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Poetry.

[From the New Haven Daily Lever, March 16.]

ALL HAIL THE GRANITE STATE!

BY R. W. WRIGHT.

Enact your vile Enforcement laws,
Nor ask the reason why
The lightnings of the people's wrath
Gleam all around the sky;
Why their indignant thunders leap
From every Northern hill,
And twelve ten thousand arms are bared
To do the Nation's will.

Enact your vile Enforcement laws,
Ay, let the madmen rail;
The glorious Granite "Ship of State"
Comes booming down the gale;
Her masts are of the Northern pine,
Her ribs of living oak,
And volleying thunders from her sides
Belch forth in flame and smoke.

See! down she comes, her white sails spread,
Her Union-jack abreeze,
As brave a craft as ever trode
The crest of Northern seas;
Her tars on board send up a shout
To greet the starry flag,
Which Northern traitors dared to flout
As "hate's polluted rag!"

These clansmen of the Northern hills
Are rallying their clans to night,
Their gathering slogan you may hear
From Old Monadnock's height
The "spirit's place" of liberty,
By Freedom's children trod,
Whose altars are the handiwork
And masonry of God!

Mount Washington in thunder speaks,
And Kearsarge replies;
The "Old Man of the Mountain" breaks
The hush of centuries;
Those eyrie homes of Freedom stand
Erect against the sky,
And in majestic accents speak
Of God and Liberty!

All hail the noble Granite State,
Whose sentiments are true!
With men and principles that wave
Dead liberty to life!
The starred emblem, from her clifts,
Sweeps downward to the plain,
And, circling heavenward, bears aloft
Her trophies wave again!

All hail the State whose granite peaks
Uplifted to the sky,
Proclaim the name of "Washington
Unsullied as their dye!
All hail the iron-sinewed men
That in your mountains dwell,
Youths are the proud Hesperides
That braced the pain of Tell!

Be then your spirit such as his,
As dauntless and as free,
And dedicate your granite hills
To God and Liberty;
And they shall ever hit their eyes
Magnificent, as now,
And Freedom find a home where man
To God alone shall bow!

Miscellaneous.

Tailoriana; or Scintillations from the Shop-board.

NUMBER 3.

Cat-Whippers and Cat-Whipping.

"He travels and expatiates as the bee
From flower to flower, so he from room to room."

There are probably few among the present generation of tailors, who have any conception of the import of the *cross* which fell from the subject of this paper. Doubtless, a few "old stagers," or retired "crooks," may have yet a vivid recollection of the ancient class which was designated by the name of "Cat-whippers;" especially those who may have conducted business in localities remote from the larger cities. Indeed, since her the name for the handicraft was much known if at all in any large city, unless a knowledge of them was carried there by some adventurer from the country, and we have no *positive* knowledge that they were in use outside of Pennsylvania, if beyond the limits of Lancaster county.

A *Cat-whipper*, then, was a rural tailor—one of that class which went from house to house in the rural districts, during the early winter and late autumn months—say from the first of October to the first of January, sometimes prolonged till the first of February—and there and thereby, made and mended the clothing for all the male members of the family, from the grand-father down to little Johnny. Sometimes he also had a month or six weeks occupation in the early Spring, making Summer clothing for the same families. The introduction of large manufacturing establishments, low-priced ready-made clothing, and the advent of the sewing-machine, have now nearly, or quite, dissipated this occupation, but it was common in various parts of Lancaster county, as late as thirty years ago. Forty and fifty years ago, and perhaps long anterior to those periods, it was quite common, and many farmers wore no clothing except those "gotten up" on this plan. At that period every farmer had his flock of sheep, and his flax or hemp patch, and the females occupied the hours not otherwise employed in carding wool, scutching hemp and flax, and spinning them into yarn, for the family web of cloth, linsey, or linen. After the introduction of "carding-mills," this part of the industry was obviated. This yarn was taken to the weavers—if not woven at home—and there converted into the fabrics desired. Those made of all, or part wool, were then taken to the "fulling-mill," and went through the process of "fulling," by which the fibre became more close and compact; and those composed of all linen, were either striped or barred—often plain—and used for outer clothing, whilst the finer flaxen fabrics were bleached on the meadows or lawns, and used for shirts. When these webs were brought home, then commenced the busy time for the nimble fingers of the housewives, and the *cut-whippers* and their employees, usually apprentices, and often their own offspring. There was a romance and good cheer about this peculiar phase of tailoring which made it attractive to those engaged in it, and they all longed for a return of the "cut-whipping" season. It also had a good *practical* side, for in any event, it saved the tailor the boarding of himself and apprentices, and if his wife assisted him, he could shut up his house for the time being, and save the entire expense of house-keeping for at least six days in a week. The chief *romance*, however, was in the abundant and wholesome cheer of his employer, who, while the "Schneider" sojourned with him, "put down" his *best*; and the annual visits of this functionary happening in the pudding and sausage season, he was usually crammed with that kind of "vegetables" to his heart's content; so that if he left home in the autumn with a lean and hungry look, he was sure to return after the holidays a plump and sleek as an alderman, and his pockets lined with cash, with a week's provender thrown into the bargain. It is true that the wages of the cat-whipper were low, when compared with the tailor's wages of the town; but when it is considered that he paid no board, and often saved his board elsewhere, and had no opportunity of spending his money, that he cleared, perhaps, as much in the end as they did. The only drawback to this itinerating kind of tailoring that *we* ever heard any of them complain of, was that it afforded no opportunity to *roberge*, and at that early period, this was a serious grievance which was only compensated by the "metzel-soup" and other gifts of the employer.

