold the court at Paris, but the sessions may be held at London, St. Petersburg, or some other convenient point. In the meantime the briefs will be forwarded to the President of the court, and thence distributed to the individual members. It is thought that the case will not be closed and a decision reached before the end of the coming year.

[30 December 1897]

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VENEZUELA BOUNDARY CASE  
British Experts Returning to England with Evidence

CARACAS, Venezuela, Dec. 31.—A report has reached here that two legal experts who were commissioned by the Government of Great Britain to go to British Guiana to collect evidence in the boundary dispute are returning to England with many volumes of testimony bearing upon the question, which will simplify the work of the commission when it meets. The wonder here is that this testimony has not been unearthed at an earlier date.

Francis B. Loomis, the American Minister, sailed for the United States on the last “D” Line steamer. It is generally understood here that his mission to Washington is in connection with the Guiana boundary question. It is expected that the absence of the Minister will be brief. . .

[7 January 1898]

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VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY REPORT  
Committee Completed Its Work and Kept Within the Appropriation

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25.—Responding to a Senate resolution the President sent to the Senate to-day a statement by the Secretary of State in regard to the report of the Venezuelan boundary committee and also a statement by the Auditor for the State Department concerning the accounts of the commission.

The Auditor states that no accounts have been received since September last, and there is now remaining of the \$100,000 appropriated for the commission \$2,205. Secretary Sherman says in his communication that the business of the commission has been concluded and within the limits of the appropriation. He also says the supply of copies of the report printed by the commission has been practically exhausted. The report will be reprinted for the use of the Senate.

[26 January 1898]

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Venezuela Retains Counsel

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.—Severo Mallet-Prevost of New York, a member of the firm of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost & Colt, has been retained by the Government of Venezuela as junior counsel

before the arbitration tribunal to determine the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana.

[31 January 1898]

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#### Venezuela Boundary Arbitration

LONDON, Feb. 24.—In the House of Commons to-day Sydney Buxton, Radical, member for Poplar, (Tower Hamlets) questioned the Government as to the progress of Venezuela-Guiana boundary arbitration. Mr. Curzon, in reply, called attention to length of time necessary for delivering the cases, and said he could not promise an early settlement.

[25 February 1898]

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#### Venezuelan Boundary Cases

WASHINGTON, March 10.—It has been arranged that the cases prepared by counsel in the Venezuelan boundary arbitration shall be exchanged in this city the 16th of the present month. The exchange will take place between Sir Julian Pauncefote and Señor Andrade, and four months later the counter-cases will be exchanged.

[11 March 1898]

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#### THE VENEZUELA ARBITRATION Cases Relative to the Boundary Exchanged in Washington

WASHINGTON, March 18.—By arrangement between the parties, Sir Julian Pauncefote for Great Britain and Señor Andrade for Venezuela, the cases relative to the boundary arbitration prepared by counsel on either side have been exchanged.

The documents will be forwarded to their respective Governments by the Ambassador and the Minister to serve as the basis for the counter cases to be exchanged later on, and to prepare the way for the arbitration commission to meet in Paris next Fall.

[19 March 1898]

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VENEZUELA HONORS HARRISON  
She Chooses the Ex-President as Counsel Before the Board of Arbitration

WASHINGTON, May 21.—Ex-President Harrison has, it is learned upon high authority to-day, been selected by the Government of Venezuela as counsel to represent it before the Board of Arbitration appointed to settle the historic boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

[22 May 1898]

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VENEZUELA'S BOUNDARY CASE  
The Tribunal to Settle the Pending Issues with Great Britain Will Assemble In Paris

WASHINGTON, May 22.—The tribunal which is to adjust the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain as to the boundary between the former country and British Guiana will assemble in Paris next February. The claims of both countries are now being made up. The case of Venezuela was laid before the members of the tribunal on March 16 last, and the counter claims of Great Britain will be presented on the 18th of July.

The personnel of the tribunal was determined by the treaty of Washington in 1897, Chief Justice Fuller and Assistant Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court being selected by Venezuela to represent her interests. They and the two representatives of Great Britain have chosen, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, the fifth member of the tribunal in the person of M. de Mertens, the eminent authority on international law, and Chief Counselor of the Russian Foreign Office.

At the sittings of the tribunal the agent of Venezuela will be Dr. José Maria de Rojas. Dr. Rojas will be assisted in the conduct of Venezuela's case by ex-President Benjamin Harrison as chief counsel, with ex-Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy of New York, and Mr. S. Mallet-Prevost, former Secretary of the Venezuelan Commission, as assistant counsel.

[23 May 1898]

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The Anglo-Venezuelan Dispute

LONDON, Aug. 25.—Sir Robert Threshie Reid, formerly Solicitor General and Attorney General, has been appointed additional counsel for Great Britain in the Venezuela boundary arbitration.

[26 August 1898]

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THE BRITISH-VENEZUELA CASE  
Arbitrators from the United States to Represent the Republic  
in Its Boundary Claims

WASHINGTON. Sept. 24.—The approaching meeting at Paris of the British-Venezuela court of arbitration, of which Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer are arbitrators in behalf of the republic, will be hardly second in importance to the meeting at Paris of the Peace Commission, owing to the crisis which the Venezuelan question raised between the United States and Great Britain during the Cleveland Administration and the extent to which the Monroe doctrine is involved. The present plans are for the court to hold a preliminary session in January, at which time Justice Brewer will go to Paris.

But Chief Justice Fuller is not likely to go to the first meeting, as the United States Supreme Court will be very busy about that time, and two members of the bench cannot be spared at the same time. Justice Brewer, probably, will arrange for a postponement until May, at which time both he and the Chief Justice will be free to join the other arbitrators and take up the serious business of the commission.

The case and counter cases between Great Britain and Venezuela have been completed. Minister Andrade of Venezuela recently submitted to the British Embassy here the counter case of the republic, and simultaneous with this the British counter case was handed to Dr. Rojas, the Venezuela agent in Paris. The papers make one of the most voluminous international controversies ever brought to arbitration. The British case and counter-case fill eleven large volumes, one atlas, and a number of detached maps, while the Venezuelan case fills six volumes and three atlases. Thus the court will have before it a record comprising seventeen volumes, four atlases, and some additional maps.

With the record all made up, it remains only for the counsel for the two parties to submit their briefs. The Venezuela brief will be prepared by ex-President Harrison, ex-Senator Tracy, and Mr. Malet-Prevost. The British brief will be presented by the foremost lawyers of England, including Sir Richard Webster.

It is expected that Mr. Harrison and Gen. Tracy will be present and make oral arguments when the court assembles in May. Thus the personnel of the advocates, as well as the arbitrators, will give unusual importance to the hearing. The British arbitrators are headed by Baron Herschel, former Lord Chancellor of England, and, like Chief Justice Fuller, the official head of the judiciary. Associated with him is Sir Richard Henn Collins. The fifth arbitrator, who occupies the attitude of an umpire, is the noted Russian jurist and international law writer, Maertens. The latter is acting for the arbitrators up to the time of their meeting, receiving the papers, briefs, etc.

[25 September 1898]

## How Gifts of Union Jacks Among Guiana Indians Nearly Plunged Great Britain Into War

KINGSTON, Jamaica. Oct 25.— Several months ago the daily telegraphic bulletins announced to the world that there had been an English invasion of Brazil across the British Guiana frontier, and that the invaders were inciting the Brazilian Indians to revolt against the authority of the republic and assume allegiance to the British crown. Although there was no war on between the two nations, in view of the precedent of England's assumption of sovereignty in Venezuelan territory not long before, the story was accepted with some degree of credence. The stir soon subsided, and nothing inure was heard of the matter. There was, however, some foundation for the report, the facts about which have only now been given out.

The interior of Guiana is to a great extent a terra incognita. Its limits are assumed, not defined. British authority is represented not by the conventional machinery of a police department and regular stations among the Indian population, but by a Magistrate having comprehensively indefinite jurisdiction, whose authority is locally represented by the Indian headmen. By dint of continuous traveling he manages to pay annual visits to these frontier settlements, when he easily overtakes the year's accumulation of civil and criminal cases, solemnizes the necessary marriages, records the births and deaths, and last, but not least, presides at the great annual "Paiwarri Festival" whereat he delivers a message from the Queen and receives the renewal of the vows of allegiance from the chiefs of the section.

January of this year found Mr. Magistrate McTurk at the village of Sawarawou, on the river of the same name, on the Brazilian frontier. Among the presents to the headman on that occasion was a Union Jack—the first that had ever penetrated that region. Just why Mr. McTurk was authorized to distribute flags among her Majesty's Indian vassals on the frontier this year is not stated, but this fact is the key to the invasion story.

The headman (his name nowhere appears in the official note, probably for good orthographical reasons) at once developed an unreasoning ostentatious pride in this novel badge of office, and no sooner was Mr. McTurk's back turned than he removed it from its pole and paraded it in procession for miles around, irrespective of political boundaries, declaring that this was the emblem of the great English Queens and that whoever looked upon it became her subjects and consequently under his immediate control.

In the face of the bright flag no one ventured to dispute the claim; on the contrary, the Indians of the entire region, Brazilian as well as English, paid him homage. Like many a greater man, this newly acquired popularity quite turned his head. Like a certain "Little Corporal" who once performed on a wider stage, the humble headman assumed, and was readily accorded, truly imperial sway if not state, his arrogance occasioning no little trouble to the regular Brazilian traders who had worked the territory for generations.

The traders duly appealed to the Brazilian authorities, interpreting the antics of the headman into a British invasion. Of course, the authorities in London knew no more about the alleged "invasion" than did those of Rio, and the Georgetown Government could throw no light on the subject. But the traders continued to complain, while the headman continued his usurpation of power, in blissful ignorance of the fact that he was setting the diplomacy of two nations by the ears.

At length some inkling of the truth reached Georgetown, when Mr. McTurk was dispatched post haste to the frontier to set matters straight. But now another complication arose. By this time the headman began to suspect that all was not right with him, and hearing that Mr. McTurk was coming

up to depose him, he promptly sent off couriers to inform that gentleman that it would be as much as his life was worth to put his foot in the territory with any such hostile intent. The warriors of the tribes for miles around were ready to support him, and he would stand no nonsense.

Mr. McTurk has more than once proved himself to be as brave as any average Scotchman; but, his heroism not being of the “penny dreadful” type, he deemed it imprudent to take the possible risks for so trumpety a cause, and resorted to diplomacy. He promptly camped where the message reached him, and thence opened negotiations with the recalcitrant chief. The latter proved obdurate and arrogant, and as there was no way of getting anything like an adequate force up the tortuous stream and through the dense forests except at an enormous cost, and it would never do to depute the subjection of the rebellious chief to Brazil, a compromise was decided on. This was eventually arranged, the headman consenting to go down to Georgetown and surrender his papers and precious flag on condition that immunity be guaranteed him.

This closed the Incident, Great Britain making the necessary apologetic explanations to Brazil. Since then Mr. McTurk has been busily engaged making a special tour of his stations for the purpose of collecting the flags distributed last year, the Colonial Government fearing other possible complications.

[13 November 1898]

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MINISTER ANDRADE RETURNS  
To Attend the Formal Meeting of the Venezuelan Commission in Paris

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—Señor Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister, has returned to Washington from a vacation in his own country. He expects to go to Paris to attend the meeting of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, Jan. 25.

It is understood, however, that this meeting will be purely formal, for purposes of organization and in order to receive the briefs of the counsel on both sides. An adjournment will then be taken until some time in May, when, it is believed, the arguments will begin.

[7 January 1899]

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- 434 -

Venezuela Commission Meeting

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Justice Brewer will sail from New York next Wednesday for Paris to attend the meeting of the Venezuelan Commission, of which he and Chief Justice Fuller are members.

The commission was to have met on the 25th inst., but a postponement until May 14 has been arranged, so that the forthcoming meeting will do nothing more than formally ratify the postponement already agreed upon.

[10 January 1899]

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- 435 -

The Venezuelan Arbitration Sessions

LONDON, Jan. 23.—The Times says this morning: “Owing to the immense mass of documents put in, the Venezuelan arbitration sessions are expected to last for several months.”

[23 January 1899]

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- 436 -

THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION  
A Preliminary Session Will Be Held at Paris To-morrow

PARIS, Jan. 23.—Councillor Maartens, Professor of International Law at the University of St. Petersburg, who is umpire in the Anglo-Venezuelan arbitration, arrived here on Saturday and promptly visited M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gen. Horace Porter, the United States Ambassador, and Sir Edmund J. Monson, the British Ambassador.

