day that you would never betray us, and I never will release you from it."

"Only think of what you are doing when you refuse. How can I die with such a sin upon my conscience, knowing, too, that you will be involved in yet greater deception, if you persist? Do let me tell your father, if you have not the courage to do it yourself."

"Never!" she cried; "I never will consent. And if you betray me, Fanny, after all your promises, you are no true friend, but only a treacherous enemy." At these words she rose, and hastily throwing on her bonnet and shawl, was out of hearing before Fanny could reply.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1852.

BAD MONEY.

Again, and again, and again, we must request our friends to send us no notes on banks in the District of Columbia, except the following:

Bank of Commerce, Georgetown; Hugh B. Sweeney, Cashier.

Bank of the Metropolis, Washington; J. W. Maury, President; Rich'd Smith, Cashier.

Bank of Washington, Washington; William Gunton, President; Jas. Adams, Cashier.

Patriotic Bank, Washington; G. C. Grammer, President; C. Bestor, Cashier.

Exchange Bank, Washington; W. Selden, President; W. C. Bestor, Cashier.

STANDING TERMS.

Single copy, one year - - -	$2
Three copies, one year - - -	5
Five copies, one year - - -	8
Ten copies, one year - - -	15
Single copy, six months - - -	1
Ten copies, six months - - -	8

Voluntary agents are entitled to retain 50 cents commission on each new yearly, and 25 cents on each new semi-yearly, subscriber, *except in the case of clubs*. *Twenty-five* cents is the commission on the *renewal* of an *old* subscriber.

A club of *three* subscribers (*one* of whom may be an *old* one) at $5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era three* months; a club of *five* (*two* of whom may be *old* ones) at $8, to a copy for *six* months; a club of *ten* (*five* of whom may be *old* ones) at $15, to a copy for *one year*.

Money to be forwarded by *mail*, at our *risk*. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposite.

A NEW WORK BY MRS. SOUTHWORTH.

We shall commence in the first number of the next volume of the *Era*, a new story by Mrs. Southworth, which will run through a quarter or a third of the volume, entitled as follows:

MARK SUTHERLAND:

OR,

POWER AND PRINCIPLE.

A TALE FOUNDED ON FACTS.

The author has furnished us with the following outline of its contents:

"This story illustrates, among other things, the genius of American Institutions in developing and recompensing native talent in all ranks of society, shown in the history of a planter's son, who, giving up his patrimony for conscience sake, sets out upon a life of toil and self-denial, and through many early trials, adventures, and sufferings, carves his way to merited honors."

The subject is one of peculiar interest to our readers.

Mr. W. Harned, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, No. 48 Beekman street, is our agent for the city of New York, and is fully authorized to receipt for subscriptions to this paper.

Marriage Notices.—Persons wishing Marriage Notices inserted, must forward their names.

New Publications will be noticed at length next week.

Roll in Your Subscriptions.—The year is drawing to a close—look out for your bills, and catch them as they drop out—don't let your files be broken.

An Index will be given in the next number, the last one of the volume.

Correspondents must be patient. We are bewildered with the multitude of communications.

Numbers Wanted.—Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have on hand Nos. 302, 303, 306, 307, 309, will confer a favor by remailing them to this office.

The attention of those desiring to purchase land in Chicago and vicinity, is called to the advertisement of Mr. T. B. Bryan, to be found in another column.

Ohio Farmer.—We call attention to the prospectus of this excellent paper. It is conducted with ability and spirit, and must prove an instructive companion in every farmer's household.

MR. HALE UPON MR. TOUCEY.

Mr. Toucey, of Connecticut, discussing with great elaborateness the question concerning the admission of Mr. Dixon, said the single question before the Senate was, Can a man resign after he is dead? Mr. Hale, the next day, quite happily hit off the solemn blunder of the Connecticut Senator:

"Something," he said, "occurred in the debates of the Senate yesterday, which I confess had induced a different opinion in my mind; and that was in listening to the remarks submitted by the honorable Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. Toucey.] I confess that the remarks with which he favored the Senate invested the subject with a new interest and presented it in new aspects, because he suggested, and I think with great truth and propriety, that there was a question back of the whole of this, which had never yet been presented to the consideration of the Senate, and, so far as he knew, had never been considered at all. Well, sir, I listened with a good deal of interest and a good deal of expectation, with an earnest desire for light, to know what this great question was that lay back of everything that had heretofore engaged the attention and become a part of the history of the Senate in all past time; and when he announced that the question which lay back of everything that had been mentioned, I acceded at once to everything which he said of it. He announced that question to be, whether a man could resign his Senatorial office after his death. I believe that in all the histories of debate; in all forensic clubs; in all academical associations; in all moot-courts; in all lyceums for the exercise of the ingenuity of youth who are training and disciplining themselves for forensic disputations, this question had never been started before. I believe that we are indebted entirely to the sagacity and fertility of imagination of the honorable Senator from Connecticut for the flashing upon us of this great question, which is to decide this whole matter.