Doubtless some analytical reader, who knows nothing about "Pennsylvania Dutch," may just be inquisitive enough to ask *what is metzel-soup?* As the question is not foreign to the subject under consideration, it may be well to answer it here, and not in a foot-note. We do not propose to give the *etymology* of the word, but its *meaning* only, at the period of which we are writing; therefore, the reader need not have been his mental vision the weary tailor trudging home, carrying a kettle of soup with him, for a *metzel-soup*, was no soup at all. When the "butchering season" commenced; it was a common practice among farmers, and also the inhabitants of hamlets and villages, to send to their near neighbors and relatives, as much of the puddings and sausages they made as was necessary for one meal for the family at least, and as this was sure to be reciprocated, the practice was usually attended with no special sacrifice. Still, there were occasions when it was not reciprocated, and was not expected to be—such cases, for instance, as their tailor, shoemaker, or other employees. This gift was called the *metzel-soup*; although we think the term originated in a kind of *soup* made out of the broth in which the puddings were "boiled off." The term *pudding*, perhaps, also needs some explanation, for it is not at all what a Yankee would understand by that term. In fact it is a "liver-sausage," and in Pennsylvania Dutch, is called *leverworsht*, to distinguish it from *brodtworsht*, which in English, is simply *sausage*. A *real* pudding, however, was made, by stirring corn-meal, rye-flour, or buckwheat-meal, into the "pudding-broth," and thoroughly boiling it. After it became cold it was cut into slabs and fried, similar to "fried-mush." This *mess*—and we confess a weakness towards it—was called *pann-hass*, especially by the sable sons of Africa, among whom it was a great favorite. But some of the names of these rustic dishes are exceedingly local, sometimes differing in different districts, and even in different families. There is for instance, that popular jellied dish made out of pig's feet, ears and snouts, which is variously called *souse*, *galerich*, *tsitserly*, and even *colerich*. The foregoing may illustrate a portion of the "feed"—in addition to *sauerkraut und speck*—upon which the cat-whipper thrived in "Winter time."

Cut-whipping was essentially a Winter occupation, and many of the class only claimed to be "Winder-schneiders;" during the Summer season turning their attention to some other in-door or out-door occupation; and those who served an apprenticeship to this species of tailoring, invariably stipulated for two weeks of field-work during harvest time. Of course, under these circumstances, their fingers never acquired the suppleness and nimbleness of those who were *constantly* manipulating in the profession; and although they may not have excelled in executing work "pretty for nice," yet they were remarkable in doing it "good for strong," and upon this quality their reputation was chiefly built, and acknowledged throughout their special realm. The confidential relations existing between these itinerant tailors and their patrons, exhibited in a remarkable manner, that state of continuity and adhesiveness, which is becoming so exceedingly rare in these latter days. Cases have been known, where the same tailor has made all the clothing of the father, his sons, and his grandsons—and even his great-grandsons—throughout their entire lives, or until the tailor himself became superannuated, or was "gathered to his fathers," in another world. On the whole, the cat-whipper was an orderly, industrious and peaceful citizen, and was looked upon with a sort of veneration, by the younger portion of his plain-minded patrons. As a general thing, he was contented and free from care, especially during his winter peregrinations, for he had the consolation of *knowing* that every farthing he earned, he would *save* to get, either in cash or its equivalent. And if inadvertently he should have had a dubious debtor, nothing was involved but his own labor; for his boarding, when once appropriated, became a *fact*, as fixed as the sun that shines in the heavens. Yet, he was often sneered at by those who thought themselves more favorably endowed, because he performed a labor which they *would* not, and perhaps *could* not if they would. But now their "occupation's gone"—and perhaps there are few or none of them in the land, of the descendants of their former patrons no longer dress in suits of neutral "woadsey-grey" wool and linen; but hanker after the German, the French, and the English fabrics, of the cities and towns.

