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FROM WASHINGTON

The Grand Rush to Hear Sumner's Speech. WASHINGTON, March 27 .- As early as 11 o'clock this morning the galleries of the Senate were densely crowded, the occupants being attracted thither to hear Mr. Sumner speak on the San Domingo question Many were unable to obtain even standing room at the doors. There was an unusually large number of privileged

persons on the floor. As soon as the preliminary business of the sitting was disposed of, Mr. Sumner obtained the floor, and proceeded to address the Senate

Mr. Summer's Speech.

Mr. President, entering again upon this discussion I perform a duty which cannot as avoided, i wish it were otherwise, but duty is a taskmaster to be obeyed. On evidence now before the Senate, it is plain that the navy of the United States, acting under orders from Washington, has been engaged in measures of violence and of belilgerent interven-tion, being war without the authority of Congress An act of war w.thout authority of Congress is no common event. This is the simplest statement of the care. The whole business is aggravated when it is considered that the declared object of this vio-lence is the acquisition of foreign territory, being half an island in the Uarabbean sea; and sti ther, that this vicience has been employed, first, to prop and maintain a weak tuler, himself ausurger, upholding him in power that he might sell his country; and, secondly, it has been employed to menace

the Black Republic of 1 sytl.

Such a case cannot pass without inquiry. It is
too grave for silence. For the sake of the navy, which has been the agent; for the sake of the ad-ministration under which the navy acted; for the ministration those which the havy acted; for the sake of republican institutions, which suffer when the Great Republic makes itself a pattern of violence; and for the sake of the Republican party, which caunot afford to become responsible for such conduct, the case must be examined on the facts and the law, and also in the light of precedent, so far as precedent holds its torch. When I speak for respiblican institutions it is because I went to the conduct of the cond republican institutions, it is because I would not have our great example weakened before the world and our good name tarnished. And when I speak for the Republican party, it is because from the beginning I have been the faithful servant of that party and aspire to see it strong and triumphant. But beyone all these considerations is the com-manding rule of justice, which cannot be disobeyed with impunity.

QUESTION STATED. The question which I present is very simple. It is not whether the acquisition of the island of San Do-mingo, in whole or part, with a population foreign in origio, language, and institutions, is desirable; but whether we are justified in the means employed to accomplish this acquisition. This question is essen-lially preliminary in character and entirely in lepen-dent of the main question. On the main question there may be difference of opinion—some thinking the acquisition desirable and others not desirable some anxious for empire, or at least a sanitarium in the tropics, and others more anxious for a black Re-public, where the African race shall show an example of self-government by which the whole race may be uplifted; some thinking of gold mines, sait mountains, hogsheads of sugar, bags of coffee, and boxes of cigars; others thinking more of what we owe to the African race. But whatever the difference of opinion on the main question, the evidence now be-fore us shows too clearly that means have been em-ployed which cannot be justified. And this is the question to which I now ask the attention of the

REASON FOR INTEREST IN THE QUESTION. Here, sir, I venture to relate how and at what time I became specially aroused on this question. The treaty for the annexation of the Dominican people was pending before the Senate, and I was occupied in considering it, asking two questions—first, is it good for us? and secondly, is it good for them? The more I meditated these two questions I found myself forgetting the former and considering the latter; or rather the former was absorbed in the latter. Thinking of our glant strength, my anxiety increased for the weaker porty, and I thought more of what was good for them than for us. Is annexa-tion good for them? This was the question on my mind when I was honored by a visit from the Assis-

mind when I was honored by a visit from the Assistant Secretary of State, bringing with him a handful of despatches from St. Domingo.

Among these were despatches from Our consular agent there, who signed the treaty of annexation, from which it distinctly appeared that Bacz, while engaged in selling his country, was maintained in power by the navy of the United States. That such was the official report of our consular agent, who signed the treaty, there can be no question, and thus official report was sustained by at least one other official report was sustained by at least one other consular despatch. I confess now my emotion as I read this painful revelston. Until then I had supposed the proceeding blameless, although precipitate. I had not imagined any such terrible and in-

tate. I had not imagined any such terrible and in-cetensible irregularity.

These despatches became more important as tes-timony when it appeared that the writers were per-sonally in favor of annexation. Thus, then, it stood that, on the official report of our own agents we were engaged in forcing upon a weak people the sacrifice of their country. To me it was apparent at once that the acquisition of this foreign territory would not be respectable or even tolerable, unless by the consent of the people there, without force on our part. The treaty was a contract, which, accord-ing to our own witnesses, was obtained through a ruler owing power to our war vessels. As such it was beyond all question a contract obtained under duress, and therefore void, while the duress was an interference with the internal affairs of a foreign interference with the internal affairs of a foreign country, and therefore contrary to that principle of non-intervention which is now a rule of internationa

As this question presented itself, I lost no time in visiting the Navy Department, in order to examine the instructions noder which our naval officers were acting and also their reports. Unhappily these instructions and reports were too much in harmony with the other testimony, so that the State Department and Navy Department each contained the record of the deplorable proceedings, and still they pressed the consummation. I could not have be-

l eved it, had not the evidence been explicit. The story of Nabeth's Vincyard was revived.