"Sir, I confess that when I first heard the question, it struck me as entitled to everything that the Senator said about it. I had been contented heretofore, in the unsophisticated ignorance of my reflections, to rest with unshaken confidence upon the announcement of Revelation, that there is 'no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest;' and I had supposed that it was settled, not only by the experience of the living, but by the teachings of Revelation, that a dead man could not resign—that the most that he could do was to be resigned. [Laughter.] And if I had seen stalking into the Senate Chamber from the charnel-house the ghost of a departed Senator, coming here to tender his resignation, I should have said there was a question back even of the one that the honorable Senator from Connecticut has raised, and I should have exclaimed, in the language of the poet:

'O answer me!
Let me not burst in ignorance! but tell
Why thy canoniz'd bones, hearsed in death,
Have burst their cerements? Why the sepulchre,
Wherein we saw thee quietly inurned,
Hath op'd his pond'rous and marble jaws
To cast thee up again?'

"I should have called upon the ghost to answer that question before going into the consideration of the question, whether or not he had a right to resign. [Laughter.] I think that the Senate owe a debt of gratitude to the honorable Senator from Connecticut for stating this question so fully, and frankly, and freely, as he has done, and discussing it with the sagacity which he has brought to the consideration of so *grave* a question. [Laughter.]

"Can a dead man resign? I do not believe he can. The honorable Senator puts it in this way: 'Whether a Senator can resign his Senatorial office after death;' not whether a living man can make a resignation to take effect after his death, but whether he can resign after he is dead? Sir, I think this ought to go to a committee, [laughter;] that is to say, if there is any real doubt about it. But I am at a loss to know to what committee it ought to be referred. I do not see any appropriate committee on the list. I am not certain that this question would not be most appropriately considered by those members who stand outside of 'healthy organizations.' It being a question of death, those members who stand in the nearest relation to death—and they are those who are outside of healthy organizations—it seems to me, would be the most appropriate tribunal to consider it.

"I accede all the importance which is claimed to the question, and I suppose, coming from the source from which it does, considering the distinguished position which the honorable Senator from Connecticut has heretofore held as the law-officer of the Government, it must be regarded as the judicial view taken by the healthy organization which he represents, and as such I shall consider it.

"I am sorry that we are so destitute of precedents on such a question. Since it was started, I have looked through such authors as I could command that would be calculated to throw light upon the questions, and I cannot find that even in the vagaries of poetry, the thing has ever been started or discussed. I have endeavored to go back in my own recollection, and leaving the living world to go to the realms of sleep; but I confess, sir, that when reason lets go the rein, and the wildest vagaries of an unbridled imagination have run through my thoughts, the idea never presented itself, whether a dead man could resign? But I do not believe that, practically, the question requires decision at this time. I do not believe there are any dead men who will hereafter undertake to resign; and I think that until the case is presented, it is not worth while to waste our ingenuity in speculating upon such, to say the least, an improbable occurrence."

HAYTI—A SINGULAR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Towards the close of the last century, the French Government, in obedience to the spirit of Liberty which then controlled the nation, and for the purpose of saving their most valuable colony from England, liberated the slaves of St. Domingo. The freedmen manifested their gratitude by loyal acknowledgments, and attested their loyalty by preserving the island from the grasp of English power. Danger having passed by, the French Government, with characteristic caprice, attempted to re-enslave the islanders. What are called the "Horrors of St. Domingo" followed. The people would not be re-enslaved; a war of extermination sprung up; the planters were destroyed; the freedmen established at once their own freedom and the independence of the island.

St. Domingo became the Republic of Hayti, and for more than half a century has maintained its independence, either as a republic or a monarchy.

In the year 1822, a union was effected between the western portion of the island, inhabited by the French negroes, by far the more numerous and powerful, and the eastern portion, called Dominica, inhabited by the Spanish negroes.