Sir Edmund Monson will give an elaborate banquet to the members of the Diplomatic Corps in Paris on Wednesday, at which all the members of the Arbitration Commission will be present. On Thursday M. Delcassé will give a luncheon to the arbitrators, the United States and British Ambassadors, and the Venezuelan Minister. Next Monday evening Gen. Porter will give a dinner to the arbitrators and to the Diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and Venezuela.

The arbitrators will hold a preliminary session on Wednesday in apartments assigned them at the offices of the Foreign Minister, when they will arrange as to their procedure. An adjournment will then be taken till the middle of April.

[24 January 1899]

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- 437 -

THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION  
Preliminary Sitting Was Purely Form and Nothing Was Achieved

PARIS, Jan. 25.—The preliminary sitting of the Venezuelan Court of Arbitration this morning was purely formal. The court met in the room which was used by the Spanish-American Peace Commissioners, at the Foreign Office here.

The arbitrators only sat for half an hour.

Sir Richard Webster, the Attorney General of Great Britain, made a brief speech, and Prof. Maertens, the umpire of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Commission and Professor of International Law at the University of St. Petersburg, replied. In so doing he thanked the French Government for its hospitality. The next meeting of the commission will take place on May 25.

The arbitrators, the Russian Ambassador, Prince Ouroussoff; the British Ambassador, Sir Edmund J. Monson; the United States Ambassador, Gen. Horace Porter, and the high Foreign Office officials lunched with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Delcassé, to-day. The British Ambassador gave a diplomatic dinner to the party this evening, to which the arbitrators were invited.

[26 January 1899]

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- 438 -

Venezuelan Commission at a Dinner

PARIS, Jan. 30.—The United States Ambassador, Gen. Horace Porter, gave a dinner this evening in honor of the members of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission. The company included, in addition to the arbitrators, Sir Edmund J. Monson, the British Ambassador; Prince Ourossoff, the Russian Ambassador; Count Tornielli-Brusati di Vorgano, the Italian Ambassador;

M. Delcassé, French Minister for Foreign Affairs; Col. John Jacob Astor, and Mr. George Vanderbilt.

[31 January 1899]

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- 439 -

ANGLO-VENEZUELAN TRIBUNAL  
The American Members of the Arbitration Board to Go to Paris  
—Arguments for Venezuela

WASHINGTON, March 16.—Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court will leave the United States for Paris so as to arrive there about May 25 next, at which time the oral arguments on the British-Venezuelan arbitration will be heard. The hearing is expected to cover three months, after which the court is expected to devote about three months to the consideration of the question, giving a decision probably in November.

Ex-President Harrison and ex-Secretary of the Navy Tracy probably will go to Paris at the same time, as they are the leading counsel for Venezuela. Their brief has been presented, and, owing to its general interest copies have been distributed among Senators, Representatives, and public men generally in Washington. It covers about 800 printed pages, and is in rather marked contrast to the brevity of the British brief of Sir Richard Webster, covering only 55 pages. The conclusion of the brief is as follows:

Venezuela, with great respect but with great confidence, now admits to this high tribunal the very serious issues involved. She does this in the happy belief that in the short but brilliant history of arbitration tribunals this one will find a conspicuous place, and will recommend to other nations the use of this great agency or peace. Venezuela has no direct representative upon this tribunal; and by this fact, it is more nearly assimilated to the great courts of justice from which the idea of representation is wholly absent. No other international tribunal has presented this feature. They have been too much the conference of representatives, rather than the consultations of Judges, to whom the parties are quite indifferent.

The one tends to unsatisfactory compromises, the other to decrees that establish rights. In the very constitution, therefore, of this tribunal we have the strongest appeal to the sense of impartial justice and the surest ground of hope that the judgment may confirm the faith of those who believe that it is possible to bring the nations to a bar that will treat them with the same impartiality that is shown to individual litigants. When that confidence is fully established the era of a universal peace will be near.

The brief is signed by Benjamin Harrison, Benjamin F. Tracy, S. Mallet-Prevost, and James Russell Soley, counsel for Venezuela.

[17 March 1899]

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- 440 -

The Venezuela Arbitration

WASHINGTON, April 1.—Arrangements have been made for the sailing on May 11 of ex-President Harrison and ex-Secretary Tracy for Paris, where they will act as counsel for Venezuela before the international court of arbitration, which meets in Paris on May 25. Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, who are arbitrators, will probably go at the same time.

[2 April 1899]

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THE VENEZUELAN ARBITRATION  
It Is Postponed Presumably Because of the Peace Conference

WASHINGTON, May 10.—The British-Venezuelan arbitration, which was to begin at Paris on the 24th of this month, has been postponed until June 15.

An inference has been drawn from this postponement that the Czar's peace congress will be brief, as Mr. Maertens, the eminent Russian jurist, is one of the Russian delegates to the Czar's congress and also one of the arbitrators on the British-Venezuelan question. It was impossible, therefore, for him to be present at both events.

A postponement of the meeting in Paris was therefore arranged until June 15, with the understanding that Mr. Maertens's services at The Hague would not be required beyond that date. Being one of the Czar's personal representatives, it is hardly expected Mr. Maertens would leave the congress while it was in session, so that the arrangement just concluded is taken to indicate that the peace congress will be over by June 15, thus giving about three weeks for discussion.

[11 May 1899]

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- 442 -

The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, May 17.—Owing to the attendance at the Czar's Peace Conference, to open tomorrow at The Hague, of Prof. Martens, Professor of International Law at the University of St. Petersburg and final arbitrator of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission, the meeting of the Venezuelan Commission has been postponed for the present.

[18 May 1899]

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- 443 -

Venezuela Boundary Arbitration

WASHINGTON, May 22.—Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court expect to sail for Paris on the 31st inst., whither they go to participate in the Venezuela boundary arbitration.

[23 May 1899]

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- 444 -

MR. HARRISON IN PARIS  
The ex-President Has an Interview with President Loubet  
—Speaks of the Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, May 27.—Ex-President Harrison, accompanied by Gen. Horace Porter, United States Ambassador, this morning had an interview lasting a quarter of an hour with M. Delcasse, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The interview was of the most cordial character.

This afternoon Mr. Harrison and Ambassador Porter called upon President Loubet. After a ceremonious introduction, they dropped all formality and conversed in the most friendly manner upon topics of interest to the two countries. M. Loubet said he was especially pleased to meet Mr. Harrison, who was “doubly his colleague, both being heads of sister republics and both lawyers.” He also said he desired to congratulate Mr. Harrison upon the mission with which he had been intrusted and which had brought him to Paris; and expressed gratification that the Venezuelan Commission had elected to meet in France.

Mr. Harrison replied in a similar vein, saying he was rejoiced at the meeting of the commission in Paris, as it gave him an opportunity of visiting for the first time a country for which he had the most profound admiration, and which was united to his own by so many inseparable bonds. He then thanked M. Loubet for the cordial hospitality of the Commissioners, whose mission was one of peace, and for the interest shown in their work.

The President and ex-President then drifted to the general subject of arbitration, Mr. Harrison expressing the view that it was essential, in order to make the use of arbitration general, that the representative idea should be eliminated from such tribunals. In order that they should retain purely judicial character every member of arbitration tribunals should, he thought, be absolutely indifferent to the individual interests of the parties in litigation.

In the course of an interview with a representative of the Associated Press, Mr. Harrison said that President Loubet seemed to be a sincere friend of arbitration. Mr. Harrison also said that the original date for the meeting of the commission was chosen with a view to enabling the American members to return to the United States in October, but under present circumstances, Prof. de Martens had fixed the new date for June 15, as he expected that his part of the business at The Hague would be over then. He added that although it was difficult to say when the work of the commission would be completed, he hoped it would be terminated by the end of August.

The commission, he said, would probably hold four meetings weekly, each of four hours' duration. This means from eight to ten weeks of effective work, into which will be crowded the whole case, with the pleadings of counsel.

Regarding the Peace Conference, Mr. Harrison said he thought the principal object for which it had been called would not be attained, but that some form of arbitration or a step toward its

adoption may be the outcome of the meeting. Ex-President Harrison and Mrs. Harrison have accepted an invitation to the parliamentary dinner to be given by President Loubet on Monday next.

[28 May 1899]

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- 445 -

THE BRITISH-VENEZUELA CASE  
Russia Blamed for the Delay in the Arbitration Proceedings

WASHINGTON, June 6.—There is considerable dissatisfaction in official and diplomatic circles over the continued postponement of the British-Venezuelan arbitration proceedings, as the delay causes personal inconvenience to Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, who are arbitrators, and to ex-President Harrison and ex-Secretary Tracy, who are counsel, as well as the British and Venezuelan officials now gathered at Paris. The postponement was caused by Russia naming Mr. Mertens, who is on the Venezuelan Commission, as one of the Russian delegates at The Hague Conference. Although most of the American and Venezuelan officials are now in Paris, they are unable to proceed with the work, and it is said that there is doubt whether Mr. Mertens will be free by the 25th instant, the day to which the court adjourned its meeting.

The suggestion was made to-day in a high diplomatic quarter that it would be well for Russia to withdraw Mr. Mertens from the representation at The Hague and permit him to proceed with the arbitration at Paris, as the interests as well as the convenience of all three Governments would be much subserved thereby. This could be more readily done, it was pointed out, as Russia would still be well represented at The Hague by such eminent diplomats as Baron de Stael and Count Mouravief. The desirability of some such arrangement has been officially discussed, and it may be brought to the attention of the Russian authorities unless they take the initiative by freeing Mr. Mertens from his duties at The Hague, so that the British-Venezuelan arbitration can proceed.

[7 June 1899]

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THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY  
Members of the Commission Going to Paris to Begin Work

LONDON, June 8.—The Attorney General, Sir Richard Webster Q. C.; Sir Robert Treshie Reid Q. C., the former Attorney General, and G. R. Askwith of the British Venezuelan Boundary Commission started for Paris to-day. Others leave at the end of the week, and the Lord Chief Justice, Baron Russell of Killowen, and Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeal, will leave for the French capital shortly, in order to be present at the opening of the Venezuela boundary arbitration, June 15. Counsel for Venezuela and Mr. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of the Boundary Commission, have statements of the case, amounting to 6,000 pages of closely printed matter in

Spanish, Dutch, French and English, accompanied by 200 maps. The opening speech of Sir Richard Webster is expected to last sixteen days.

[9 June 1899]

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VENEZUELAN ARBITRATION  
First Meeting of the Commissioners to be Held at Paris This Morning—  
Rules of Procedure Adopted

PARIS, June 14.—A preliminary and informal meeting of counsel engaged in the Venezuelan arbitration was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning.

The meetings of the Venezuelan Commission will be held in the apartment which was placed at the disposal of the Spanish-American Peace Commission. It was also used in the Bering Sea arbitration. Workmen have been busy all day in preparing it and arranging the furniture.

The first formal meeting of the Commissioners will be at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

At this morning's informal conference a series of rules of procedure was adopted. Prof. F. de Martens, the umpire in the dispute, who is Professor of International Law in the University of Petersburg, and a permanent member of the Council of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Russia, as well as a member of the Russian delegation at The Hague Peace Conference, proposed the rules, to which some amendments were made at the suggestion of other members of the tribunal. The hours of session were fixed from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. with half an hour for luncheon, and it was agreed to hold five sessions weekly after Prof. de Martens has finished his work at The Hague, which he expects, will be about the end of next week. M. Martin, an official of the French Foreign Office, was appointed permanent Secretary of the tribunal.

It is expected that the arguments will be begun to-morrow, after a brief inaugural address by Prof. de Martens, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General opening the case on behalf of Great Britain. A number of counsel will speak. The order of their addresses is to be left to the counsel themselves.

Prof. de Martens was seen at the Hotel Chatham this evening. Regarding the delay in beginning the work of the tribunal he said:

"I have been detained by work at The Hague, and the postponement of my arrival here was arranged with the consent of the other members of the tribunal. The proceedings could have been begun and continued last October, but they were postponed at the instance of the Americans, owing to the fact that Chief Justice Fuller of the United States Supreme Court was obliged to attend to official duties at home, which occupied him until last month.

"I shall return to The Hague after to-morrow's session, but shall come back here next week. I expect then to be compelled to return again to The Hague for a few days, but on my return to Paris I shall stay with the tribunal until its work is completed."