The terms *cat-whipper* and *cat-whipping*, were often facetiously and sometimes very irreverently applied to other itinerating occupations and professions than tailoring, and those among tailors who practiced it, by no means recognized them as legitimate titles, notwithstanding the more liberal among them took them good humouredly, and as a matter of course. Any occupation, therefore, that was itinerary in its character, was styled a species of cat-whipping, and it was sometimes even applied to country "schoolmasters"—there were no *teachers* forty years ago—and especially to those who "boarded round" among the parents of their scholars—there were no *pupils* then! The use was however resented by the initiates of the shop-board, and they did not hesitate to apply it to itinerating "preachers," for strictly speaking, the term *clergyman*, was not known to the shop-board forty years ago. We have often thought that the travelling "mercantile drummers," might be appropriately included in the same *cat-gory*. Had they existed as persistently at that time, as they do now, we are sure they would have been *sorattabagued*. We have known this class of operatives to be among showmakers and tailors, and among female dressmakers, it is continued at the present day. What analogy there is between the name and the occupation, or when and where it originated, are questions we confess ourselves totally unable to answer. Suffice it to say, that to us and those terms in the vocabulary of the *craft*, "long, long ago," and our object has merely been to define their significance. We do not use them as terms of reproach or of derision, for we *know* that those who followed this peculiar branch of the trade, would favorably compare, in integrity and general usefulness, with any others belonging to it. Although, under the new order of things which characterizes the present age, there may be no more cat-whippers among tailors, yet in some other occupations they are by no means extinct yet, and may probably have a long lease to run, and in many cases they are a convenience, and perform uses which could not be performed in any other way.

GRANTELLUS.

* In our boyhood there was a gymnastic feat called the *Cat-Skinner* or "skinning the cat," with gymnasts as fashionable as the difference between the moon and the net as there is between itinerant tailoring and *whipping* the cat; unless the contortions of the tailor be deemed a name, can be supposed to have a resemblance to an operation of that kind.

Theodosia Burr—Historic Portrait.

During the Senatorial term of Aaron Burr—1791 and 1797—he was one day driving along a lonely country road in Ulster county, New York, when his horse cast a shoe, and he stopped at a blacksmith shop to have it replaced.—While waiting the completion of the operation, he happened to glance at the door of the rude building, and saw there a truthful and vigorous drawing of his vehicle and team done in charcoal, which must have been executed in a very few minutes. He inquired for the artist, and a half-grown boy, dressed in coarse garments, stepped forward and said: "I did it, sir." Burr entered into conversation with the lad, and soon ascertained that though wholly uneducated he was yet unusually bright and intelligent; that he was born and reared in the neighborhood, and had hired himself to the blacksmith for six months.

Writing a few lines on a slip of paper, Burr handed it to him, and remarked: "My boy, you are too smart a fellow to stay here all your life. If you ever want to change your employment and see something of the world, put a clean shirt in your pocket, go to New York and come straight to that address." His innumerable schemes, and the cares and duties of political life soon drove the incident from the Senator's mind, and he was surprised one morning some months later, while sitting at breakfast at his residence at Richmond Hill, when a servant entered and delivered him a small bundle which had been brought by a boy who was waiting outside.—Opening the package he found within a clumsily made calico shirt.