Hayti, next to Cuba, is the largest of the West India islands, its area being estimated at 2,450 square miles. The French part of the island was supposed to contain, in 1789, a population of 524,000, of which 31,000 were whites; the Spanish part, it was estimated, contained 152,640, chiefly blacks and mulattoes. Humboldt reckoned the population of the whole island in 1824 at 820,000, 30,000 of whom were whites, not confined to any particular section.

Some years since, Dominica, pleading in justification the oppressive character of the Haytien Government, revolted, and declared independence. From that time an irregular war has been going on between the two parties, one endeavoring to re-establish its supremacy, the other to make good its revolt.

Of the conduct of the United States towards the Government of Hayti, no truly enlightened American can think without shame and indignation. Recognising the right of a People to resist oppression, to cast off the yoke of dependence, to assert an independent existence, and to determine their own government, and affirming as a rule of international intercourse that the *fact* of an independent existence entitles a People to recognition, we have never recognised or acknowledged Hayti as a member of the family of nations, though she has been an independent nation, without question, for more than half a century. We have thus been false to our own principles. Aware, too, of the great value of commerce with that island, of the importance of its trade, especially to the Northern section of the Union, we have refused to appoint consuls in its ports, or receive its consuls, as that act would imply recognition of its sovereignty. In this way we have sacrificed our commercial interests, and permitted England and France, who have long since acknowledged its independence, to obtain signal advantages over us in its ports. Had we promptly pursued this same reasonable policy, we should have escaped the dishonor of falsifying our own professions: we should have secured the largest portion of the rich trade of the island; and our influence, wisely directed, would have promoted among its people the cause of order and freedom, and prevented, most probably, the present destructive warfare between the hostile parties which divide the country.

We all know why this humane, wise, and beneficent policy has not been adopted; but it cannot be too often brought to the notice of the American People and of Christendom. It is because the slaveholders, controlling in this Republic the action of the Government, and looking mainly to the security of Slavery, deemed it necessary to maintain a perpetual protest against a revolution "by people of African extraction," and to exclude from our shores the representatives of a sovereignty established by such a people. They cared nothing for the consistency of our Government—nothing for the general cause of humanity—nothing for the commercial interests of the country—*their* prejudices, the security of *their* local system, would not tolerate the idea of a recognition of Haytien independence; and so our Government, as *their* organ, refused recognition.

That's the whole of it.

Adopting this exceptional, sectional, and petty policy, common decency required that we should at least let that proscribed people alone. It was ungenerous not to recognise them; it was base to plot against their peace. And yet this very thing our Government has been doing. From the time when Dominica revolted, it would seem that it has been busy, by its emissaries, fomenting the rebellion. What meant the mission of Mr. Hogan to Dominica, while John C. Calhoun was Secretary of State? What meant the reports, so busily circulated after his return, in the New York *Herald*, and kindred prints, of a *white* Republic on the eastern part of the Island of Hayti? What meant the cool prophecies of those prints, that the white race would yet have to interfere for the cause of humanity, and re-subjugate or exterminate the blacks of Hayti, fast relapsing into barbarism?

One Administration after another had its special agents or emissaries there. Mr. Green, a son of General Duff Green, of annexation memory, was employed by Mr. Clayton. Was it the information he obtained that has stimulated the enterprise, lately announced by his father, of the colonization of Hayti by adventurers from this country?* Mr. R. M. Walsh was employed by Mr. Webster, acting under direction of the present Administration. This mission, and the means of its accomplishment, has lately been made public. During the last session of Congress, the Senate made a call upon the President for copies of the correspondence of Mr. Walsh, "while acting as a special agent of the United States in the island of St. Domingo." On the 27th of August the correspondence was communicated, but it was first published, we believe, in the New York *Evening Post* of the 13th inst.

It is a curious diplomatic chapter, anything but creditable to our Government; and it shows how utterly untrue the present Administration has been to its high-sounding professions of Non-Intervention.

We propose to make a brief abstract of the correspondence, that our readers may understand the officiousness of the Government in intermeddling with the affairs of a People whose independent existence it has never recognised; that they may see how bravely we can interfere with the domestic concerns of an independent nation, when it happens to be a very feeble one: and that they may appreciate the sincerity of that class of American statesmen who are forever protesting against all entangling alliances with foreign powers, and appear to shrink with horror from any co-operation with Great Britain and France in any movement relating to the affairs of this hemisphere.

We first present, in full, the letter of instructions from Mr. Webster to R. M. Walsh:

Mr. Webster to Mr. Walsh.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *January* 18, 1851.