Questioned respecting the prospects of the prospects of the Peace Conference at The Hague, Prof. de Martens declined to say more than that he expected the proceedings would be concluded about the end of this month, with "distinctly practical results."

[15 June 1899]

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VENEZUELA CASE OPENED  
The Arbitration Tribunal Begins Its Work in Paris  
GREAT BRITAIN HEARD FIRST  
Sir Richard Webster Gives a Review of  
the Boundary Question and Discusses Former Treaties

PARIS, June 15.—The first formal meeting of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission opened this morning. The arbitrators, counsel, and others began assembling at the Foreign Office shortly before 11 o'clock. They were received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Delcassé in the apartment in which the tribunal will sit. These are three rooms used at the meeting of the Spanish-American Peace Conference and during the Bering Sea arbitration.

The main room is an oblong chamber luxuriously decorated, having rich moldings on the walls and ceilings and heavy gilt ornamentations, relieved by frescoes in light tones. The ceiling is light blue, and in its centre are magnificent gilt chandeliers. On a raised dais at the end of the room, facing the entrance, are five massive gilt armchairs for the arbitrators, with a table in front of them. Below the dais are half a dozen long tables, placed across the room, for counsel and clerical staff. All the furniture is upholstered in bright red, with gilt frames. A large colored map of the disputed territory hangs on the wall to the right of the arbitrators, with a smaller map of the whole of South America beside it.

Altogether there were about forty persons connected with the tribunal present. The arbitrators and most of their staffs were dressed in frock coats. There were less than a dozen spectators in the portion of the apartment roped off for the general public, and half a dozen ladies, including Mrs. Benjamin Harrison and others belonging to the American party.

The arbitrators took their seats soon after 11 o'clock. Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller and Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeals, sitting on the right of Prof. de Martens, the umpire, and Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Justice David S. Brewer sitting on his left hand. Ex-President Benjamin Harrison, Gen. Benjamin K. Tracy, and the remainder of the Americans sat at the tables at the left side of the room, facing the court, and the British representatives were seated at tables on the right side. Counsel used the desks which served during the Bering Sea deliberations.

WELCOMED BY M. DELCASSÉ

The proceedings opened at 11:20, when M. Delcassé briefly addressed the tribunal in French. The Foreign Minister said it gave him special pleasure to welcome the high commission in behalf of the Government of the Republic, which, he added, was greatly pleased at the fact that Paris had been chosen for the sitting of the tribunal, among whom he saw such eminent men, some of whom had occupied with distinction the highest positions. Under the Presidency of M. de Martens, who was universally acknowledged as an authority on international law, he continued, their labors could only result happily in the interests of the dispute and in the interests of humanity, for it would

constitute another step toward the realization of the noble project which, launched from an illustrious throne, was making rapid way into the hearts and consciences of the people, and had thus imposed itself with singular force on the solicitude of those who govern them. M. Delcassé concluded by thanking the arbitrators for having accepted the hospitality of France.

Prof. de Martens replied, thanking the French Foreign Minister for his welcome and for the hospitality extended to the arbitrators. The speaker recalled the fact that he came here seven years ago to attend the Bering Sea arbitration. Referring to the work being done at The Hague in the matter of arbitration, he said the Peace Conference sought not merely to arrange a settlement of conflicts, but the avoidance of conflicts, and expressed the hope that the present tribunal would have the result of promoting the welfare and prosperity of the two countries interested.

The professor then announced the rules of procedure agreed upon at yesterday's conference, and said the arbitrators would meet every day excepting Sundays.

Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, thereupon arose and said that in order to meet the view of ex-President Harrison and the other American counsel, in which the English representatives concurred, he proposed that they meet only four days in the week, in view of the extremely heavy work before them.

#### MR. HARRISON RAISES A SMILE

Mr. Harrison said he thought there would be in four days' work enough for ordinary men, and he evoked a general smile as, looking around on the gathering of the most eminent jurists of Great Britain and America, he added: "And we are all ordinary men." The work before them, he added, would be a tremendous strain upon counsel.

Prof. de Martens agreed that four days' meeting per week would be sufficient, arranging that the arbitrators would not meet on Fridays, Saturdays or Sundays.

Sir Richard Webster then asked: "As the learned Prof. Martens is going back to The Hague tonight, what days does he propose to give us next week?"

The professor replied that he hoped to give them two days during the latter half of next week, and that he would write from The Hague on Sunday fixing the day of his arrival.

After this Sir Richard Webster announced that counsel had arranged that he should speak first, then two Venezuelan counsel, next Great Britain, with possibly two counsel, then Venezuela, and next Great Britain. The final speech was to be made by Venezuela. Sir Richard opened his speech by mentioning that he had the privilege years ago to appear in the same room as junior counsel in the Bering Sea case, He was standing at the very desk which served at that time. It was a significant fact that Venezuela was represented by distinguished men of the American Republic, while America was represented on the bench by two judges of the very highest position. It was a great honor for himself and his colleagues to address such a tribunal.

The leading counsel for Great Britain then paid a tribute to Prof. de Martens, whose reputation was international, and said:

I shall probably have to say much with which my friends disagree, but I am sure they will extend to us the courtesy of forbearance, which we desire to extend to them and which is customary between counsel in these cases."

Continuing, Sir Richard said he only intended to touch to-day upon the general topics underlying the whole discussion, and proceeded to give geographical and historical review of the whole question, going back to the time of Columbus.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER'S SPEECH

In the course of his remarks he said he regarded the Treaty of Munster as a most important matter for the tribunal, as Great Britain held that Spain was not entitled to claim the whole of the Western world in view of the fact that she was established in the position of the Dutch. He presumed American counsel took an utterly different view of the construction of both the Munster and Utrecht Treaties, and thought the arguments advanced by American counsel were not characterized by that breadth which might be expected from such eminent counsel.

The representative of Great Britain then took up the terms of the treaty of arbitration, and laid great stress on the British contention that the treaty was a contract between Venezuela and Great Britain, and not between the Spaniards and Dutch. The tribunal, he contended, had to decide the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana at the present time, and not between the Spaniards and Dutch in 1814.

Counsel then said that, in order to clear up any misunderstanding, he announced that Great Britain recognized Venezuela as the successor of Spain, and he submitted that the boundary, as it might have been settled in 1814, was not the same as it ought to be defined to-day. Respecting the fifty years' title clause, Great Britain submitted that it ought to come back from the date of the conclusion of the treaty of arbitration. Counsel was adverse to holding that fifty years ought to constitute a title, whatever might be the paramount title of the other power, as this would cut both ways.

Where such a case was proved the matter could be settled in one of three ways – by deflecting the boundary line with territorial compensation elsewhere, without territorial equivalent, or by the payment of compensation, adding that the tribunal had absolute discretion in the matter.

Sir Richard Webster spoke in a clear voice, and the arbitrators and counsel followed the speech closely, making notes and occasionally asking him to clear up a doubtful point. He occupied the remainder of the day in an explanation, with the aid of the map on the wall, of the geographical difficulties of the dispute, and concluded the opening stage of his speech shortly before 4 o'clock, when the tribunal adjourned. Prof. de Martens said he hoped to be able to hold the next meeting on the coming Wednesday.

The members of the tribunal were photographed this afternoon, grouped on the steps at the entrance of the Foreign Office.

The officials of the Foreign Office provided a substantial luncheon for the Commissioners and their staffs in a hall adjoining the courtroom.

[16 June 1899]

PARIS, June 21.—The Venezuelan Boundary Commission reassembled at 11 o'clock this morning. Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, resumed his speech on behalf the case of Great Britain.

Dealing with the period from 1500 to 1637, he said that Great Britain was unable to rely on the data relating to Spanish and Venezuelan control, and was compelled to fall back upon the discovery and circumnavigation, so-called, of the unit of Guiana. Venezuela, he said, argued that Guiana was a defined area, and had taken part of it in the name of the whole, taking such possession as to entitle it to the whole.

In minute detail Sir Richard reviewed the work of the various explorers upon whom Venezuela relied, claiming they were not relevant to the territory of Guiana, and adding that the statements made before the United States Commission must not be used in argument against Great Britain, as frequent deductions were made which were totally unsupported, as Justice Brewer, a former member of that commission, would doubtless remember.

According to Sir Richard Webster, the first explorer who really reached Guiana was De Berrio, and his expedition was intended, Sir Richard added, to apply to a different part of the country and for a different object than that alleged by Venezuela, who sought to apply it to a small district. He protested against the expedition in question being “pieced on” so as to establish this “so-called Spanish title,” further asserting that “it had failed miserably, as both the Dutch and Spanish historians agreed that there was only one Spanish settlement on the Orinoco before 1720.

As to the Spanish coasting voyages, Sir Richard said the Spaniards occasionally traded, but the Dutch traded and settled. By the truce of 1609 the Dutch position was known and acknowledged by Spain, and, as Motley, the historian had stated “the orange flag of the republic was to float over all America from Manhattan Island to the shores of Brazil and the Straits of Magellan, provided Philip had not ships and soldiers to vindicate with the sword that sovereignty which Spanish swords and genius had once acquired.”

Continuing, the British counsel claimed that discovery when not followed by occupation was of no value as the basis of title, inasmuch as nations had never consented to the contrary doctrine. Discovery, if accompanied by a certified or notorious intention to acquire, gave a prior opportunity of acquiring, which opportunity it would be a violation of the comity of nations to interfere with prematurely.

The occupation of vacant parts of the world, treated as not in the possession of a distinct owner, was not a case of transfer of possession, for there were no parties between whom such a convention could pass. Guiana was vacant. The Dutch settled and controlled it, while the Spaniards held one miserable spot on the Orinoco, which could not control the huge district lying between the Orinoco and the Essequibo.

Sir Richard Webster then detailed the exploits of the Dutch in conjunction with Sir Walter Raleigh, bringing his argument up to the year 1637.

Lord Chief Justice Russell caused an amusing diversion when Sir Richard Webster, in the course of his argument, described the cannibalistic attacks at San Thomé. He asked Sir Richard if the latter did not know that this was a libelous statement. Sir Richard replied that he could not vouch personally for its accuracy, but it was good history.

The commission adjourned at 4 o'clock until to-morrow.

[22 June 1899]

Venezuelan Boundary Commission

PARIS, June 27.—The Venezuelan Boundary Commission met to-day. Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, continued his argument in support of the case of Great Britain.

[28 June 1899]

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The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, June 28.—The Venezuelan Arbitration Commission resumed its sessions this morning, and Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, continued his presentation of the case of Great Britain. During the afternoon President Loubet received the members of the commission. They were introduced to him by Prof. Martens, the umpire in the boundary dispute.

[29 June 1899]

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THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY  
Dispute as to Whether Documents Can Be Submitted in Part

PARIS, June 29.—The Venezuelan Arbitration Commission was again in session to-day and the leading counsel for Great Britain, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, continued his presentation of his side of the case. The commission adjourned to Wednesday.

Objecting to certain abstracts of documents introduced by Venezuela, Sir Richard Webster demanded that the entire documents should be presented to the court if any reliance was to be placed upon the portions submitted.

Benjamin Harrison, on behalf of Venezuela, demurred to this contention on the ground that the time for filing documents had passed.

Baron Russell of Killowen, one of the arbitrators, remarked that the tribunal could scarcely rely upon half a document when it was asserted that the whole bore a different meaning. It was finally decided that copies of the documents should first be submitted to the counsel for Venezuela. Mr. Harrison intimated that he had thought argument would be heard before this opportunity was afforded.

[30 June 1899]

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Venezuela Arbitration Commission

PARIS, July 6.—The Venezuela Arbitration Commission resumed its sessions to-day. Sir Richard Webster, the British General, continued his argument of the ease of Great Britain.

[7 July 1899]

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The Venezuelan Boundary

PARIS, July 7.—At to-day's sitting of the Venezuela Arbitration Commission Sir Richard Webster, leading counsel for Great Britain, continued his presentation of the British side of the case.

[8 July 1899]

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THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION  
Sir Richard Webster Presents a Chronological Review to 1816

PARIS, July 8.—At to-day's session of the Venezuela Arbitration Commission, Sir Richard Webster, Attorney General of Great Britain, presented in support of the British Case a chronological review up to the year 1816.

He will continue this feature of his argument Monday.

[9 July 1899]

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Honors Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, July 9.—Sir Edmund John Monson, British Ambassador to France, last evening entertained at dinner the members of the Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal.