Thinking there must be a mistake, he ordered the boy shown up, and in a moment there entered the blacksmith's apprentice, with the slip of paper given him as a guide and introduction. Burr gave him a hearty welcome, took him into his family, directed his education, procured him instruction in the primary principles of drawing and coloring, and finally assisted him to go to Europe, where he spent five years. When misfortune and misdeeds had driven the patron a friendless, penniless exile across the sea, the privilege was exhibiting his pictures at the Louvre, and gaining compliments and a gold medal from Napoleon.

He did all he could to aid his benefactor when they met in Paris, but though Vanderlyn had won fame, money was almost as scarce with him as with Burr. He came back to America, painted the "Landing of Columbus," now in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington; the portrait of Jackson in the City Hall, New York, and several other well-known works, and died not long since near the spot where he received his first encouragement to study the art his achievements have adorned.

Previous to his tour abroad Vanderlyn painted the portraits of Burr and his daughter, which have been made familiar to all through the engravings attached to the lives of the former, written by Matthew L. Davis and James Parton. This portrait of Theodosia, next to the idolized original, Burr prized more than all else the world contained. It hung in his drawing-room at Richmond Hill, and whenever Theodosia's birthday came round, after her marriage to Governor Alston and removal to South Carolina, it was always brought out for the admiration and toasts of the assembled guests.

When he went to Europe he carried it with him, and whether visiting the houses of distinguished people in England, or hiding away in Parisian garret, the sweet face looking out from the dumb canvas, was ever near to brighten and to bless. He brought it back to New York, and it was at his bedside when he died. From the death-chamber the portrait was transferred to the keeping of Miss Theodosia Prevost, daughter of John B. Prevost, Burr's step-son. There it remained for some time, and was then carried to South America by another member of the family.

Returning from thence it found temporary lodgment in the household of Rev. Dr. Breckinridge of Pleasant Hill, Missouri, whose wife was also a daughter of John B. Prevost. A few weeks since it passed into the possession of Mrs. Lucy Breckinridge of Alton, Illinois, and is now in the studio of Mr. J. R. Stuart, corner of Fifth and Olive streets, St. Louis. The historic picture is on canvas, rather under the ordinary size for half-lengths, and still has the same wooden frame, painted black and varnished, which it probably wore seventy years ago.

It shows evidence of age and travel, but the accurate drawing and careful coloring for which Vanderlyn was noted, are yet plainly perceptible, and the soft brown hair, hazel eyes, clear cut nose and lips, cheeks blushing with the palest tint of the rose, and exquisitely rounded neck and bust, recall lifelike reality, the face and form of her over whose unknown grave the ocean rolls, and whose story is one of the saddest and the noblest recorded in American annals.

The German Empire.

March 21st, 1871, may be taken as the date of the practical inauguration of the modern Imperial system of Germany. On that day the German Parliament was opened at Berlin by the Emperor, William First, in person, who delivered a speech from the marble throne of his most illustrious predecessor, Charlemagne, which had been brought from Aix-la-Chapelle expressly for the occasion. Beyond this recurrence to mediæval splendor there seems to have been but little or no display—the ceremony is described as having been "impressive from its simplicity." The tall and imposing figure of the Emperor, who on that day completed the seventy-third year of his age, conveyed to all present the impression of the reality of the new Empire, surrounded as he was by the halo of success in war and diplomacy.

The national heart was gratified at the accomplishment of the grand scheme of the unification of all the German States under one federal government, even though it has been brought about by war and violence, and not in the manner, nor upon principles advocated by the enlightened liberals of Germany. The Emperor announced a policy of peace, but so did the French Emperor, Napoleon III, on his accession; yet this was with Austria and Russia followed very soon after, and were supplemented by those with China, Mexico and Prussia. "Independent Germany," said William I, "respects the independence of others. This fiery ordeal of war, through which we have passed, is a reliable guarantee of European peace." Let us hope that it is so, but history too plainly teaches that one success inspires the desire for another, and, to use Shakspeare's words, "increase of appetite doth grow with what it feeds on." And when, as now is the case with Germany, the power is not wanting to back the will, the temptation to put further may one day prove too strong for the successors of William, if not for William himself, and "His Highness, the Prince" Bismarck.