SIR: In a circular note to your predecessor, Mr. B. E. Green, of the 22d of February last, and to the British and French consuls at the city of St. Domingo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic solicited the mediation of the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain, for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the Empire of Hayti and that Republic. It is presumed that a copy of the circular was forthwith communicated to their respective Governments by the two last named functionaries, for in a note to the Department, of the 11th May last, Sir Henry L. Bulwer, her Britannic Majesty's Minister here, stated that he had been instructed to represent that the French Government had expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States, for the purpose adverted to, and suggested a course to be pursued. Mr. Clayton replied, under date the 20th of May, that upon the return of Mr. Green to Washington, his correspondence would be submitted to the Senate with a nomination of a chargé d'affaires to the Dominican republic, and that if the nomination should be confirmed, the President would be prepared to co-operate with the Governments of England and France in the manner and for the purpose suggested. The short interval which elapsed between the return of Mr. Green and the decease of President Taylor, combined with other circumstances, prevented the nomination referred to, and it has since, upon reconsideration, been deemed expedient to confide the business, on the part of this Government, to a special agent. You have accordingly been selected to act in that character. You will herewith receive letters from Sir Henry L. Bulwer and M. Boislecomte, introducing you to the consuls of Great Britain and France, respectively, at Port au Prince and the city of St. Domingo. You will also receive a copy of the instructions which, pursuant to orders from his Government, Sir Henry proposes to address Mr. Usher, the British consul at Port au Prince; and I am assured by M. Boislecomte, that his Government will address instructions of a similar tenor to the consul of France at the same place. The motives and objects of the intervening parties are so clearly and luminously set forth in these instructions, that it is unnecessary for me to advert to them. *I entirely concur in the views which they express, and expect that you will be governed by them.* On arriving at Port au Prince, you will accordingly seek a conference with Mr. Usher and the consul of France, upon the subject of your mission, and particularly with a view of inducing the Emperor Soulouque to consent to a lengthened truce, or a permanent peace with the Dominicans. As in co-operating for this end the three Governments are actuated by philanthropic views, to which they believe any material interests which all or either may have in the question are quite subordinate, you will endeavor, in all your communications with your colleagues, and with either the Dominican or the Haytien Governments, to keep your mind free from any prejudice resulting from color or forms of Government. You will not deny justice to the Emperor Soulouque, because he and his subjects are of African extraction, and his Government professes to be monarchical; and you will not be partial in your judgments in favor of the Dominican Government, because its officers are supposed to be for the most part of the Castilian race, and because it claims to be republican in its form.

The material interests of the three countries, however, are largely involved in the restoration and preservation of peace between the contending parties in St. Domingo. France is a creditor of the Government of the Emperor Soulouque to a large amount. She cannot hope for a discharge of her debt, when the resources of his country, instead of being developed by pacific pursuits, and in part at least applied to that purpose, are checked in their growth, and wasted in a war with a conterminous state. Great Britain and France are both interested in securing that great additional demand for their productions, which must result from the impulse to be expected for industry in Hayti and the Dominican Republic from a termination of the war; and the United States have a similar interest, both from the augmentation of their trade with the island, which would then ensue, and from the consideration that their commercial prosperity is intimately connected with that of both France and Great Britain. When, therefore, you shall have held free and full conferences with your colleagues, and shall have ascertained the reciprocal claims of the parties to the war, if the Emperor Soulouque shall insist upon maintaining a belligerent attitude until all his demands shall have been satisfied by the opposite party, you will unite with your colleagues in remonstrating against this course on his part. If the remonstrance should prove to be unavailing, you will signify to the Emperor that you shall give immediate notice to your Government, *that the President, with the concurrence of Congress, may adopt such measures, in co-operation with the Governments of England and France, as may cause the intervention of the three powers to be expected;* and you will lose no time in communicating the result to this Department. The Emperor should be made properly aware of the dangers which he and his country may encounter, if he should be unfortunately advised to reject reasonable terms of pacification; but you will stop at remonstrance until further orders.

If, however, your joint and concurrent representations should induce the Emperor Soulouque to make an abatement of his demands, which you and your colleagues may deem reasonable, you will, in concert with them, make this known to the Dominican Government, and will recommend their adoption of a peace on that basis. You will, however, give a patient hearing to any objections which that Government may advance, and if you and your colleagues should deem those objections solid, you will communicate them to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hayti, and will require from him an answer to them. If this answer should not be given within a reasonable time, or if when given it should not prove to be satisfactory, *you will then, conjointly with your colleagues,* REQUIRE *the Emperor to conclude a permanent peace with the Dominican Government, upon the basis which you may jointly prescribe to him*, or to consent to a truce with that Government of not less than ten years.