[10 July 1899]

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### Venezuelan Arbitration Work

PARIS, July 10.—At to-day's session of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission Sir Richard Webster, in behalf of Great Britain, brought the chronological review up to the year 1841.

The United States Ambassador, Gen. Horace Porter, will give a dinner and reception to-night in honor of the members of the commission and counsel.

[11 July 1899]

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### Venezuelan Commission's Progress

PARIS, July 11.—At to-day's session of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, continued his argument in behalf of the ease of Great Britain.

At the close of the session of the commission the members were photographed.

[12 July 1899]

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### The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, July 12.—At the session of the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission to-day, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, in continuing his presentation of the case of Great Britain, brought his chronological review up to 1896. He will close his speech to-morrow.

[13 July 1899]

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### FIGHTING VENEZUELA'S CLAIMS

PARIS, July 13.—Sir Richard Webster, Attorney General of Great Britain, concluded, to-day, before the Venezuelan Arbitration Commission, his presentation of the British case.

During the course of his remarks he said it would be a deathblow to arbitration if the courts sanctioned such claims as advanced by Venezuela. It would, he added, in fact, imply that an unsupported claim amounted to a title.

The sessions of the commission were then adjourned until Wednesday next.

[14 July 1899]

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NO INTEREST IN VENEZUELA  
London Is Indifferent to This Question of Arbitration

*Special to The New-York Times*

LONDON, July 14.—The Venezuelan arbitration tribunal has adjourned until Wednesday, after listening to Sir Richard Webster for thirteen days.

The matter excites no interest here.

[15 July 1899]

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Venezuelan Commissioners Dined

PARIS, July 17.—Mr. Mallet-Prevost entertained the members of the Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal at dinner this evening.

[18 July 1899]

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- 463 -

EL DORADO IN VENEZUELA  
Vast Natural Wealth of the Guruari and Delta Territory Claimed by Great Britain

WASHINGTON, July 18.—Mr. Frank B. Loomis, the American Minister to Venezuela, was at the State Department to-day, having recently arrived in the United States from his post. Mr. Loomis says that business in Venezuela is considerably depressed owing to the low price of coffee.

The people of the country, he says, are very hopeful that the result of the boundary line arbitration will confirm Venezuela's title to the disputed territory, which turns out to be fabulously rich in gold, silver, copper, and other minerals. Some diamonds have also been discovered.

Mr. Loomis says that a great project for a huge canal system to connect the waters of the Orinoco, Amazon, and Platte is being discussed, but the vast sum necessary to construct it, estimated at from \$100,000,000 to \$300,000,000, staggers the projectors.

[19 July 1899]

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The Venezuela Commission

PARIS, July 19.—The Venezuela Arbitration Commission did not meet to-day as intended, but will meet on Friday.

[20 July 1899]

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VENEZUELA'S CASE OPENED  
Spain, Maitre Prevost Declared, Settled Her Rights by Discovery

PARIS, July 21.—Maitre Prevost opened the case for Venezuela at to-day's sitting of the British-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission.

Maitre Prevost cited authorities on international law to show that the right of discovery gives prior rights under conditions, which he claimed, Spain fulfilled. Spain had occupied and settled points on all the important rivers between the Orinoco and the Amazon in 1630

[22 July 1899]

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The Venezuelan Boundary

PARIS, July 24.—Mr. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of the Boundary Commission, on behalf of Venezuela, continued his argument to-day before the British-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission.

[25 July 1899]

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Venezuela Arbitrators Entertained

PARIS, July 25.—Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and a member of the Venezuela Arbitration Commission, entertained his colleagues of the commission at dinner to-day.

[26 July 1899]

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### Venezuela Arbitration Argument

PARIS, July 28.—M. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, to-day continued his presentation of the Venezuelan case. He dealt with the period from 1609 to 1648, where, he contended, the Spaniards were all-powerful in Guiana.

[29 July 1899]

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### GEN. ANTONIO G. BLANCO DEAD

Ex-Dictator of Venezuela Expires in Paris—He Did Much to Develop the Country

PARIS, July 29.—Gen. Antonio Guzman Blanco, ex-President of Venezuela is dead.

Gen. Antonio Guzman Blanco played a most important part in the history of Venezuela. For many years he was the absolute dictator of the country, either in name or in fact, and he was in the habit of calling himself its “pacificator and regenerator.” While he used his power to amass a large private fortune, it is generally acknowledged that his was the principal influence in establishing a better Government than had existed prior to his time and in developing the material resources of the nation.

He was born at Caracas in 1828. His father was the private secretary of Simon Bolivar, and was at one time a member of the Venezuelan Cabinet. Living in an atmosphere of revolution, he became a soldier when a mere boy. His rise to power occurred in 1863, when, at the head of a revolutionary force, he marched on Caracas and overthrew the existing Government, of which Gen José Antonio Paez was President.

A new Government was organized, with Gen. Tovar Castro as President and Gen. Blanco as Vice President. The latter, however, was the real head of the Administration, and for nearly twenty-five years thereafter he was the controlling mind in the Government.

A new Constitution was proclaimed on March 28, 1864, making large extensions in the popular rights. From 1867 to 1871 the country was disturbed by various revolutionary movements, all of which were suppressed by the strong hand of Blanco. In December, 1871, he was proclaimed provisional President, or Dictator, and in 1873 he was regularly elected President. He was re-elected in 1877, and again in 1881, and he exercised complete control over the Administration of Gen. Joaquin Crespo, who succeeded him as President in 1884. It was not until 1888 that a popular revolution put an end to his authority and placed Dr. Pablo Rojas Paul in the Presidential chair.

Under the direction of Blanco as Dictator and President a system of compulsory public education was organized, telegraph and postal systems were established, and many railroads and other public works were constructed. The projects undertaken and carried out by him resulted in an enormous increase in the commerce and wealth of the country. By an amended constitution adopted through his influence in 1881, the twenty States of which the republic had originally been composed were consolidated into eight States, five Territories, and one colony, and the General Government was centralized and strengthened.

The arbitration of the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, which is now in progress at Paris, was first suggested by Gen. Blanco in 1882, when he directed the Venezuelan Minister in London to suggest to the British Government that means of settling the question. In 1884, after he had given up the Presidency, but while he still retained his almost dictatorial power in Venezuela, Gen. Blanco went to London as Minister Plenipotentiary for the purpose of reaching a settlement of the dispute. On his way he stopped in Washington and conferred with the Secretary of State, who instructed James Russell Lowell, then United States Minister in London, to use his discretion as to how far his good offices could profitably be employed, but at any rate, to “take proper occasion to let Lord Granville know that we are not without concern as to whatever may affect the interests of a sister republic on the American continent and its position in the family of nations.” As the result of combined efforts of Gen. Blanco and Mr. Lowell, Lord Granville agreed to a general arbitration of the boundary question, but before the treaty was signed Lord Salisbury became Premier, and, upon his refusal to conclude the arrangement made by his predecessor, the negotiations came to an end for the time being.

His mission to England was Gen. Blanco’s last important public service. Being out of office, and for a time absent from Venezuela, his influence waned, and a strong party sprang up by which he was accused of having used his power for private gain. During the temporary occupation of Caracas by a revolutionary force, numerous statues of himself which he had caused to be erected in the Venezuelan capital were demolished by his enemies. One of these statues bore the following inscription, which Blanco had dictated: “To that Illustrious American, the Pacificator and Regenerator of the United States of Venezuela, Gen. Antonio Guzman Blanco.” These words are an index to the pride and self-esteem which were among Gen. Blanco’s most striking characteristics.

Shortly after his fall from power, Gen Blanco took up his residence in Paris with his wife and five children. He became noted in the French capital as a dandy in dress and a brilliant entertainer, the fortune which he had amassed in Venezuela enabling him to gratify all his tastes for pleasure and luxury. One of his daughters is married to the Duc de Morny, a leader in the fashionable life of Paris.

[30 July 1899]

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- 470 -

Venezuelan Boundary Commission

PARIS. July 31.—At to-day’s session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, M. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of that body, continued his presentation of the Venezuelan case. Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, suggested the advisability of M. Mallet-Prevost curtailing his argument, but Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, intervened in favor of the speaker. The court will continue its sitting to-morrow.

[1 August 1899]

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- 471 -

### The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, Aug. 1.—At the session to-day of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, the argument of M. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of the commission, in his presentation of the Venezuelan case, was confined to evidence showing that after 1761 the whole trade of Guiana was in the hands of Spain.

[2 August 1899]

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- 472 -

### Venezuelan Boundary History

PARIS, Aug. 2.—M. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, in his presentation of the Venezuelan case before that body to-day devoted his argument to showing that up to 1814 Spain had effective control of the coast from the Orinoco to the Essequibo.

[3 August 1899]

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- 473 -

### Venezuelan Boundary Case

PARIS, Aug. 7.—At the session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission to-day, M. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of the commission, in continuing his presentation of the Venezuelan case, discussed various claims relative to the interior of Guiana, quoting documents to show that the Dutch never went above the first cataracts of the Essequibo and other rivers.

[8 August 1899]

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- 474 -

### The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, Aug. 8.—M. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, at to-day's sitting of that body continued his presentation of the Venezuelan case, and devoted the day to showing that the Dutch never claimed territory which Great Britain now says they owned.

[9 August 1899]

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- 475 -

VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY CASE

M. Mallet-Prevost Concludes His Presentation To-day—Three Blue Books

PARIS, Aug. 9.—M. Mallet-Prevost, the Secretary of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, at to-day's sitting of that body proceeded with his presentation of the Venezuelan case and introduced evidence with the object of proving the Spaniards ejected the Dutch from the Cuyuni River in the right of jurisdiction. M. Mallet-Prevost will conclude his argument to-morrow, when Prof. R. Soley will discuss the question from the date of the British occupation in 1814.

[10 August 1899]

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- 476 -

ARBITRATION A SLOW METHOD

*The London Times* Comments on the Venezuela Boundary Case

LONDON, Aug 12.—The Times, in an editorial this morning on the Venezuela boundary arbitration, complains that the proceedings are unnecessarily protracted and expresses a fear that the example thus set will “operate to prejudice the arbitral mode of settling differences.” It says:

“Unfortunately this is a too common drawback to international references. Witness also the Delagoa and Bering Sea cases. If the system is not to break down tribunals must exercise a free hand in discouraging the prodigies of physical energy in which modern advocates are too prone to indulge.”

[12 August 1899]

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- 477 -

Venezuelan Boundary Commission

PARIS, Aug. 12—The sessions of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission were resumed to-day. Prof. John R. Soley began his argument on behalf of the Venezuelan side of the case, treating of the period of the British possession of the Essequibo. He declared that up to 1856 Great Britain only possessed Moruca. The sittings of the commission will be continued on Monday.

[13 August 1899]

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- 478 -

The Anglo-Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, Aug. 14.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission Prof. John R. Soley, in continuing his presentation of the Venezuelan case, discussed the question of military control and jurisdiction, neither of which, prior to 1850, he said, had extended west of the Essequibo River.

[15 August 1899]

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- 479 -

Venezuela Boundary Argument

PARIS. Aug. 15.—Prof. John R. Soley continued his argument at the session to-day of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, in behalf of the Venezuelan side of the case, claiming that English jurisdiction never extended beyond the Essequibo River. After to-morrow's session an adjournment will be taken until Aug. 25.

[16 August 1899]

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- 480 -

Venezuela Boundary Court Adjourns

PARIS, Aug. 16.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Prof. John R. Soley, in continuing argument in behalf of the Venezuelan case, made a general attack on the case of Great Britain. He then quoted evidence as to Venezuelan influence in the same territory. The court adjourned until Aug. 26.\*

[17 August 1899]

(\* This date is an error in this news item. The court adjourned until Aug. 25.)

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- 481 -

Venezuela Boundary Argument Resumed

PARIS, Aug. 25.—The sittings of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission were resumed to-day. Prof. John H. Solely, continuing his argument in behalf of the Venezuela case,

said that, while evidence of British sovereignty was absent, proofs existed of Venezuela's control. He devoted much of his time to an interpretation of the agreement of 1850.

[26 August 1899]

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- 482 -

VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY MAPS  
Prof. Soley Charges that Schomburgk's Show Private Motives

PARIS, Aug. 26.—At the session to-day of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Prof. John R. Soley, in continuing his argument in support of the Venezuelan case, devoted the day to a criticism of Sir Robert Schomburgk's maps. He declared that Sir Robert's guiding motives were to be found in private and not in official data, the main object being to give Barima Point, commanding the whole Orinoco, to Great Britain.