Violence is gets violence, and that in St Domingo Laturally extended. It is with nations as with individuals—once stepped in, they go forward. The harsh me nace by which the independence of the Black Republic of Hayti was rudely assatied came next. It was another stage in beliggerent intervention. As these things were unfolded I full that I tion. As these things were unfolded, I felt that I could not hesitate. Here was a shocking wrong. It must be arrest d; and to this end I have labored

in scool faith. If I am earness, it is because I cannot see a wrong done without seeking to arrest it. Especially am I moved if this wrong be done to the weak and humble. Then, by the efforts of my life and the commission I have received from Massachusetts, am I vowed to do what I can for the protectiod and elevation of the African race. If I can be pettern, I will; if I can save them from outrage, I must. And never before was the occasion more imminent than now.

CONTRACT FOR CESSION OF TERRITORY MUST BE WITH-OUT PRESENCE OF SUPERIOR FORCE.

I speak only according to unquestionable reason and the instincts of the human hears, when I say that a contract for the cession of territory must be that a contract for the cession of territory must be fair and without suspicion of overawing force. Nobody can doubt this rule, whether for individuals or lations. And where one party is more powerful than another, it becomes more imperative. Especially must it be sacred with a republic, for it is nothing but the mandate of justice. It is general in its application; hay, more, it is part of universal law, common to all municipal systems and to international law. Any departure from this requirement makes negotiation for the time impossible. Plainly, there can be no cession of territory, and Plainty, there can be no cession of territory, and especially no surrender of national independence, except as the result of war, so long as hostile cannon are frowning. The first step in negotiation must be the withdrawal of all force, coercive or namatory.

EXAMPLE OF SPAIN

Here the example of Spain furnishes a beaconlight. Yielding to an invitation not unlike that of liacz to the United States, this ancient monarchy was induced by Santana, President of Dominica, to entertain the proposition of reannexation to the Crown. Here let it be remarked that Santana was legitimate President, while Baez is a usurping dictator. And now mark the contrast between the ancient monarchy and our republic, painful as it is to us. Spain boasted in official papers that in the act to rearrexation the Dominicans were spontaneous, free, and unanimous—that no Spanish emissaries were in the territory to induence its paopie; nor was there a spanish bottom in its waters or a Spanish

No such boast can be made now. American No such boast can be made now, American chissaries are in the territory, with Caznean and Fabens as leaders, while American war vessels, including the Dictator, our most powerful monitor, properly named for the service, were in the waters with guas pointed at the people to be conquered, and American soldiers with bayonets glancing in the sun were on the decks of these war vessels, if not on the land. The contrast is complete. In the case of Spain the proceeding was an act of peace; in our case it is an act of war. The two cases are as wide asunder as peace and war.

wide as under as peace and war.

All must feel the importance of this statement, which, I have to say, is not without official authority. I now hold in my hand the Spanish documents relating to the annexation of Dominica as published by the Cortez, and with your permission I will open these authentic pages.

Omitting particularities and coming at once to the

precise point, I read from a circular by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Allairs, addressed to diplomatic agents abroad under date of Aranjuez, April 25, agents abroad under date of Aranjuez, April 25, 1861, which declares the proper forbearance and cantion of Spain, and establishes a precedent from which there can be no appear:

"The first condition necessary and indispensable,

"The first condition necessary and indispensable, which the Government of her Majesty requires in accepting the consequences of these events, is that the act of reincorporation of St. Domingo with the Spatish menarchy shall be the unanimous, spontaneous, and explicit expression of the wait of the Dominicans."

The despatch then proceeds to describe the atti-tude of the Spanish Government. And here it says of the events in Dominica:grants who have penetrated the territory of St. Domingo, nor has the superior authority of Havana nor the forces of sea and land at his disposition contributed to it. The Captain-General of Cubs has not separated himself, nor could be depart for a moment, from the principles of the Government and from

the policy which it has followed with regard to them. Not a Spanish bottom or soldier was on the coast or in the territory of the republic when the latter by a unanimous movement proclaimed its reunion to Spain." (Sesiones de Cortes, 14 Nov., 1861, vol. 1.

Append. (Sciones de Cories, 14 Nov., 1861, vol. 1. Append. vi, at num. 4, p. 7.)
If will be observed with what energy of phrase the Spaniss Minister excindes all suspicion of force on the part of Spain. Not only was there no Spanish ship on the coast, but not a single "bottom." And then, it is a leged that the "first condition" of realnexation must be "the unantinous, spontaneous, and explicit expression of the will of the Dominicans."

No foreign influence no Spanish influence was to interfere with the popular will. But this is nothing more than justice. Anything clse is wrong.

The Spanish Government, not content with announcing this important rule in the despatch which I have quoted, return to it in another similar despatch, dated at Madrid, 26th May, 1861, as fol-

"The Government of the Queen, before a dopting a definitive resolution on this question, sought to acquire absolute assurance that the voice of the ixminican people had been spontaneous, free, and manimous. The reception of the produmation of the Queen as sovereign in all the villages of the territory of St. Domic go proves the spontaneousness and the unanimity of the movement." (Ibid., p. 11.)