The assumption of the title of Emperor by the King of Prussia may be justified on historical grounds; but it should be understood that he has not assumed to be Emperor *of* Germany, but Emperor *in* Germany; Kaiser *in* Deutschland, not Kaiser *von* Deutschland; which two dignities are not the same, as was well pointed out some time ago in an article on the subject in *Appleton's Journal*. On the extinction of the Western Roman Empire, A. D., 476, by Odoacer, King of the Heruli, the title of Emperor became extinct in Europe, except in the portions of what is now Turkey in Europe, which were under the sway of the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Emperors. The title was revived when Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne "Emperor of the West," at Rome, on the 25th December, 800. From the sanctity which the new Empire acquired in consequence of its solemn consecration by the Church, it was also styled "the Holy Roman Empire." Charlemagne selected Aix-la-Chapelle, on the Rhine, as his Capital, and he recognized Germany as the principal division of his Empire; but though he bequeathed the whole of his Empire to his son Louis, the children of that Prince came to blows about their respective portions, and the result was that the Empire was divided between them, Lothaire taking Italy with the title of Emperor; Charles, the Bald, taking France, and Louis, Germany. Constant disputes between them caused the Empire to change owners more than once. In 881 it fell to Charles, the Fat, of France, who, next year, by the death of his brother, Louis, of Saxony, became King of all Germany. But the Germans deposed Charles, and elected Arnulf, of Bavaria, who was made Emperor and crowned Emperor of the West at Rome, in 896. Up to the year 962 the title was borne by whoever happened to be King of Italy (nominally or otherwise); but in that year Otho, the Great, of Germany, having made himself master of Italy, was crowned Emperor of the West, at Rome, and the title was borne by all his successors down to the accession of Maximilian I, in 1493. The last named Prince was the first who took the title of Emperor of Germany and without being crowned at Rome. But it should be remembered that this imperial dignity could only be worn in Germany by the Prince upon whom the choice of the Electors fell, the throne being elective and not hereditary during the middle ages. It will thus be seen that though any one of the successors of Otho, the Great, might be styled Emperor of the West, he would only be Emperor *in* Germany, until he was elected Emperor *of* Germany. In other words, he merely held an imperial position in that country without a territorial empire, and it is this position which William, of Prussia, now assumes. The family of Hapsburg, descendants of Rudolf of Hapsburg, elected Emperor in 1273, held the title of Emperor of Germany until 1804, when Francis II annulled the elective title and assumed that of Emperor of Austria, declaring the latter to be hereditary in his family; he also changed his name of Francis II to Francis I. The new title has descended to its present holder, Francis Joseph of Austria; and the King of Prussia now revives in his own person the old title discarded by Francis II; but not the more ancient Roman one of *Imperator*. By the voice of the German people, as of old, it now resumes its vitality. By virtue of his German election he becomes Emperor *in* Germany, but having no connection with Rome, old or new, he is not Emperor of the West; nor is he Emperor *of* Germany in the sense in which Francis Joseph is Emperor of Austria, or Napoleon was Emperor of the French. He is, in fact, a royal president for life of the Germanic Confederation, with the title of Emperor for hereditary in his family.—*Phil'a. Ledger.*

How Nitro-Glycerine is Made.

This wonderful explosive was discovered in 1847, by an Italian named Soboro, but its practical application was made by Alfred Noble, a Swedish engineer. The process by which it is made is thus described: Every one knows what glycerine is—a clear syrup-py liquid, sweet to the taste and somewhat greasy to the touch. Its scope of employment ranges from the surgeon's dispensary to the lady's boudoir. Chemists term it traitonic alcohol, and it may be derived from fat or tallow by action of lime and sulphuric acid. Its properties are many and various, but as they have no bearing upon the present subject we shall abstain from noticing them. If a quantity of nitric acid be added to twice its weight of sulphuric acid, glycerine be poured into this, and stirred carefully, the whole being surrounded by freezing mixture, we obtain that wonderful substance known as nitro-glycerine, which has more than ten times the explosive force of gunpowder It forms on the surface as an oil of a pale yellow color, is perfectly inodorous, and has a sweet aromatic taste. It is poisonous whether taken internally or absorbed through the skin, and small doses of it produce distressing headaches. It does not explode when brought in contact with fire, and remains unchanged even when raised to a temperature of boiling water; but at about forty degrees Fahrenheit it becomes converted into an icy mass, which merely requires friction to develop all its explosive qualities.

SAN DOMINGO.

Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner

Usurpation of Law and of the War Power.

WASHINGTON, March 27.—After the reading of Mr. Sumner's resolutions in regard to the action of the United States Government towards Hayti during the Santo Domingo negotiations, he submitted an additional resolution (found under our regular Congress report,) and then spoke as follows:

Mr. Sumner—Mr. President: Entering again upon this discussion, I perform a duty which cannot be avoided. I wish it were otherwise, but duty is a task-master 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 belligerent intervention, being war without the authority of Congress. An act of war without the authority of Congress, is no common event. This is the simplest statement of the case. The case is aggravated when we then is considered that the declared object of this violence is the acquisition of foreign territory, being half an island in the Caribbean sea; and still further, that this violence has been employed first, to prop and maintain a weak ruler, himself a usurper, upholding him in power that he might sell his country; secondly, it has been employed to menace the black Republic of Hayti. Such a case cannot pass without inquiry. It is too grave for silence.

QUESTION STATED.

The question which I present is very simple. It is not whether the acquisition of the island of San Domingo, in whole or in part, with a population foreign in origin, language and institutions is desirable, but whether we are justified in the means employed to accomplish this acquisition. This question is essentially preliminary in character and entirely independent 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 *sentiment* in the tropics, and others more anxious for a black Republic, where the African race shall show an example of self-government which shall be followed by the twenty-fold more thinking of gold mines, salt mountains, hogsheads of sugar, bags of coffee, and boxes of cigars; others thinking more of what we owe to the African race. But whatever opinion may be held on the main question, the evidence now before us shows too clearly that means have been employed which cannot be justified. And this is the question to which I now ask the attention of the Senate.

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 annexion of the Dominican people was pending before the Senate, and I was occupied in considering it, along with two others, 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 question in the latter, or, rather, the former was absorbed in the latter. Thinking of our giant strength, my anxiety increased for the weaker party, and I thought more of what was good for them than what was good for us. Is annexation good for them? This was the question on my mind when I was honored by a visit from the Assistant Secretary of State, bringing with him a handful of despatches from Santo Domingo. Among these was one from the Dominican consular agent there, who signed the treaty of annexion, from which it distinctly appears that Baez, while engaged in selling his country, was maintained in power by the Navy of the United States. This paper, was the official report of our consular agent, who signed the treaty, there can be no question, and this official report was supported by all the other consular despatch. I confess now my emotions at that painful revelation. Until then I had supposed the proceeding blameless, although precipitate. I had not imagined any such violence as the despatches disclosed. These despatches became more important as testimony when it appeared that the writers were personally in favor of annexation. They, 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 that the extinction of the independent political existence of this foreign territory would not be respected or even tolerated, unless by the consent of the people there, without force on our part. The treaty was a contract, which, according to our own statutes, could not be carried through a ruler owing power to our war vessels. As such it was, beyond all question, a contract obtained under duress, and therefore void, and the attempt was an interference with the internal affairs of a foreign country, and, therefore, contrary to the principle of non-intervention, which is now a rule of international law. As a proceeding it necessarily lost no time in visiting the Navy Department, in order to examine the instructions under 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 doings of the other, and, as if to impress the consummation, I could not have believed it, had not the evidence been explicit. The story of Naboth's Vineyard was revived.

Violence begets violence, and that in St. Domingo naturally extended. It is with nations as with individuals—once stepped in they go forward. The harsh menace by which the independence of the black Republic was threatened, was followed next. It was another stage in belligerent intervention. As these things were unfolded, I felt that I could not hesitate. I felt even a shocking wrong. It must be arrested; and to this end I have labored in good faith.

EXAMPLE OF SAMA.

Mr. Sumner contended that all contracts for cession of territory must be without the compulsion of war, and, to emphasize this point, he said:

Here the example of Spain furnishes a beacon-light. Talking to an invitation not unlike that of Baez to the United States, this ancient monarchy was indicated by Santana, President of Santo Domingo, to extend the proposition of re-annexation 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 conduct of Spain and our Republic, painful as it is to us. Spain boasted in official papers, that in the act of re-annexion the Dominicans were spontaneous, free and unanimous—that no Spanish soldiers were under the sway of influence its people; nor was there a Spanish bottom in its waters, or a Spanish soldier on its land. No such boast can be made now. American emissaries are in the territory, with Cazneau and Fabens as leaders, while American war-vessels, including the Dictator, our most powerful Monitor, properly named for service, were in the waters with guns pointed at the people to be conquered, and American soldiers with bayonets glancing in the sun, were on the decks. A Spanish ship came 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.