The commission adjourned until Monday.

[27 August 1899]

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- 483 -

The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, Aug. 29.—Prof. John H. Soley, on behalf of Venezuela, concluded his argument before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission at noon to-day. Sir Robert Thresie Reid, Q. C. former Attorney General, who followed, said Venezuela claims to be the residuary legatee of the ancient Spanish claim, though neither she nor Spain did anything for 280 years in the disputed territory.

[30 August 1899]

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- 484 -

The Venezuela Boundary Argument

PARIS, Aug. 30.—At the session to-day of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Sir Robert Thresie Reid, Q. C., former Attorney General, continued his argument on behalf of Great Britain. He said he had examined carefully the contentions in the Oregon case of 1792 and the Louisiana controversy of 1805, contending that the rights of the first corner were identical with those of the second, and he argued that Spain and Venezuela were not entitled to claim special rights over the Dutch and English.

[31 August 1899]

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- 485 -

#### The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS, Aug. 31.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Sir Robert T. Reid, Q. C., former Attorney General, continued his argument for Great Britain. He contended that even it were true that the Dutch abandoned Amakuru fort in 1648 there was ample evidence to show they held, without dispute, the Orinoco almost to its source and the whole of the Essequibo.

[1 September 1899]

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- 486 -

#### English Control of Venezuelan Lands

PARIS, Sept. 1.—Sir Robert Thresie Reid, Q. C., former Attorney General of Great Britain, at to-day's session of the Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission produced evidence in behalf of the British contention to show how thorough was British control in the disputed territory, granting of licenses for fishing and timber cutting, and claimed that Great Britain's judicial authority was absolute up to the banks of the Amakuru. He also declared that Venezuela gave no evidence in support of her claim to sovereignty except an empty assertion.

[2 September 1899]

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- 487 -

#### VENEZUELA'S ARGUMENT

PARIS, Sept. 4.—Sir Robert Thresie Reid, Q. C., former Attorney General of Great Britain, to-day concluded his argument before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Commission, presenting the case for England. Counsel said that England and Venezuela before the tribunal held absolutely the same footing, the question being one of comparative title.

George Askwith, junior counsel, continued the argument of England's case. He expressed regret that his adversaries had not yet given the legal view of the present controversy. Mr. Askwith referred to Spain's claim to the whole of America, and said the presentation of Venezuela's case was whimsical. He added that no European nation admitted this Spanish claim, and that the Dutch, when they obtained their independence, upheld their right of settling in the West Indies and carried it into effect.

[5 September 1899]

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- 488 -

Gen. Tracy Argues for Venezuela

PARIS, Sept. 7.—Gen. Benjamin F. Tracy, before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission to-day, took up his argument in behalf of Venezuela, devoting the greater part of the day to a discussion of the international rules relating to the rights of discovery. He claimed that Spain had satisfied all the requirements, and that the Orinoco and Amazon inclosed the ancient Province of Spain. The commission then adjourned until Monday.

[8 September 1899]

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- 489 -

VENEZUELAN VERDICT SOON

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13.—Information has reached officials here that the British- Venezuelan court of arbitration now sitting at Paris will conclude its work and render a final decision about the first of the coming month.

This is due to the desire of Chief Justice Fuller, one of the arbitrators, to return to Washington in time for the opening of the Supreme Court, on Oct. 10.

Mr. Harrison has announced to his colleagues that he will make only a brief speech, and this has permitted an understanding to close the work about the first of the month and to render a verdict on the question before the arbitrators separate.

[14 September 1899]

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- 490 -

VENEZUELAN COMMISSION

Sir Richard Webster Begins His Final Speech for Great Britain

PARIS, Sept. 15.—At to-day's Session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission Gen. Benjamin F. Tracy concluded his argument, contending that Great Britain could not obtain rights previous to 1850 in consequence of an agreement made that year.

Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, began the final speech in behalf of Great Britain. He urged that the whole case of Venezuela was built upon the paramount title of Spain, and that Mr. Tracy had failed to reply to his colleague's speech, which completely shattered such a title.

The session will be continued to-morrow.

[16 September 1899]

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- 491 -

### The Venezuelan Commission

PARIS. Sept. 16.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, completed his review of the treaty of Munster. He strongly attacked the theory of overlordship of Spain, and showed the importance of considering the matter of spheres of influence. He urged that Venezuela had no title to Barima. Though it might have been offered by various Ministers as a concession, it really belonged to England.

[17 September 1899]

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- 492 -

### VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY

PARIS, Sept. 18.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, continuing his argument on behalf of Great Britain, dwelt upon the alliance between the Dutch and the Indians.

Describing the colony as it was in 1714, at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, he claimed that the Dutch then owned all that is now contended for by Great Britain, and argued that the acts of Spanish interference during the eighteenth century had been without effect.

Describing the colony in 1814, he asserted that, at the time of the transfer to England, all the territory and all the rivers owned by the Dutch passed from the Netherlands to England.

Sir Richard criticised the report of M. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of the commission and one of the counsel for Venezuela, upon the maps that have been laid before the tribunal, and then commenced to sketch the British period of occupation. He will conclude his argument to-morrow.

[19 September 1899]

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- 493 -

### GEN. HARRISON'S ARGUMENT Begins Final Speech for Venezuela Before Boundary Commission

PARIS. Sept. 19.—Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, concluded his argument in behalf of Great Britain to-day.

He said that the conclusion of the agreement of 1850 led to the development of the territory which the proceedings of Venezuela had arrested, and urged that no portion of the territory ought to be handed to Venezuela, as the decision was to proceed on the ground of right and not of compromise or concession.

Ex-President Benjamin Harrison then began the final speech for Venezuela. He said Venezuela demanded that her interests be decided on the ground of strict right and urged that Spain, until interrupted by the Dutch, peacefully colonized the coast of Guiana, and always intended to return there. Spain, Mr. Harrison pointed out, had obtained a title to Guiana and could only lose it by cession, abandonment, or prescription arising against her.

[20 September 1899]

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- 494 -

#### GEN. HARRISON SPEAKS FOR VENEZUELA

PARIS, Sept. 20.—Before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission to-day ex-President Benjamin Harrison continued his argument in behalf of Venezuela, declaring that both sides admitted there was a common, coterminous boundary between Guiana and Venezuela, and that any idea of a space in which Great Britain could advance was alien to the views of her Ministers and to those expressed in the diplomatic correspondence, to the use of which Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, had protested that the aggressive surveyor, Sir Robert Schomburgk, had advanced the English boundaries, and that Lord Salisbury and Sir Richard Webster had advanced them further. Continuing, Mr. Harrison said that if Barima Point was left in other hands than those of Venezuela a dangerous situation would be created, both for Venezuela and Great Britain.

[20 September 1899]

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- 495 -

#### GEN. HARRISON'S ARGUMENT Expounds Venezuela's Claim Before Boundary Commission

PARIS, Sept. 21.—Continuing his argument in behalf of Venezuela before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, to-day, ex-President Benjamin Harrison said the issue of diplomatic correspondence showed that Great Britain had never claimed more than the Dutch had. He held that the legal and political departments of the British Foreign Office did not seem to agree, the latter taking its inspiration from the surveyor, Sir Robert Schomburgk, while Sir Richard Webster, the British Attorney General, went further and claimed the extended Schomburgk line.

Continuing, Mr. Harrison said he proposed to show that the Dutch rights of 1814 were much smaller than those of any line now suggested by Great Britain, and that those lines were now extinct

through the disputed territory. Any extension, he asserted, of the original lines could only be claimed through prescription or adverse holding, and all the rest of the country belonged to Venezuela.

The commission adjourned until Monday.

[22 September 1899]

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- 496 -

Dinner to Venezuelan Arbitrators

PARIS, Sept. 23—Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeal of the British High Court of Judicature, and one of the members of members of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, gave a dinner this evening to his associates in the tribunal and to the counsel. Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Harrison and Chief Justice Fuller and Mrs. Fuller were present.

[23 September 1899]

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- 497 -

ENGLISH RIGHTS LIMITED.

Gen. Harrison Defines the Dutch Rights in Venezuela Territory

PARIS, Sept. 25.—Before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Commission to-day, ex-President Harrison continued his argument on behalf of Venezuela. Mr. Harrison contended that, while the Dutch rights in the so-called “intermediate territory” had been acquired by conquest, these rights must be limited by the law of conquest, and the treaty of Munster strictly limited them.

M. de Maartens, President of the tribunal, asked Mr. Harrison where he found the word “delimitization” in the treaty.

Mr. Harrison replied that he would show that delimitization was a necessary effect, which did not, as had been claimed by Sir Richard Webster, on behalf of Great Britain, permit the Dutch to acquire concessions, except from the Portuguese in Brazil.

[26 September 1899]

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- 498 -

VENEZUELAN COMMISSION

Mr. Harrison Will Conclude His Argument for Venezuela To-day

PARIS, Sept. 26.—Former President Benjamin Harrison, in continuing his argument in favor of Venezuela before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission to-day, declared that for

half a century prior to the treaty of Munster all the nations interested in America recognized how great was the importance attached to discovery, and an actual law existed on the subject.

Mr. Harrison further declared that Great Britain had set up the question of discovery in the New Netherlands controversy of 1865, and had pressed it as a governing law, although it was now endeavoring to exclude Venezuela and a part of the coast.

Harrison will conclude his argument to-morrow.

[27 September 1899]

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- 499 -

VENEZUELAN AWARD MONDAY

Gen. Harrison Concludes His Argument Before Boundary Court

PARIS, Sept. 27.—At to-day's session of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Tribunal ex-President Harrison concluded his argument on behalf of Venezuela.

Mr. Harrison claimed that all the acts of Spain before the arrival of the Dutch gave her absolute sovereignty over the whole of Guiana, and that she would have incorporated it as a province but for the warlike intervention of the Dutch. In closing he expressed his deep obligation to his associate counsel and his thanks for the generous hospitality of France. So far as the distinguished counsel of Great Britain were concerned, he said that, however sharp had been the discussion, there had been only the kindest personal and professional regard.

The tribunal then rose. It is expected that the award will be delivered on Monday next.

[28 September 1899]

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- 500 -

VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Little Interest Is Shown in Either London or Paris

LONDON, Sept. 30.—Gen. Benjamin F. Tracy's name was on the St. Louis passenger list, but he did not appear at the Waterloo Station this morning. He would naturally be anxious to return without delay, as his work with the Venezuelan Commission is ended.

The work of the commission attracted no attention in Paris. Ex-President Harrison and Sir Richard Webster are credited with making the best arguments. No interest whatever appears to be taken here in the result of the commission's work.

[1 October 1899]

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- 501 -

VENEZUELA DISPUTE DECIDED  
Boundary Commission Will Announce Its Award To-day—  
It Is Said to Favor Great Britain.

PARIS, Oct. 2.—It is announced that the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Commission will give its award at noon to-morrow, as the tribunal has just risen, after concluding its deliberations.

The award will be read in the presence of the representatives of Great Britain and Venezuela. The Secretaries are now writing it out, and have so notified Messrs. Buchanan and Rojas.

It is said on good authority that the award will be a decided victory for Great Britain.

Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer start for London Wednesday, and will sail for New York on the While Star Line steamer Majestic Oct. 11.

Ex-President Benjamin Harrison goes to Berlin Wednesday. From there he will go to The Hague, Brussels, and London, where he will spend a few days prior to sailing for the United States Oct. 18.

Sir Richard Webster, Mr. George H. Askwith, and Messrs. Im Thurn, Buchanan, and others go to London on Wednesday.

[3 October 1899]

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- 502 -

GREAT BRITAIN WINS VENEZUELA CASE  
She Gets Territory Covering Almost Her Extreme Claim  
CONCESSIONS TO VENEZUELA  
Orinoco River Lies Wholly Within Her Jurisdiction  
Counsel Discuss the Award—The Arbitration, They Say, Was Merely a  
Diplomatic Compromise—Great Britain Well Satisfied

PARIS, Oct 3.—The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission rendered its verdict to-day, fixing the boundary line between the United States of Venezuela and the colony of British Guiana. Great Britain obtains almost its extreme claim, offset, however, by a cession of a small amount of land near the Orinoco River and in the interior. The river remains wholly within Venezuelan territory.

The verdict was read at 12:05 P. M. and was unanimous.

The award of the tribunal, briefly summarized, means that of the 60,000 square miles claimed, Venezuela obtains only 100, formed partly of the marsh land near the River Barima, and a portion in the interior; while Great Britain retains all the forest country.