Here again is the allegation that the movement was spontaneous and that the Sovereign in the continuous and continuou was spontaneous and unantmous, and that the Spanish Government sought to acquire absolute assur-ance on this essential point. This was openly re-cognized as the condition precedent; and I cite it as manswerable testimony to what was deemed essen-

On this absolute assurance the Ministers laid before the Queen in council a decree of reasuccation, with an expanatory paper, under date of 19th May, 1861, where the unanimity of the Bominican people is again asserted, and also the absence of any influence on the part of Spain.
"Everywhere was manifested jubilee and enthu-

"Everywhere was manifested jubile and enthusiasm in a manner unequivocal and solemn. The public authorities, following the proper impulses, have obeyed the sentiment of the country, which has put its trust in them. Rarely has been seen such a concourse, such a unatimity of wills to realize an idea, a common thought. And all this, without having on the coast of 8t. Domingo a single bettern, nor on the territory a soldier of Spain." (S. s. st. nes de Cortes, 14 Nov., 1861, vol. 1, append. Vi, at num. 4, p. 8.) num. 4, p. 8.)
Such is the official record on which the decree of

resnnexation was adopted. Mark well, sir—a unant-mous people, and not a single pm in bottom on the coast or a spanish sold er on the tatritory.

CONTRAST BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. CONTRAST BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

And now mark the contrast between the Old.

Monarchy and the Great Republic. The recent return of the Navy Department to the Senate, in reply to a resolution introduced by me, shows how the whole Island has been beleaguered by our navy, salling from port to port, and hugging the land with its guns. Here is the return.

The following are the names of the vessels which have been in the waters of the Island of San Domingo since the commencement of the negotiations with Dominica, with their armaments:

Severn—14 8-inch and 1 60 pounder riffe.

"Congress—14 9 inch and 2 60 pounder riffes.

"Congress - 14 9 inch and 2 60 pounder rides.
"Nantasket - 6 32-pounders, 4500 pounds; 1 60-"Swatara-6 32 pounder-, 4500 pounds; 111-inch. "Yanic-1 11-inch and 2 9-inch.

Dictator-2 15-inch. Saugus-2 15-inch. Yerror-4 15-inch. "Albany-14 9 inch and 1 6 pounder rifle, "Nipsic-1 11-inch and 2 90-inch.

"Seminole-1 11-inch and 4 62-pounders of 4200 "Tennessee—On spar-deck, 2 11-inch, 29 inch, 2 160-pounders, and 1 60-pounder; on gun-deck, 16

"The ships now in those waters are, as far as is known to the Department, the Congress, the Nan-tasket, the Yantic and the Tennessee." (Senate Ex. Doc., No. 45, page 3, Forty-first Cong., third

Twelve neighty war ships, including two if not three powerful monitors, maintained at the cost of millions of dollars, seing part of the price of the pending negotiation. Besides what we pay to Baez here are millions down. Rarely have we had such a fleet in any waters—not in the Mediterranean, not in the Pacific, not in the East Indies. It is in the waters of St. Domingo that our navy finds its chosen field. there is its flag, and here also is 1's frown. And why this array? If our purpose is peace, why these engines of war? If we seek annexation by the declared will of the people, spontaneous, free, and unantmous, as was the boast of Spain, why these fleating tatteries to overawe them? If we would do good to the African race, why begin with violence to the black kenubile?

the commissioners left our shores there were already three war ships with powerful arma-ments in these waters: the Congress, with fourteen 2-inch guns and two 60-pounder rifles; the Nan-

tasket, with six 32 pounders, 4500 pounds, and one co-pounder rife; and the Yantic, with one 11-luch gen and two 9-inch. And then came the Tennessee, with two 11-inch and two 9-inch guns, two 100-pounder; and one 00 pounder on its spar deck, and sixteen 9-inch guns on its gun deck, to augment these forces, already dispreportioned to any proper object. The commissioners are announced as ministers of peace; at all events their declared duty is to ascertain the real sentiments of the people. Why accertain the real sentiments of the people. Why send them in a war ship? Why cram the dove in a carnon's nouth? There are good steamers at New York, sale and seavorthy, whose presence would not swell the array of war nor subject the Great Erpublic to the grave imputation of seeking to accomplish its purpose by violence.

TRACICAL END OF SPANISH OCCUPATION If while neg tialing with the Dominicans for their terr try, and what is more than territory, their national life, you will not follow Spanish example and withdraw our war-ships with their flashing arms and threatening thunder, at least be taught by the tregedy which attended even this most propitious attempt. The same volumes of authentic docu-ments from which I have read show how, notwith standing the apparent spontaneousness, freedom and unanimity of the invitation, the forbestance of Span was followed by resistance where sun and climate united with the people. An official report isid before the Cortes describes nine thousand Spanish soldiers dead with disease, while the Spanish occupation was reduced to three towns on the sea board, and it was perilous for small parties to go any distance cutside the walls of the city of St Demingo.