After citing copiously from official documents to prove the peaceful character of the Spanish acquisition, and that it was accomplished by free will and consent of the inhabitants, he said:

CONTRAST BETWEEN SPAIN AND 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, sailing from port to port, and hugging the land with its guns.

Twelve mighty war-ships, including two if not three powerful monitors, maintained at the cost of millions of dollars, being part of the force of the pending negotiation.—Never was there a more menacing negotiation by the declared will of the people, spontaneous, free, and unanimous, as was the boast of Spain, why these floating batteries to overawe them? If we would do good to the African race, why begin with violence to the black Republic?

Before the Commissioners left our shores there were already three war-ships with powerful armaments in these waters—the Contoocook, with fourteen 9-inch guns and two 60-pounder rifles; the Nantasket, with six 32-pounders, 4500 pounds, and one 60-pounder rifle, and the Yantic, with one 11-inch gun and two 9-inch. And then came the Tennessee, with two 11-inch and two 9-inch guns, two 100-pounders and one 60-pounder on its spar-deck, and sixteen 9-inch guns on its gun-deck, to augment these forces, already disproportioned 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 send them in a war-ship? Why cram the dove in a cannon's mouth? There are good steamers at New York, safe and seaworthy, whose presence would not swell the array of war, nor subject the Great Republic to the grave imputation of seeking to accomplish its purpose by violence.

END OF SPANISH RULE—THE ELECTION.

Mr. Sumner then spoke of the disastrous result of Spanish occupation when the revolt of the people aided, by the unparalleled mortality among the Spanish troops, forced a final surrender of the country. He then cited the English law requiring that all elections shall be absolutely free from the suspicion of military interference, and applied it to the present case.

SEIZURE OF WAR POWERS BY OUR GOVERNMENT.

All this is preliminary, although pointing 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 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, co-equal with ours, unless to carry out this project of territorial acquisition you begin by setting at defiance a first principle of International Law.

BAEZ, THE USURPER.

Mr. Sumner gave a graphic picture of the career of the usurper Baez, and of the means by which he obtained the control of the country. He described the contest between Baez and Cabral, the exile of the former and his residence in Washington; his triumph over Cabral and return to the country; his inauguration in 1868 as Grand Citizen with unlimited powers, and his subsequent difficulties, by which he is now forced to sell his country. Mr. Sumner continued:

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. A young officer, inexperienced in life, ignorant of the world, unaught 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 Babcock; but if I spoke according to the evidence, much from his own lips, the portrait drawn 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.

By the side of Cazneau was Fabens, also a speculator and life-long intriguer, afterwards Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Baez in "the great business." Sparing details, which would make the picture more sombre, I come at once to the conclusion. A treaty was signed by which the usurper pretended to sell his country to the United States in consideration of $1,500,000; also, another treaty leasing the Bay of Samana for an annual rent 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 thought to pocket our eagles, and not content with muskets and a battery to be used against his indignant 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 worldtried confederates.

OPEN INFRACTION OF DOMINICAN CONSTITUTION.

The case was aggravated by the open infraction of the Constitution of Dominica 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 of the Republic can ever be alienated," 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 Dominican 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 declared "*neither the whole* nor any part," thus explicitly excluding the power exercised. All this was set aside when the plot went on. Even if Baez defied the Constitution of his country, our Government, in dealing with him, should not do so. In negotiation with another power, the Great Republic, which is an example to nations, cannot be insensible to the restrictions imposed by the Constitution of the contracting party, and this duty becomes stronger from the very weakness of the other side.

Mr. Sumner, after elaborating this point, repeated the allegations in his former speech that the usurper Baez was maintained in power by our Navy to enable him to carry out the sale of his country, and, secondly, that further to assure this sale, the neighbor Republic of Hayti was violently menaced by an armed force of our fleet, both acts being unquestionable breaches of public law, constitutional and international.