M. de Martens, the umpire, who has presided over the deliberations of the tribunal entered the room, accompanied by the other four members of the tribunal. After they had taken their seats in the presence of the counsel of the two parties, of Sir Edmund J. Monson, British Ambassador to France, the entire staff of the British Embassy, and a large concourse of people, M. de Martens rose

and in his opening sentences announced that the court would read the award, which had been unanimously arrived at, in English and in French. D'Oyly Carte, private secretary to Baron Russell of Killowen, one of the British members of the tribunal, read the English text and M. de Martens read the French.

## TEXT OF THE DECISION

The decision is as follows:

“Starting on the coast at Point Playa, the frontier shall follow a straight line to the confluence of the Barima and the Maruima, thence following the thalweg of the latter to its source. Thence it shall proceed to the confluence of the Haiowa and the Amakuru; thence following the thalweg of the Amakuru to its source in the Plain of Imataka; thence in a southwesterly direction along the highest ridge of the Imataka Mountains to the site the source at the Barima and the principal chain of the Imataka Mountains; thence in a southeast direction to the source or the Acarabisi.

“Following the thalweg of the Acarabisi to the Cuyuni, the northern bank of which it shall follow in a westerly direction to the confluence of the Cuyuni and the Vanamu; thence along the thalweg of the Vanamu to its westernmost source; thence in a straight line to the summit of Mount Roraima; thence to the source of the Cotinga.

“From this point the frontier shall follow the thalweg of the Cotinga to its confluence with the Takutu; thence along the thalweg of the Takutu to its source; thence in a straight line to the most western point of the Akarai Mountains, the highest ridge of which it shall follow to the source of the Corentin, otherwise called the Cutari River, whence it will follow the course of the river.

“It is stipulated that the frontier hereby delimited reserves and in no way prejudices questions actually existing or that may hereafter arise between Great Britain and the Republic of Brazil, or between the Republic of Brazil and Venezuela. In fixing the above delimitation, the arbitrators consider and decide that, in time at peace, the Rivers Amakura and Barima shall be open to navigation by the merchant shipping of all nations, due reserve being made with regard to equitable regulations and the payment of light dues and other like imposts, on condition that the dues levied by Venezuela and British Guiana on ships traversing the parts of those rivers owned by them respectively shall be imposed in accordance with the same tariff on Venezuelan and British vessels. These tariffs are not to exceed those of all other countries. The award proceeds also upon the condition that neither Venezuela nor British Guiana shall impose any customs duty on goods carried in vessels, ships or boats passing through these rivers, such customs being levied only on goods landed “upon Venezuelan territory or on the territory of Great Britain respectively.”

After the reading the President of the tribunal rose and, speaking in English, said he was glad to announce that, after three months of hard work, the court had unanimously decided upon the award which had just been read. It was a pleasant duty now to restore the former good understanding between the contending parties

He then eloquently thanked his colleagues and the respective counsel, tendering on behalf of the tribunal special thanks for the hospitality extended to all by France. These sentiments he repeated in French.

Benjamin Harrison, the principal counsel for Venezuela, then made a few remarks, and was followed by Sir Richard Webster, principal counsel for Great Britain, who thanked the French Government for its hospitality, and said that Great Britain and Venezuela would work side by side in harmony.

The sitting was then adjourned.

When asked his opinion regarding the award, Sir Richard Webster said he was satisfied. Mr. Harrison, replying to the same inquiry, said, “It might be worse.”

## COUNSEL DISCUSS THE AWARD

Subsequently Mr. Harrison and M. Mallet-Prevost, who were interviewed jointly, pointed out that Great Britain up to the time of the intervention of the United States distinctly refused to arbitrate any portion of the territory east of the Schomburgk line, alleging that its title was unassailable. This territory included the Atacuri River and Point Barima, which is of the greatest value strategically and commercially.

The award, continued the counsel for Venezuela, gives Point Barima, with a strip of land fifty miles long, to Venezuela, which thereby obtains entire control of the River Orinoco. Three thousand square miles in the interior are also awarded to Venezuela. Thus, by a decision in which the British arbitrators concurred, the position taken up by Great Britain in 1895 is shown to be unfounded.

This, however, as the Venezuelan counsel pointed out, in nowise expresses the full extent of Venezuela's victory. Great Britain had claimed 30,000 square miles of territory west of the Schomburgk line, and this she was disposed to arbitrate in 1890. Every foot of that section is now awarded to Venezuela.

The President of the tribunal, in his closing address to-day, the Venezuelan counsel remarked, had commented upon the unanimity of the present judgment, and had referred to it as a proof of the success of the arbitration; but in the opinion of counsel it did not require much intelligence to penetrate behind this superficial statement, and to see that the line drawn is a line of compromise, and not a line of right.

If the British contention were right, the line should have been drawn further west; if it were wrong, the line should have been drawn much further east. There was nothing in the history of the controversy, or in the legal proceedings involved, counsel contended, which could adequately explain why the line should be drawn where it had been.

The counsel for Venezuela went on to say that, so long as arbitration was conducted on such principles, it could not be regarded as a success, at least by those who believe that arbitration should result in the admission of legal rights and not in compromises really diplomatic in character. Venezuela had gained much, but was entitled to much more, and in the judgment of the joint counsel for Venezuela, if the arbitrators were unanimous, it must be because their failure to agree would have confirmed Great Britain in the possession of even more territory.

## GREAT BRITAIN SATISFIED

One of the counsel for Great Britain made the following statement:

“The award practically indorses the judgment of Sir Robert Schomburgk, whose line it follows except in a few particulars. Great Britain acquires the whole of the River Cuyuni, including a site which Venezuela alleged to be a fort at the junction of the Curumu and the Cuyuni. The marshy Barima district has been awarded to Venezuela, possibly on the principle of national security, but with the condition that the river shall be a free waterway to all nations. This piece of land covers about thirty square miles.

“It had been offered with much more land by every British Foreign Minister since the time of Lord Aberdeen.

Great Britain has substantiated almost all her extreme claim. All the valuable plantations and gold fields are now indisputably settled within British territory.”

M. DE MARTENS'S OPINION

M. de Martens, when interviewed, repeated what he had said in his address to the court, adding:  
“I am of the opinion that this tribunal of arbitration is of exceptional importance, inasmuch as it is the first tribunal after the Peace Conference at The Hague.

“It is also important because it is the first tribunal of the kind in which certain rules of procedure have been laid down and communicated to counsel as obligatory—rules which have been adhered to throughout.

“These rules are the same as were proposed by the Russian Government for the Conference at The Hague, and approved there in July. As they had been laid down by the arbitration tribunal in January, they were applied long before the convention at The Hague took them into consideration.

“Another point of great importance is that ever since 1873 all awards had been decided by a majority; but this is the first occasion where the decision was unanimous, notwithstanding the great interests involved and the extent of the territory at stake, the boundary which is laid down by the judges is a line based upon justice and law.

“The judges have been actuated by a desire to establish a compromise in a very complicated question, the origin of which must be looked for at the end of the fifteenth century.”

[4 October 1899]

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THE VICTORY AT PARIS

The arbitration tribunal, made up of the most competent persons available to Great Britain and Venezuela, that has been sitting in Paris for many weeks discussing the respective claims of Great Britain and Venezuela as to the just and proper boundary between the possessions of those nations in South America, yesterday reached a conclusion by unanimous action, thus dispensing, we assume, with the necessity for action by the distinguished referee accepted to render a decision in the event of a disagreement by the arbitrators.

An agreement that could satisfy each side and both sides is certainly bound to be satisfactory to those on the outside. The Schomburgk line, the traditional and contentional lines of Great Britain and Venezuela, the much-talked-of aggressive and extreme lines marked by British imperialists, the Venezuelan line stretching back to the Essequibo River, all appear to have been abandoned as a rule by which the arbitrators were finally controlled in reaching a decision. Great Britain gives up something; Venezuela yields at points. At all events, Great Britain acts a little less than some of her statesmen have claimed, and Venezuela retains more than she would have saved if she had decided to submit her case to settlement by the sword.

The determination of this vexed question is chiefly of importance and interest to the United States as an illustration of the superiority of arbitration over war as a method of settling international disputes. If the good offices of the United States, suggested by Secretary Olney and urged by him with remarkable vigor and eventual conviction upon Lord Salisbury, had been rejected or received with less than the grace that Great Britain accepted them, does any one doubt what would have been the result?

It would have been a speedy case of settlement by the display and use, if it became necessary, on one side of a formidable navy, supported by such land forces as might be required, and on the other of an army that could not long contend, without foreign assistance, against its powerful, well-equipped, and resolute antagonist.

Venezuela would have been constrained beyond any shadow of doubt, if she had faced this conflict alone, to yield all that Great Britain had claimed, and as much more, by way of indemnity for the expense to which Great Britain had been forced, as the victorious commander saw fit to demand with the conquered nation.

With this deplorable prospect facing Venezuela, it was to good purpose that President Cleveland gave notice to Great Britain “that the traditional and established policy of this Government is firmly opposed to a forcible increase by any European power of its territorial possessions on this continent; that this policy is as well founded in principle as it is strongly supported by numerous precedents; that as a consequence the United States is bound to protest against the enlargement of the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela; that considering the disparity in strength of Great Britain and Venezuela, the territorial dispute between them can be reasonably settled only by friendly and impartial arbitration, and that the resort to such arbitration should include the whole controversy, and could not be satisfied if one of the powers concerned is permitted to draw an arbitrary line through the territory in debate and to declare that it will submit to arbitration only the portion lying on one side of it.”

This was strong language. It might have provoked a far-reaching and destructive war, as melancholy as it would have been destructive of life and property.

It was fortunate for all concerned, not less for Venezuela than for the greater powers that were interested and likely to be more deeply involved, that it became a contest for a broad, humane, wise principle.

That principle having been admitted by Great Britain as one that should control civilized nations in their dealings with each other, the decision to be reached by the Paris tribunal became a matter of small consequence, in comparison with the gratification afforded to all reasonable men in the consent of one of the strongest of powers to prove its right to be considered great by the submission of an international contention to the test of reason and justice rather than of violence.

[4 October 1899]

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COMMENT IN LONDON

*The Times* Reflects on Gen. Harrison’s Statement—  
United States Expected to Compel Acceptance.

LONDON, Oct. 4.—The Times this morning, referring to the award of the Anglo-Venezuelan Tribunal of Arbitration, says:

“The award, on the whole, favors England, since, with trifling exceptions, which do not appear of material importance to us, it practically approves the Schomburgk line as the true frontier. England has repeatedly offered to surrender the Barima Point with a much larger slice of territory

than is now awarded if Venezuela would abandon the more preposterous portion of her general claim.

“The monstrous nature of that claim is best shown by the text of the award. It included sixty thousand [square] miles of territory, while the award gives her about two hundred square miles of unsurveyed country and swamp, or very much less than any of the British Ministries whose proposals for a compromise she rejected were prepared to offer her out of friendly regard.”

Proceeding to argue that the award is a moral triumph and justification of Great Britain’s justice and moderation, *The Times* expresses the hope that it will satisfy “our opponents,” and adds:

“We must leave Mr. Harrison and M. Mallet-Prevost, if there is any truth in the attacks on the award attributed to them in interviews, to settle the propriety of such utterances with Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, the eminent American jurists, who joined in the decision.

“Of the good taste of their observations everybody can form his own opinion. We at least have no reason on other grounds to quarrel with the singular imputation they cast upon their own Judges when they declare: ‘If the arbitrators are unanimous it must be because a failure to agree would have confirmed Great Britain in the possession of even more territory.’ That assertion implies that a majority were ready to give England even more than she obtained.”

*The Times* publishes a map and five columns from its Paris correspondent, giving a full history of the Venezuela dispute.

All the morning papers express satisfaction at the award and devote much space to the subject, illustrated with maps.

*The Daily Mail* thinks the decision neither very bad nor very good from a British standpoint, and says:

“It is the usual compromise, but it is gratifying to know it is unanimous. It is the first recorded instance where a Judge voted against his own country. We do not doubt that the United States will oblige Venezuela to accept the verdict and to act fairly in any trouble that may arise regarding the enforcement of the decision.

“We may feel satisfied that a possible cause of dispute with the United States is removed at a small cost”

*The Morning Post* in an editorial refers to President Cleveland’s accusations of aggression and bad faith against Great Britain and the Americans’ denunciation and says:

“Lord Salisbury is to be congratulated, but whether his forbearance is justified will be better known when the comments of the American Government and press on the award have been heard.”