The same report declares that twenty thousand troops, provided for a campaign of six months, would be required to penetrate 'the heart of Cibao,' which is the very region now occupied by General Cabral, who disoutes the power of Baez. At las Spain submitted. The spirit of independence pre-valled once more on the island, and the prond banher of Castile, which had come in peace, amit general congratulations, and with the boast of not a Spanish bottom or Spanish soldier near, was with-

The example of Spain is reinforced by an English precedent, where may be seen in the light of analogy, the true rule of conduct. By a statute of the last century, all soldiers quartered at the place of an election for members of Parliament were removed at least one day before the election to the distance of two miles or more, and though this statute has of two miles or more, and though this statute has been monified latterly, the principle has been preserved. No soldier within two miles of a place of election is allowed to go out of the barracks or quarters in which he is stationed, unless to mount guard or to vote. This safeguard of elections is vindicated by the great commentator, Sir William Blackstone, when he says, "It is essential to the very below of Parliament that elections should be absorbed. being of Parliament that elections should be abso-intely tree, therefore all undue influences upon the lectors are lilegal and strongly prohibited." (Blackstone, Comm., Vol. I, p. 178; Stephens, Comm.,

Yol. II, p. 401.)

In accordance with this principle, as early as 1793, a committee of the other house of Congress reported against the seat of a Representative on the ground that United States troops were quartered noar the place of election, and were marched in a body found the court-house. (Contested Elections, p. 79, case of Mr. Presion.) And now that an election is to occur in St. Danisher where tion is to occur in St. Domingo, where national inde-pendence is the question, nothing is clearer than that it should be, in the language of Bltckstone, "absolutely free" and to this end all naval force should be withdrawn at least until the "election" is determined. Lord Coke, the great English authority, tells us that election is "when a man is left to bis own free will to take or do one thing or another as he pleases." (Coke Litt., 144.) But the Dominican people must be left to their own free will.

SEIZURE OF WAR POWERS BY OUR GOVERNMENT. All this is preliminary, although pointing the way to a just conclusion. It is only when we enter into details, and consider what has been done by our Government, that we recognize the magnitude of the question. Unless the evidence supplied by the agents of our Government is at fault—unless the reports of the State Department and Navy Department are discredited, it is obvious beyond doubt, most painfully plain and indisputable, that our Government has acceptable way. err ment has seized the war powers carefully guarded by the Constitution, and without the authority of Congress has employed them to trample on the independence and equal rights of two nations, coequal with ours, unless to carry out this project of territorial acquisition you begin by setting at defiance a first principle of international law. This is no hasty or idle allegation, nor is it made without immeasurable regret. And the regret is increased by the very strength of the evidence, which is strictly official and beyond all question. BAEZ, THE USUAPER

In this metancholy business the central figure is Buenventura Baez, unless we except President Grait, to whom some would accord the place of honor. The two have acted together as copartners. To appreciate the case, and especially to comprehend the breach of public law, you must know something of the former, and how he has been enabled to play his part. Commission by birth, with much of Spenish blood, and with a Trench education, he is a cross where these different elements are somewhat rudely intermixed. All his life he has been adven-turer, conspirator, and trickster, uncertain in opinlons, without character, without patriotism, without trute, looking out supremely for himself, and on any side according to imagined personal laterest, being once as violent against the United States as he now professes to be for them.

By the influence of General Santana, Baez obtained his first election as President in 1858, when,

centrary to a positive provision of the Constitution centrary to a positive provision of the Constitution against a second term except after the intervention of an entire term, he managed by fraud and intrgue to obtain another lease of power. Beginning thus early his violations of the Constitution, he became an expert. But the people rose against him, and he was driven to find shelter within the walls of the city. He had never been friendly to the United States, and at this time was generally showers. States, and at this time was especially abusive. His capitulation soon followed, and after eleven montas of usurped power he left for France. Santana succeeded to the Presidency, and under him, in 1861, the country was reincorporated with Spain, amidst

the prevaiing entunusiasm of the people.

Anxious to propitiate the different political chiefs, the Spanish Government offered Baez a Field Marshal's commission on condition that he should remain in Europe, which I understand he accepted. For some years there was peace in Dominica, when the people under the lead of the patriot Cabral, rose sgainst the Spanish power. During this protracted period of revolution, while the patriotism of the country was stirred to its utmost depths, the Dominican adventurer clung to his spanish commission with its honors and emoluments, not parting with them until six weeks after the Cortes at Madrid had renounced the country and ordered its evacuation, and then, in his letter of resignation addressed to the Queen, under date of June 15, 1865, he again out-raged the feelings of his countrymen by declaring his regret at the failure of annexation to Spain and his regret at the failure of annexation to Spain and his "regard for her august person and the noble Spanish nation" against whose arms they had been lighting for independence. Losing his Spanish henors and em duments, the adventurer was at once changed into a conspirator, being always a trickster, and from his European retreat began his machinations for power. Are we not told by the provero that the devil has a long arm?

On the disappearance of the Spanish flag Cabral became Protector, and a national convention was summoned to frame a Constitution and to organize a new Government. The people were largely in favor of 'abral, when armed men, in the name of

a new Government. The people were largely in favor of a bral, when armed men, in the name of Bacz and stimulated by his emissaries, overwhelmed the assembly with violence, forcing the conspirator into power. Cabral, who seems to have been always procent and humane, anxious to avoid bloodshed, and thinking that his considerable European residence might have improved the usurper, consented to accept a place in the cabinet which was inaugurated December 8, 1865. Ill-gotten power is shortlived; revolution soon began, and in the month of May Bacz, after first finding asylum in the French consulate, fied to foreign ports.