Mr. S. supported his assertions by documentary evidence, which he obtains both from the Navy and Navy Department. On this point he said:

CONFESSION OF 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 treaty, the Secretary presents a summary, which, though obnoxious to just criticism, is a confession. Another, equally in the correspondence "tends to show that the presence of a United States man-of-war in the port was supposed to have a *peaceful influence*." (Senate Ex. Doc. No. 17, Forty-first Congress, Third Session, page 12.) The term "peaceful influence" is the pleonasm of the Secretary confessing the maintenance of Baez in his usurpation. There is no such thing as stealing; "*money* the wise call it;" 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 secession, 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 intervention.

THE HATCH IMPRISONMENT.

He alluded in forcible language to the imprisonment of Davis Hatch, an American citizen, by the usurper Baez, on account of letters exposing the character of Baez, while in exile; to his forcible detention in prison, even after his formal pardon—at the special instance of Cazneau and with the connivance of Babcock, in order to prevent his influence against the treaty of annexion.

THE MENACES TO HAYTI.

He proved, from official documents, the threats of intimidation made to Hayti by the State Department, in order to maintain Baez in power, and to further the schemes of annexation, and even menaces announcing the state of war on the part of the United States officials.

RECORD OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

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

On the 17th July, 1869, General Babcock sailed from New York for St. Domingo, as special agent of the State Department. The records of the Department, so far as communicated to the Senate, show no authority to open negotiations of any kind, much less to treat for the acquisition of this half island. His instructions, which are dated July 15, 1869, are simply to make certain inquiries; but, under the same date, the Secretary of the Navy addresses a letter to Commander Owen, of the Seminole, with the command of one 11-inch gun and four 32-pounders, of 4200 pounds, in which he says:

"You will remain at Samana or on the coast of St. Domingo while General Babcock is there, and *give him the moral support of your gun*" (*Ibid. p. 6.*)

The phrase of the Secretary is at least curious. And who is General Babcock, that on his visit the Navy is to be at his back? Nothing on this head is said. All that we know from the record is that he was to make certain inquiries, and in this business "guns" play a part. To be sure, it was their "*moral* support" he was to have; but they were nevertheless "guns." Thus in all times has lawless force sought to disguise itself. Before any negotiation was begun, while only a few interrogatories were ordered by the State Department, under which he acted, "the moral support of guns" was ordered by the Navy Department. Here, sir, permit me to say is the first sign of war, being an undoubted usurpation, whether by President or Secretary. War is hostile force, and here it is ordered. But this is only a squint, compared with the open declaration which ensued. And here again we witness the contrast with old Spain.

He then referred to the sending of the Tuscarora to the aid of Babcock, and the placing of that iron clad at his sole disposal as "the earnestness of war itself." He then said:

Returning to Washington with his protocol, the plenipotentiary was now sent back with instructions to negotiate two treaties, one for the annexation of the half-island and the other for the lease of the bay of Samana. How this business sped appears from the State Department. The report of the Navy Department shows how it was sustained by force.

After citing the facts of the seizure of Samana bay by the United States vessels, and the orders given them to afford assistance to Baez, he said:

What is this but war, at the call of the usurper Baez, against the enemies of his Government, whether domestic or foreign? Let the usurper cry out, and our flag is engaged. Our cannon must fire, it may be upon Dominicans, rising against the usurper, or it may be upon Haytians warring on the usurper for their rights; or it may be upon some other foreign Power claiming rights. The order is peremptory, leaving no discretion. The assistance must be rendered. "You will not hesitate to give it to them;" so says the order. On which I observe, this is War.

BELLIGERENT INTERVENTION IN HAYTI.

The constant intervention in Dominica was supplemented by that other intervention in Hayti, when an American Admiral threatened war to the black Republic. Shame and indignation rise as we read the record. Already we know it from the State Department. Rear-Admiral Poor, under date of February 12, 1870, reports to the Navy Department of his achievement of overawing the authorities of Hayti by superior force, and preventing their assistance of the Dominican people, with whom they sympathize with them in their struggle.

TWO PROPOSITIONS ESTABLISHED.

Such is the testimony establishing beyond question the two propositions first, that the usurper Baez was maintained in power by our Navy, to enable him to carry out the sale of his country; and, secondly, that further to assure this sale, the neighbor Republic of Hayti was violently menaced, all this being in breach of public law, international and constitutional.

In considering how far this conduct is violative of international law and of the Const