The paper expresses the opinion that the matter does not altogether justify the principle of arbitration, especially the intervention of third parties to impose arbitration, and concludes:

“Before we can assent unconditionally that arbitration was the best solution we should like to know what arbitration and many years of discussion have cost and to compare the total with that of a reasonable estimate for such an expedition as could have settled the quarrel fifteen or twenty years ago.

*The Standard* makes similar comments, but more courteously, and says:

“Mr. Cleveland’s unmannerly intervention did not harm us, or change Anglo-American relations since then. Not a little is due to those American politicians who realized that Mr. Cleveland’s message was a mistake. The American people may rest assured that we are quite content with the decision, and with the means whereby which it was reached. All concerned in the arbitration are to be congratulated.”

The Daily News says:

“Venezuela had better have accepted Lord Aberdeen’s offer in 1884, or Lord Rosebery’s in 1886. It is a brilliantly successful example of the way in which nations ought to settle such differences. Seldom has a blessing pronounced upon peacemakers been more fully bestowed. By yielding on a point of dignity if not of honor Lord Salisbury has secured the lasting friendship of the United States, and acquired for a British colony almost everything the colonists wished to retain. The award is an epoch in the history of mankind, and Lord Salisbury should be congratulated both by his friends and opponents.”

The Daily Chronicle regards the award as a fair compromise and says it supposes that Lord Salisbury will be disposed to make the best of a decision which brings a long, tedious controversy to an end. There is no doubt, says The Chronicle, that the award will be welcomed by the nation as a whole.

The Daily Graphic says it trusts the decision will be a lesson to “tail-twisting American jingoes.”

The Daily Telegraph thinks it will be rather difficult now to realize retrospectively the excitement which the subject caused three years ago, and says that “compromise, which is the essence of arbitration, is the keynote of the award.”

[4 October 1899]

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THE DISPUTE IS 400 YEARS OLD  
Character of Conflicting Claims Set Up  
—Aggressive Action by the Cleveland Administration.

The decision of the Paris Commission has finally settled a dispute which, in some form or other, had been going on for four centuries, and which, by President Cleveland’s message of Dec. 17, 1895, became an issue for the two great English-speaking peoples that many people at the time believed would lead to war between the United States and Great Britain.

The Cleveland Venezuelan message was issued on the ground that Great Britain, by contemplating vigorous steps against the Republic of Venezuela in attempting to enforce her conception of the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, was transgressing the principle of the Monroe doctrine. The territory in dispute included the Yuruary Valley, in which gold mines of great richness had recently been discovered, and the possession of which, it was said, would go far to put Great Britain in control of the navigable mouth of the Orinoco, which plays a conspicuous part in the commercial and political relations of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil.

In October, 1895, a sensation was caused in the United States, but only vaguely manifested in England, by the report that Great Britain had addressed an ultimatum to the South American republic demanding an apology and a money indemnity for an outrage committed the year before at Yuruary, within the disputed zone. Some diplomatic correspondence followed between Secretary of State Olney and the British Premier, Lord Salisbury, and on Dec. 17 President Cleveland submitted to Congress the correspondence in the case, accompanying it with a special message, which was considered the most striking feature of his Administration. He vigorously supported Mr. Olney in

the contention that the dispute was one for arbitration, and warned England that no arbitrary seizure of territory would be permitted by the United States.

Moreover, he asked Congress for authority to appoint a commission to determine the merits of the case. The authority was given, not without some hesitation on the part of the Senate, however, and the personnel of the commission was announced Jan. 1, 1896. The commission, which was not officially recognized by Great Britain, began its investigation of the case.

On Feb. 27, 1897, the commission discontinued its sittings, as on the second of that month Great Britain and Venezuela had signed in Washington a treaty by which they agreed to submit the boundary dispute to arbitration; the Board of Arbitration to consist of two members chosen by each Government and a fifth to be selected by these or, in the case of disagreement, to be named by King Oscar of Sweden. The jurists selected to represent Venezuela were Chief Justice Fuller and Associate Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court. Great Britain's representatives were Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Justice Sir Richard Henn Collins. In December, 1897, it was announced that Prof. Martens, a distinguished Russian jurist and authority on constitutional and international law, had been selected as the fifth member of the commission, which began its work in Paris on June 15 last.

Sir Richard Webster opened the case in behalf of Great Britain. He was assisted by Sir Robert Reid. Ex-President Harrison appeared for Venezuela, assisted by Gen. B. F. Tracy, ex-Secretary of the Navy; M. Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of President Cleveland's Boundary Commission of 1896, and the Marquis de Rojas.

Prior to 1895, England had attempted to demark her territory as follows: Late in 1840 she asserted her right to the Atlantic coast as far as the Orinoco delta, and in the following year Sir Robert Schomburgk set out the boundary line. This was protested by Venezuela, and soon after Schornburgk's posts in the Orinoco region were destroyed. In 1844 Great Britain proposed a boundary line beginning west of the Pomaron River. The extreme British claim was made in 1881, when she extended a line westward to another line beginning twenty-nine miles west of the Moroco River, thus asserting her right to the valleys of the Pomaron and the Guiana.[sic] According to Lord Rosebery's line of 1886, she claimed territory to the bank of the Guiana [sic] River. By Sanderson's line of 1890 she proposed a division of territory, beginning at the junction of the Amakuru and Orinoco.

And by the last Rosebery line of 1893 she proposed a conventional frontier beginning at the mouth of the Amakura and running so as to include the upper waters of the Cumaná, and thence to the sierra of Usupamo.

[4 October 1899]

#### THE VENEZUELA ARBITRATION

We have never entertained the expectation that the decision of the arbitrators selected by Great Britain and Venezuela to determine the right boundary line between the possessions of those two nations in South America would be entirely satisfactory to both nations. It was almost certain, in

fact, from the moment that it was decided to submit the contention to arbitration that Great Britain would come out with so much of her pretension sustained as to cause disappointment to the Venezuelan hope that the line of demarkation between British Guiana and Venezuela would be restored to the line of the Essequibo River.

The “compromise” arrived at by the reported unanimous action of the four arbitrators, which was of course agreed to by Mr. Martens, the distinguished fifth member of the board, compels the conclusion that Chief Justice Fuller and Associate Justice Brewer, the Americans representing Venezuela in the arbitration, were convinced that the claims of Venezuela for adherence to the Essequibo boundary line could not properly be approved. Justice Brewer was perhaps the American present who was best prepared to justify any stand for Venezuela that he thought should be taken and adhered to.

He was a member of the American commission appointed by President Cleveland that investigated the case thoroughly, in order to fortify the Administration in its determination to support Venezuela at some serious hazard, if the records of history appeared to sustain that position.

Of course, the counsel for both sides are more or less disappointed. This feeling is naturally less poignant on the British side than on the side of Venezuela, which has lost some territory that was hers by tradition but occupied and improved by Great Britain – through ignorance of or indifference to its value—by Venezuela. Venezuela gets control of the Orinoco littoral and the strategic command of the entrance to that river by the surrender of Point Barima by the British. Great Britain gets a vast area of land about which Venezuela probably knows nothing except that Great Britain has occupied and developed it until its discovered richness and presumed resources are coveted by Venezuela.

The British press is generally gratified. Its reflections are not free from selfishness, but while there are occasional doubts expressed as to whether the experiment of arbitration has demonstrated the superiority of that method of settling grave international disputes, there is visible something better than a disposition to brag because arbitration was tried and Great Britain did not come out badly injured. British pride is sustained because Great Britain is permitted to hold so much for the possession of which she might have been called upon to fight two foes instead of one: and we fully reciprocate that form of British rejoicing that is satisfied with the result because it vastly improves reciprocal respect between the United States and Great Britain.

[5 October 1899]

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GREAT BRITAIN FARED WELL  
The Venezuelan Award Pleases the London Newspapers—  
Result of Compromise, Not Arbitration

LONDON, Oct 4.—The award of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission is referred to by the afternoon papers as eminently satisfactory from the English point of view, but as hardly a proof of the practicability of universal arbitration.

The Pall Mall Gazette says:

“Without doubt Great Britain has done uncommonly well, as is proved by the comments of former President Harrison. If it were not already sufficiently obvious, it is now made clear that the arbitration has shown the disposition of one Government to be pleasant and patient rather than risk a sinful and unnatural quarrel. This must have its impression in America, and thus must have sown good seed, which has already grown into a flourishing plant.”

The St. James’s Gazette says:

“The outcome is not the result of arbitration, but of friendly compromise, as stated by former President Harrison. We have not got all we wanted, nor all to which we are entitled; but arbitration has resulted in giving British Guiana an indisputable title to the northwestern district, where her future lies.

“Every one will gladly join in the universal congratulations to the tribunal upon the happy result of difficult and delicate labors.”

The Westminster Gazette says:

“The result is decidedly satisfactory. The extreme contentions of both parties have been set aside; but the substantial point is that Great Britain gets more than on various occasions she had expressed herself as willing to concede to Venezuela.

“The practical feature of the case is that we have substantially succeeded against Venezuela, while vastly improving our relations with the United States. The award and the rapidity with which it was rendered cannot fail to give a strong impetus to international arbitration.”

The Globe, adopting its usual offensive tone, says:

“For once arbitration has not operated to our disadvantage. There are others besides the Venezuelans who should now recognize that Great Britain will not suffer what she considers her rights to be subjected to the terrorism of warlike menace, whether in one part of the world or in another, whether by a great power or a small State.”

[5 October 1899]

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JUDGE BREWER’S OPINION  
Venezuela’s Arbitrator Tells How the Verdict Was Reached  
FINAL AWARD A COMPROMISE  
There Were Differences on Every Point, but No Real Casting of Votes—  
Each Conceded Something

PARIS, Oct. 4.— From a conversation had this evening with Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court regarding the award of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal, it appears that the deliberations of the court did not proceed as smoothly and with the spontaneous unanimity which a perusal of the award would lead one to believe. Justice Brewer, in reply to a question, said:

“Until the last moment I believed a decision would be quite impossible, and it was by the greatest conciliation and mutual concessions that a compromise was arrived at. If any of us had been asked to give an award, each would

have given one differing in extent and character. The consequence of this was that we had to adjust our different views, and finally to draw a line running between what each thought right.”

Being asked whether political considerations influenced the award the Justice said he could not admit that, as such an admission would reflect on the Judges, but there was no doubt that the present insurrection in Venezuela and the consequent feeling of instability weighed to a certain extent in the balance.

In reply to an inquiry as to what questions separated the Judges. Justice Brewer replied:

“Nearly every point. In the first place, European lawyers do not look upon the question of prior rights resulting from rights of discovery in the same way we do. Then, the question of the nature of control and the extent of influence and relationship with the native races, and many such matters are not viewed in the same manner on either side of the Atlantic. In fact, the whole situation is not so keenly appreciated by Europeans as it is by Americans.”

Replying to a query regarding the deliberations within the court, Mr. Brewer said that there was, properly speaking, no casting of votes. Each Judge conceded something in turn.

With regard to the proceedings in open court, he said the hearing of arguments might have been considerably curtailed had the case been heard exclusively by either an English or an American court, but the Judges thought it prudent to allow counsel full liberty in order to make matters clearer to the President, who, after all, was not a lawyer.

Asked whether, according to his own opinion, Venezuela was entitled to more than she actually received, Justice Brewer, after some hesitation, shrugged his shoulders, and said he would rather say nothing on that subject, and concluded by remarking that, whatever the two parties might think of the award, Venezuela received Barima Point, which gives her full control of the interior of her country, and England is confirmed in the possession of territory, in the development of which she has spent considerable money and energy, but “the principal blessing is that the two nations can at last develop peacefully, side by side, large tracts of territory, which, owing to previous antagonisms, have remained unproductive.”

[5 October 1899]

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BENJAMIN HARRISON'S FEE  
Ex-President May Have Trouble Getting \$250,000 from Venezuela.

*Special to The New-York Times*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6.—A suggestion was made to-day of the possibility that a diplomatic officer of the United States might have to be employed to collect a lawyer's fee for an ex-President of the United States. The situation, it was admitted, would be unprecedented if it presented itself, but is not thought likely that it will.

The fee involved, so it is reported, is \$250,000, promised by the present Venezuelan Government to Benjamin Harrison for his service as legal counsel of the Venezuela Republic before

the Paris Arbitration Commission. It was suggested that in the event of the triumph of the insurrectionists in Venezuela, now almost at the gates of the capital city, Caracas, the obligation of the preceding administration might be repudiated, inasmuch as the benefits derived by Venezuela from the award are doubtful.