Cobsulate, fied to foreign ports.

The official journal of St. Domingo, El Monitor (June 2, 1886), now before me, shows how the fugilive lyrant was regarded at this time. In the lead-

June 2, 1866), how before me, shows how the fugility tyrant was regarded at this time. In the leading article it is said:

"The administration of General Baez has fallen under the weight of a great revolution in which agured the principal notabilities of the country. A spentaneous cry, which may be called national because it rose from the depths of the majority, revealed the proportions of the movement, its character and its legitimacy."

Then follows in the same journal a manifesto signs d by the principal inhabitants of San Domingo, in which is set forth with much particularity the grounds of his overthrow, alleging that he became President, not by the free and spontaneous choice of the people, but that he was imposed by an armed movement; that he treated the Chief Magistracy as if it were his own patrimony and monopolized anothe all his kindred the lucrative posts without regard to the public service; that, instead of recognizing the merit of those who had by their sacrifices served their country, he degraded, imprisoned, at d banished them; that, in volution of the immunity belonging to members of the Constituent Assembly, he sent them to a most horrid prison, and here numerous persons are named; that without any judicial proceedings, contrary to the Constitution, and in the spirit of vengeance, he shot up many deserving men in obscure dungoons, and here also are many names; that, since his occu-

ration of the Presidency, he has held the capital in constant alarm, and has established a system of terrorism in the bosom of the national representation. All this and much more will be found in this manifesto. There is also a manifesto of Cabral, astigning at still greater length reasons for the overthrow of Baez, and holding him up as the enemy of pesce and union; also a manifesto by the Triumvirale, consultating the Provisional Government, decaming his infractions of the Constitution; also a natifiesto from the general in command at the city of St. Domingo, where, after denouncing the misdeeds of one man, it says, "this man, this monster, it is speculator, this tyrant is Buenventura Baez."

Soon after the disappearance of Baez, his rival became lawful President by the direct vote of the people, according to the requirement of the Constitution. Different numbers of the official journal now before me contain the election returns in September, 1866, where the name of General Jose Maria Cabral before me contain the election returns in September, 1866, where the name of General Jose Maria Cabrai appears at the head of the poll. This is memorable as the first time in the history of Dominica when a question was submitted to the direct vote of the people. By that direct vote Cabrai became President, and peace ensued. Since then there has been no election, so that this was last as well as first. Furing his enforced exile, Baez found his way to Washington. Mr. Seward declined to see him, but referred him to me. I had several conversations with him at my house. His avowed object was to obtain assistance of money and arms to aid him in the overtarow of the existing Government. Be assured, Mr. President, he obtained no encouragement from me, although I did not hesitate to say, as I slways have said, that I hoped my country would never fail to do all possible good to Dominica, extending to it a helping hand. It was at a later day that our beliggerent intervention began.

Mesnwhile Cabral, embarrassed by financial difficulties and a dead weight of paper money, the legacy of the furtive consumers transaction.

Mesnwhile Cabral, embarrassed by financial difficulties and a dead weight of paper money, the legacy of the fugitive conspirator, turned to the United States for assistance, offering a lease of the Bay of ramans. Then spoke Baez from his retreat, dencing what he called "the sale of his country to the United States," adopting the most indammatory sanguage. By his far-reaching and unscrupulons activity a hostile force was corganized which, with the help of sainave, the late ruler of Hayti, compelled the capitulation of Cabral, February 8, 1868. A convention was appointed, not elected, which proceeded to nominated Baez for the term of four years, not as President, but as Dictator.

Declining the latter title, the triumphant conspirator accepted that of Gran Ciudadano or Grand Citizen, with unlimited powers. At the same time his

zen, with unlimited powers. At the same time his enemies were driven into exile or executed. The prisons were gorged, and the most respectable citizens were his victims. Naturally such a man would sell his country. Wanting money, he cared little how it was got. Anything for money, even his country.

ORIGIN OF THE SCHEME.

Cabral withdrew to the Interior, keeping up a menace of war, while the country was indignant with
the unscrupulous usurper, who for the second time
had obtained power by violence. Power thus obtained was naturally uncertain, and Baez soon found
himself obliged to invoke foreign assistance, "Help
me, Cassius, or I sink!" cried the Grand Citizen.
European powers would not listen. None of them
wanted his half island—not Spain, not France, not
England. None would take it. But still the Grand
Citizen cried, when at last he was relieved by an
answering voice from our Republic.

Citizen cried, when at last he was relieved by an abswering voice from our Republic.

A young officer, inexperienced in life, ignorant of the world, untaught in the Spanish language, unversed in international law, knowing absolutely nothing of the intercourse between nations, and unconscious of the Constitution of his country, was selected by the President to answer the cry of the Grand Citizen. I wish that I could say something better of General Baccock; but if I spoke according to the evidence, much from his own lips, the portraiture would be more painful and his unfitness more manifest. In closest association with Baez, and with profitable concessions, not easy to measure, was the American Cazneau, known as dismeasure, was the American Cazneau, known as dis-loyal to our country, and so thoroughly sus-pected that the military plenipotentiary, be-lore leaving Washington, was expressly warned against him; but like seeks like, and he at once rushed into the embrace of the selfish speculator, who boasted his intimacy beyond all Americans "with the Samana and annexation percential as their descriptions of the selfish speculator, who boasted his intimacy beyond all Americans "with the Samana and annexation negotiations to their close," and who did not hest-tate to instruct Baez that it was not only his right tatego instruct maez that it was not only his right but outy to keep an American citizen in "prison "to serve and protect negotiations in which our President was interested," which he denominates "the great business in hand," (Hatch, San Domingo Report, p. 135, Forty-first Congress, second session, No. 224.)

By the side of Cazneau was Fabens, also a speculator and life-long intriguer, afterwards Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pienipotentiary of Bacz in "the great business." Sparing details, which would make the picture more sombre, Icome at once to the conclusion. A treaty was signed by which the usurper pretended to sell his country to the United Ststes: in consideration of \$1,50,000; also, another treaty lessing the Bay of Samana for an annual tent of \$150,000. The latter sum was paid down by the young plenipotentiary, or \$100,000 in cash and \$50,000 in muskets and in a battery.

No longer able to pocket the doubloons of Spain, the usurper sought to pocket our eagles, and not content with nuskets and a battery to be used against his indiguant fellow-countrymen, obtained the navy of the United States to maintain him in his treason. It was a plot worthy of the hardened conspirator and his well-tried confederates.

OPEN INFRACTION OF THE DOMINICAN CONSTITUTION. By the side of Cazneau was Fabens, also a specu-

OPEN INFRACTION OF THE DOMINICAN CONSTITUTION. The case was aggravated by the open infraction of the Constitution of I ominica with which it proceeded. By that Constitution, adopted 27th september, 1866, a copy of which is now before me, it is solemnly declared that "neither the whole nor any part of the territory can ever be altenated," while the President takes the following oath of office:—"I swear by God and the Holy Evangelists to keep, and cause to be kept, the Constitution and the Law of the Pom blean people, to respect their rights and to maintain the National Independence."

Previous constitutions had said simply, "no part of the territory of the republic shall be alienated;" but now, as if anticipating recent events, it was de-

of the territory of the regulate shall be allemated;"
but now, as if anticipating recent events, it was deciared "neither the whole nor any part," thus explicitly excluding the power exercised. All this was
set aside while the plot went on. Even if Baez defied
the constitution of his country, our Government, in
dealing with him, could not do so. In negotiating
with another power, the great republic, which is an
example to nations, cannot be insensible to the restrictions imposed by the Constitution of the concelly excluding the power exercion. All the was ease as deed while the plot went on. Even if Beard defice the constitution of his country, our Government, in dealing with thin, could not do so. In accountry, the constitution of different public property and particularly of the majority, whether de facto or de jure, must be constituted as the constitution of different rulers, as the muticipal constitutions of different rulers, as the mutic

should ever be the reason of a republic. "There can be no such thing, my Lords, as a little war," was the exclamation of the Duke of Wellington, which I heard from his own lips, as he protested against what to some seemed petty. Gathering all the vigor of his venerable form, the warrior seasoned in a hundred fights, cled out, and all within the sound of his voice fell the testimory. hundred lights, c led out, and all within the sound of his voice feit the testimony. The reason is obvious. War, whether great or little, whether on the fields of France or the island of St. Domingo, is war, over which hovers not only death, but every demon of wrath.

Nor is war merely conflict on a chosen field; it is

Nor is war merely conflict on a chosen field; it is force employed by one a tilon against another, or in the silairs of another, as in the direct menace to Hayti and the intermeddling between Baez and Cabral. There may be war without battle, Hercules conquered by manifest strength the moment he appeared on the ground, so that his club rested unused. And so our navy has thus far conquered without a shot; but its presence in the waters of Hayti and bominica was war. Hayti and Dominica was war.

TWO SOURCES OF TESTIMONY. All this will be found under two different heads,

All this will be found under two different heads, or in two different sources; first, what is furnished by the State Department, and secondly, what is furnished by the Navy Department. These two departments are witnesses, with their agents, confessing and acting. From the former we have confessions from the latter we have acts—confessions and acts all in harmony and supporting each other. I begin with the confession.

CONFESSION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

CONFESSION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

In the strange report of the Secretary of State, responsive to a resolution moved by me in the Senate, the dependence of Baez upon our navy is confessed in various forms. Nobody can read this document without noting the confession, first from the reluctant Secretary, and then from his agent.

Referring to the correspondence of Raymond H. Perry, our consular agent at St. Domingo, who signed the treaties, the Secretary presents a summary, which, though obnoxious to just criticism, is a confession. According to him the correspondence "tends to show that the presence of a United States man-of-war in the port was supposed to have a peaceful induence." (Senate Ex. Doc. No. 17, Forty-first Congress, Third Session, page 12.) The term "peaceful induence" is the pleonasm of the Secretary confessing the maintenance of Baez in his usurpation.

his usurpation.

There is no such thing as stealing; "convey, the wise it call;" and so with the Secretary the maintenance of a usurper by our war ships is only exerting "a peaceful influence." A discovery of the Secretary. But in the levity of his statement the Secretary forgets that a United States man-of-war has nothing to do within a foreign jurisdiction and cannot exert influence there without unlawful incannot exert influence there without unlawful in-

tervention.
The Secretary alludes also to the probability of "another revolution," of course against Baez, in the event of the failure of the annexation plot, and here is another confession of the dependence of the

usurper upon our navy.