In this case State Department officials are of the opinion that the debt would be regarded as one of honor, partly on account of Mr. Harrison's high position as the former Chief Executive of the Republic whose good offices were alone responsible for averting war and securing arbitration to Venezuela. The obligation is none the less binding, it is urged, because the question was only considered during Harrison's and won during Cleveland's Administration.

[7 October 1899]

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#### VENEZUELA AND ALASKA

We look upon the submission to arbitration of the Venezuela boundary dispute as a victory for us in which the immediate parties to the contention and the rest of the civilized world ought to be glad to participate. According to the decision at Paris, a line has been drawn between the extremes of the two contentions. Both sides are bound to accept this conclusion without appeal or official criticism. In the United States it must be accepted as a just determination, by a court for which we were largely responsible, of a question that menaced the peace of nations. To be courageously consistent, it may be urged that, having exerted great pressure upon Great Britain to submit this matter to arbitration, we cannot refuse to comply with a similar request by Great Britain that we submit to arbitration the Alaska boundary dispute.

We have not yet reached the stage of negotiations in which our authorities consider it imperative that arbitration need to be invoked in this case. Our rights on the mainland for thirty miles from the coast—"clear National rights," they are called by Prof. J. B. Moore, in an article on the subject in the current *North American Review*—are demonstrated without the intervention of arbitrators, and probably will be settled by simple, direct negotiation. But we should be bound, having advocated the principle of arbitration for other nations, to accept it for the determination of this controversy if it should reach a stage so critical as to menace the peace of the two leading nations urging arbitration as a wiser means of adjusting differences than the older and more brutal method of war.

[7 October 1899]

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#### CONCESSION TO VENEZUELA British Counsel Says It Is of No Value,

as Barima Point and Coast Will Vanish in a Few Decades

LONDON, Oct. 7.—George Askwith, junior counsel for Great Britain before the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Tribunal, reviewing the history of the arbitration in *The Speaker*

today, maintains that the decision benefits Great Britain and the cause of the arbitration in general. He says:

“The territorial sovereignty over Barima Point and the whole coastline granted to Venezuela will probably vanish in three or four decades, owing to the inroads of the sea upon the sandbanks and mud.”

[8 October 1899]

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BRITAIN PRAISES ARBITRATORS  
Venezuela Commission’s Work Contrasted  
with the Delagoa Bay Tribunals

*Special to The New-York Times.*

LONDON, Oct 7.—The Venezuelan arbitrators have received many compliments in the British press. The result is considered a compromise, but is accepted as proving that if arbitration is to be a success the tribunal must be composed of distinguished men, the majority of whom should be practical lawyers.

The work of the commission is contrasted favorably with that of the Delagoa Bay arbitration, and the Swiss are blamed for dilatory action.

[8 October 1899]

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VENEZUELA IS SATISFIED  
President and the Press Pleased with the Boundary Awards  
THE VALUE OF BARIMA POINT  
Its Possession Said to be of Great Advantage to the Republic  
by the Intelligent Classes

CARACAS, Venezuela. Oct. 7.—The award of the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Tribunal has been received here with satisfaction. The intelligent classes consider that the possession of Barima Point will prove of great advantage to Venezuela.

In the course of an interview today, President Andrade said:

“The result is a cause of rejoicing for this country, because justice and the laws of the civilized world have restored a portion of usurped territory, and demonstrated the soundness of our claim.”

The newspapers universally welcome the award.

[8 October 1899]

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HONOR FOR BRITISH JURISTS  
Banquet Is Given Representatives in the Venezuela Arbitration

LONDON, Dec. 11.—The Royal Societies Club gave a banquet this evening to Lord Chief Justice Russell and Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeal, who were Great Britain's representatives in the arbitration of the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary dispute. The company, which included all the chief members of the English bench, was large and very distinguished.

Sir Clements Robert Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society, who presided, proposed the toast of the evening, "The British Members of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Commission. In the course of his remarks, he said the results of the arbitration had fully justified the work of Schomburghk.

Baron Russell of Killowen, responding, alluded, to the interesting character of the labors of the tribunal and pointed out that Spain, although possessing some of the qualities of a great nation, had failed as a colonizing power because she had relied upon fire and sword instead of upon equal before the

After expressing his regret at the absence from the banquet of Justice Fuller and Associate Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, he paid a high tribute to their ability, as well as to the erudition, knowledge of international law, and judicial spirit displayed by Prof. de Maartens, who presided over the tribunal's deliberations.

"Great Britain and Venezuela," said Lord Russell in concluding, "have obtained all which they were respectively entitled. There is no question that the result is a triumph for arbitration; and it is especially important as proving the possibility of settling disputes without bloodshed or leaving a heritage of hatred."

[12 December 1899]

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Brazil Objects to Venezuela Award

RIO JANEIRO. Dec. 13.—The Government of Brazil will officially protest against the award of the Arbitration Tribunal at Paris of part of the frontier between the Cotinga and Takutu Rivers, which territory, it is said, belongs to Brazil, and was not included in the protocols establishing the tribunal which arbitrated the British-Venezuelan questions.

[14 December 1899]

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IN FOREIGN LANDS

THE LAST PHASE OF THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE.—Advises from Georgetown, British Guiana, show that the Commissioners appointed by British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela to limit the boundary in accordance with the terms of the award of the Paris Arbitration Tribunal have begun work. The Venezuelan Commissioners recently joined the Guiana Commissioners in Georgetown. After being hospitably received and entertained by the Acting Governor, Sir Cavendish Boyle, they departed for Point Playa – the point on the coast that marks the boundary between the two countries – the Commissioners for British Guiana having left Georgetown a few days previously.

The British Commissioners are M. McTurk, C.M.G.; H. I. Perkins, Capt. Baker, and Dr. Widdip. The Venezuelan Commissioners, numbering eight, are: Engineering Chief – a Señor Felipe Aguenevere; First Assistant Engineer – Señor Santiago Aguenevere; Second Assistant Engineer – Señor Abraham Tirabo; Legal Adviser – Dr. Trino Celis Rios; Physician – Dr. Elias Toro; Engineer Draughtsman – Señor Lorenzo Mallecco Osio; Engineer Secretary – Señor José Maria Idarro Cerezo; Interpreter – Señor Gustav E. Michelena.

The boundary will be fixed right up to Dutch Guiana without prejudice, however, to the claim of Brazil, with which a boundary dispute is pending. It is believed that the work of fixing the boundary will be a difficult and dangerous task on account of the nature of the ground and the risks of the climate, and the Commissioners do not expect that they can complete their work until 1902.

[30 December 1900]

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MR. CLEVELAND'S PRINCETON LECTURE  
Ex-President Discusses the Venezuelan Boundary Trouble  
Received with Loud Cheers by the Student Body—  
Many Prominent Persons Present

Ex-President Grover Cleveland delivered last night, at Alexander Hall, Princeton University, the first of two lectures on the national boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, which dispute involved the boundary line separating Venezuela from the British colony of British Guiana. These lectures, like Mr. Cleveland's address of last year, are given in the course founded by Henry Stafford Little.

Prof. Woodrow Wilson in a brief and fitting speech introduced the speaker. As Mr. Cleveland arose to begin his lecture he was greeted with three long, loud cheers from the student body. He was strongly applauded several times while delivering the lecture. A number of prominent people from Trenton, New York, and Philadelphia were in attendance.

Mr. Cleveland at the outset spoke of the vagueness on the subject of boundary lines in the establishment both of the Venezuelan Republic and of British Guiana. He said that from the first there was evident need of "extraneous assistance" before bounds so loosely named could be "exactly fixed." He then referred to the initiation of the dispute in 1841 between the Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain and Lord Aberdeen, Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The making of the Schomburgk survey and its bearing upon the dispute were fully explained. The lecturer said:

“In 1896, thirty-two years after the discontinuance of efforts on the part of Great Britain and Venezuela to fix by agreement a line which should divide their possessions, Venezuela was confronted, upon the renewal of negotiations for that purpose, by the following conditions:

“A line proposed by her, founded upon her conception of strict right, which her powerful opponent had insisted could not in any way be plausibly supported, and which therefore she would in no event accept.

An indefiniteness in the limits claimed by Great Britain, so great that of two boundary lines indicated or suggested by her one had been plainly declared to be merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela, and the other was distinctly claimed to be based upon generous concessions and a desire to avoid all cause of serious controversies between the two countries.

“A controversy growing out of this situation impossible or friendly settlement except by such arrangement and accommodation as would be satisfactory to Great Britain, or by a submission of the dispute to arbitration.

“A constant danger of such an extension of settlements in the disputed territory as would necessarily complicate the situation and furnish a convenient pretext for the refusal of any concession respecting the lands containing such settlements.

“A continual profession on the part of Great Britain of her present readiness to make benevolent concessions, and of her willingness to co-operate in a speedy adjustment while not substantially reducing her pretensions, and certainly not attempting in a conspicuous manner to hasten negotiations to a conclusion.

“A tremendous disparity in power and strength between Venezuela and her adversary, which gave her no hope, in case the extremity of force or war was reached, of defending her territory or preventing its annexation to the possessions of Great Britain.

It was in 1876 that Venezuela appealed to the United States, begging our Government to give the subject its kind consideration and take an interest in having due justice done to Venezuela. “This,” said the lecturer, “appears to be the first communication addressed to our Government on the subject of a controversy in which we afterward became very seriously concerned.”

The lecturer, quoting constantly from documents, showed the repeated appeals of Venezuela to Great Britain in favor of settling the question by arbitration on the whole subject, declaring that their constitution prevented them from making grants of territories except by a process the result of arbitration.

Meantime England constantly refused arbitration on the general subject, declaring that it feared the Venezuelan constitution would still be used as a pretext for disobedience to an award. Great Britain also objected to the arbitration requested by Venezuela, fearing that an award might be made in favor of the Venezuelan claim, in which case “an important territory which has for a long period been inhabited and occupied by her Majesty’s subjects and treated as part of the colony of British Guiana would be severed from the Queen’s dominions.”

On this Mr. Cleveland said: “England alone had treated it as part of British Guiana: her immense power had enabled her to do this, and her own decrees seemed to promise greater advantages against her weak adversary than arbitration could possibly assure.”

The British Government at one time offered a plan of arbitration which did not cover the entire disputed territory, but never consented to arbitration such as proposed by Venezuela, and which would include the entire territory in dispute. The lecturer last night brought down with much detail the narrative to September, 1893. At the end of the lecture, Mr. Cleveland said:

“Here closed a period in this dispute, fifty-two years in duration, vexed with agitation, and perturbed by irritating and repeated failures to reach a peaceful adjustment. Instead of progress in the direction of a settlement of their boundaries, the contestants could only contemplate, as results of their action, increased obstacles to fair discussion, intensified feelings of injury, extended assertion of title, ruthless appropriation of the territory in controversy, and an unhealed breach in diplomatic relations.

Mr. Cleveland’s second and concluding lecture on the subject to be given to-night, will deal principally with the part taken by the United States in the settlement of the long controversy which resulted in arbitration and a fixed boundary line.

[28 March 1901]

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BRITAIN WINS ARBITRATION  
Gets Award Against Brazil in the Guiana Frontier Case

ROME, June 15.—The award of the King of Italy in the Anglo-Brazilian arbitration regarding the frontier of British Guiana, which was handed to the British Ambassador and to the Brazilian Minister here yesterday, is in favor of Great Britain.

The decision consists of a preamble, followed by the award delimiting the boundary. The preamble says that it cannot be admitted that Portugal or Brazil obtained possession of the disputed territory, while Holland first and Great Britain afterward did establish effective rights of sovereignty over certain portions only. As the rights of Brazil and Great Britain in those zones cannot be precisely fixed, it has been decided to divide the territory according to a line drawn by nature.

The award is as follows:

The frontier is determined by a line starting from Mount Kakontipu and continuing easterly along the watershed to the source or the River Ireng to the confluence of the Tacutu, following the course of the Tacutu to where it joins the line of the frontier established by the declaration attached to the treaty of arbitration on Nov. 6, 1901.

By virtue of that declaration all the zone in dispute east of the line of the frontier will belong to Great Britain, and all the part west will belong to Brazil. The Rivers Ireng and Tacutu will remain open to free navigation of both States.

[16 June 1904]

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