But the correspondence of Mr. Perry, as communicated to the Senate, shows more plainly than the confession of the Secretary how completely the usurper was maintained in power by the strong arm of the United States.

of the United States.

The anxiety of the usurper was betrayed at an early day, even white vaunting the popular enthusiasm for annexation. In a desputch duted at St. Domingo, January 20, 1870, Mr. Perry thus reports:—
"The Nantasket left this port January 1, 1870, and we have not heard from her since. Sie was to go to Peurto Plata (a port of Dominics) and return via Samana Bay, (also in Dominics). We need the protection of a man-of-war very much but antict-

protection of a man-of-war very much but anticlpate her return very soon."

Why the man-of-war was needed is easily inferred from
what is said in the same despatch:—

"The President tells me that it is almost impossible to
prevent the people pronouncing for annexation before tha
proper time. He prefers to await the arrival of a United
States man of-war before their opinion is publicly expressed."—Bid. p. 164.

If the truth were told, the usurper felt that it was almost
impossible to prevent the people from pronouncing for his
overthrow, and therefore he wanted war ships

Then under date of February 8, 1870, Mr. Perry reports
again:—

impossible to prevent the people from pronouncing for his overthrow, and therefore he wanted war ships.

Then under date of February 8, 1870, Mr. Perry reports again:

"Frisident Baez daily remarks that the United States Government has not kept its promises to send men-of-war to the coast. He seems very timid and lacks energy." (Hatch, St. Domingo Rep. p. 63; Sennte No. 224, Forty-first Congress, second session.)

The truth becomesatiil more apparent in the despatch of February 10, 1870, nearly three months after the signature of the treaties, and while they were still pending before the Senate where it is openly reported.

"If the United States ships were withdrawn he (Baez) could not hold the reins of the Government. I have told him this." (Senate Ex. Doc., p. 105, No. 17, Forty-first Congress, third session.)

Nothing can be plainer. In other words, the usurper was maintained in power by our guns. Such was the official communication of the very agent who had signed the treaties, and who was himself an ardent annexationist. Desiring annexation, he confesses the means employed to accomplish it. How the Fresident did not at once abandon unfinished treaties maintained by violance, how the Secretary of State did not at once resign rather than be a party to this transaction, is beyond comprehension.

Nor was the State Department left uninformed with regard to the distribution of this naval force. Here is the report, under date of St. Domingo, March 19, 1870, while the voting was proceeding:

"The Severn lies at this port; the Swatara left for Samana the 9th; the Nantasket goes to Puerto Plata to-morrow, the 13th; the Yantic lies in the river in this city. Admiral Poor, on board the Severn, is expected to remain at this port for some time. Everything is very quiet at present throughout the country." (Ibid., p. 107.)

Thus under the guns of our navy was quiet maintained, while Baez, like another usurper, exclaimed, "Now, by St. Paul, the work goes bravely ou."

What this same efficial reported to the State Departmen

Sion.)
Then, again, in a private letter to myself, under date of Bristel, Rhode Island, February 10, 1871, after stating that he had reported what the record shows to be true, "that like was sustained and held in power by the United States navy," he adds:—
"This fact Baez acknowledged to me."

So that we have the confession of the Secretary of State, also the confession of his agent at St. Domingo, and the confession of Bacz bimself, that the usurper depended for support on our may.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN SACRIFICED TO HELP THE TREATY.

again I forbear details, though at every point they testify. And yet the Great Republic, instead of spurning at once the heartless of urper, who trampled on the liberty of an American citizen, and spurning the ill-omened treaty which required this sacrifice, continued to lead its attemp aim in the maintenance of the trampler, while with uncrampled assiduity it pressed the treaty upon a reluctant Strate.

CONFESSION OF STATE DEPARTMENT WITH REGARD TO

But intervention in Dominica is only one part of the story, even according to the confession of the State Department. Sice by side with Dominica on the State Department. Sice by side with Dominica on the same tempting island is the Black Republic of Hayti, with a name rous population, which more than two generalisms ago achieved national independence, and at a ister day, by the recognition of our Government, took its place uniter the law of nations as equal and peer of the Great Republic.

the recognition of our Government, took its place under the law of nations as equal and peer of the Great Republic.

To all its paramount titles of independence and aquality, sacred and unimposcitable, must be added its special character as an example of seigovernment, being the first in the history of the Arrican race, and a promise of the future. Whe can doubt that as such this Biask Republic bas a value beyond all the products of its teeming tropical soil! Like other Governments, not excepting our own, it has complications, domestic and foreign. Among the litter is chrome hostility with Dominics, arising from claims territorial and pecuniary. To these claims I refer without undertaking to consider their justice. It is enough that they exist, and here comes the wrong perpetrated by the Great nepublic. In the effort to secure the much-coveted territory, our Government, not coment with maintaining the naurper Basz in power, eccupying the harbors of Dominica with the war snips of the United States, sent other war ships, being none other than our most powerful monitor, the Dictator, with the frigate Severa as consort, and with yet other monitors in their train, to menace the Black Republic by an act of war. An American minister, himself or African blood, was found to aid the admiral.

The despatch of the recretary of State instituting this act of war is not communicated to the Sonate; but we are sufficiently enlightened by that of Mr. Bassett, our Minister Resident at Fort au Prince, who, under date of February 17, 1870, informs the State Department in Washington that he had "transmitted to the Haytien Government know that he communicated to Commander Owen, of the Neminole, "reports that the Haytien Government know that he communicated to Commander Owen, of the Neminole, "reports that the Haytien Government were plauning clandestinate seniors for interfering in San Domining affairs" (Senate Ex Doc No. 17, p. 10c, Forty first Congress, third session.) But a moment of contrition seems to have overtaken the Minister

acknowledged by the Black Republic without one word of submission, as also without one word of proper resentment.

The officious Minister of the Great Republic was not satisfied, and accordingly fired another shot; in other words, he addressed another diplomatic note to the Black Republic, under date of February 8, 1870, where, referring to the answer of the latter, he sa s:—'It would nevertheless have been more satisfactory and agreeable to my Government and myself it you, in speaking for your Government, had felt authorized to give assurance of the neutrality asked and expected by the United States." (14d., p. 11t.) This letter was written with the guns of the Dietator and Severn behind.

It appears from the minister's report to the State Department that these two war ships arrived at the capital of the Black Republic on the morning of February 8, when the minister, as he says, "arranged for a format call on the Haytien G. vernment of the sace day." The minister then recorded, and no blush appears on his paper, that "the admial availed himself of this visit to communicate quite pointedly to the Preside t an i his advisers the tenor of his instruction." If Id.) This assault upon the inderendence and equality of the Black Republic will appear more fully in the report transmitted to the Senate by the Navy Department. For the present I present the case on the confession of the State Department.

If the report of the State Department is a confession that of the Navy Department is a nauthentic record of acts flagrant and indefensible, unless we are ready to set aside the law of nations and the Constitution of the United States, two great safeguards. Both of these are degraded in order to advance the scheme. It called it plot I should not err, for this term is suggested by the machination. The record is complete.

The scheme first shows itself in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy

Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, under date of May 17, 1889 informing the latter that the President deems it "desirable hat a man-of-war, should be ordered to visit the several ports in the Doninican Republic, and to report upon the condi-tion of affairs in that quarter." The Secretary adds: accurate information in regard to the views of the Dominicans of all parties in regard to annexation to the United States, or the sale or lesse of the bay of San ana, or of territory adjecent thereto." (Senate Ex. Doc. No. 34, p. 4, Forty-first Congress, third session.)

RX. Doc. No. 34, p. 4, Forty-first Congress, third session.)

No invitation from the island appears; not a word even from any of its people. The beginning is in the letter of the Secretary, and here we see how a 'man-of-war" formed part of the first stage. A mere inquiry is inaugurated by a 'man-of-war." Nor was it to stop at a single place; it was to visit the several ports in the Dominican Republic.

The Secretary of the Navy obeyed. Orders were given, and under date of June 29, 1869, Rear-Admiral Hoff reports that the Nipsic, with an armament of one 11-inch and two 9 inch guns, 'vis to visit all the ports of the Dominican Republic." Here again is a revelation, foreshadowing the future; all the ports are to be visited by this powerful war-ship. Why? To what justend? If for negotiation, then was force—force—forces our earliest, as it has been since our constant, plenipotentiary. Already we discern the contrast with Old Spain.

Continued on the Second Page. Continued on the Second Page.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE.

EVENING TELEGRAPH OFFICE, Monday, March 27, 1871. The business week opened this morning rather quiet, compared with last week, which was an unusually active one, but the falling off in the demand for money is entirely due to the unfavorable change in the weather, and is therefore only temporary. The supply of capital is being gradually diminished by the drain to the interior, the current of capital being strongly Westward at this time, but an absolute stringency of money is not anticipated, though possible in case of a sharp reaction in general rade. We quote call loans steady but quiet at 3666 per cent., and choice business paper at @8 per cent., according to credit. Gold is quiet and weak, ranging from 110%

at the opening to 110% at noon. Governments are rather unsettled, and a portion of the list is weak. Stocks were fairly active, and the entire market is firm. City 6s, new bonds, sold at 1011/400 1011; anti-war do. at 1021; and Lehigh gold

Reading was steady but dull; 51% was bid, without sales. Pennsylvania also steady at 61%. Minchill sold at 51%; Lehigh Valley at 59%; Camden and Amboy at 116%; Little Schuylkill at 44%@44%; Philadelphia and Eric at 27%, b. o.; and Catawissa preferred at 48%.

Canal shares were quiet. Sales of Lebigh at In the balance of the list the only sale was in PHILADELPHIA STOCK EXCHANGE SALES.

Reported by De Haven & Bro., No. 408. Third street. FIRST BOARD.

\$300 City 68, New .101% 9 sn Penna H. . . . 61% 4 sh Reading R . . . 51% 100 sh Leh Nav .60d . 36% BECOND BOARD. \$ECOND BOARD.

\$7000 Leh gold L. 59
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\$1000 City 6e, New.1014
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