You will write to the Department as frequently as opportunities may permit, in order that, if further instructions should be necessary, they may, after consultation with the Ministers of Great Britain and France, be transmitted accordingly. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, DANIEL WEBSTER.

To R. M. Walsh, Esq., &c., &c.

Here is Intervention with a vengeance—Intervention by remonstrance—Intervention by mandate, requiring the Haytien Government to conclude peace on a certain basis—Intervention by menace of a resort to coercive measures—Intervention, hatatory, mandatory, minatory, in conjunction with England and France, and this, too, in the concerns of an independent State which we have never recognised!

Next follow the letters of instructions from the British and French Ministers, in which the British and French Consuls are authorized to menace force, if necessary to make their requisitions effective. "I entirely concur," says Mr. Webster, "in the views which they express, and expect that you will be governed by them!"

January 18, 1851, Mr. Webster writes to Mr. Walsh in relation to the appointment of Consuls. On the application of Mr. Green, who had been instructed "to propose to the Haytien Government an arrangement for the reciprocal recognition of United States Consuls in Hayti, and Haytien Consuls in the United States," the arrangement not to be binding on the United States "till made known here for consideration," the commercial agents of this country had been recognised in Hayti as Consuls. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Hayti informed our Government of this fact, and of the appointment of B. C. Clark as Haytien Consul in Boston, and requested his recognition—a most reasonable request, when it is considered that the overture for such an arrangement had proceeded from the United States. But the star of Slavery is in the ascendant. Mr. Webster writes to Mr. Walsh—

"With this request we are not prepared to comply; but we are willing that he or any other person, *not of African extraction*, should be appointed commercial agent of Hayti at Boston, or any other United States port where Haytien commerce may be supposed to require."

February 5, 1851, Mr. Walsh writes from Port au Prince, somewhat in detail, respecting his voyage, his arrival, his reception, and the character and appearance of Faustin I and his court, in a style rather flippant for a State paper.

February 16, Mr. Walsh writes, that having had an interview with the Consuls of England and France, he learned that, all other efforts having proved failures, they had sent a communication to the Government, requiring it to agree to a truce of ten years, and avowing the intention of their respective Governments to enforce this demand *vi et armis*. It was concluded that Mr. Walsh should have a personal interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and "talk to him in the plainest manner," &c. The interview was obtained, and the letter of Mr. Walsh recites what passed. "The principle is now fully established," he said, "that the actual possession of independence for a reasonable time, enables a nation to be acknowledged as sovereign. This is the principle which the American world has especially consecrated, and must ever uphold." The Minister of Foreign Affairs must have thought Mr. Walsh a very intelligent and truth-loving gentleman, when he recollected how carefully the American Government had observed this principle in its conduct towards Hayti.

Mr. Walsh discussed the matter at length, justifying Dominica in the position it had assumed, now and then intermingling what he considered happy touches of humor. "I referred, playfully," he says, "to the English proverb of a burnt child dreading the fire, and in the phrase of ancient Pistol discussed the same in French unto him, which somewhat relaxed the severity of his ministerial brow."

But, the logic, eloquence, and wit, of the special agent were thrown away:

"He persisted in declaring that the Emperor would never abandon his rights, and said that even if he should consent to do so, his people would not permit it."

The allied powers now came to the conclusion that it was useless to waste any more time in discussion. So they sent in another missile to the Government, demanding "a categorical answer to the following proposition—a definite treaty of peace, or a truce of ten years, between the Empire of Hayti and the Dominican Republic"—and closing as follows:

"The undersigned cannot doubt that the Government of his imperial Majesty, in the face of such a declaration, will decide at last upon the only course which it can adopt in order to avoid the consequences that may result from any longer persistence in its resolution to destroy the nationality of St. Domingo."

Appended is the name of Mr. Special Agent Walsh, followed by those of the English and French Consuls.

The Emperor Faustin did not appear to be greatly disturbed by this formidable paper, and took no notice of it. Thereupon Mr. Walsh and the allied powers called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ask when they might expect an answer. The Minister informed them that their demand, if complied with, would involve a breach of the Constitution, and his Majesty must therefore first consult with the Senate, which would not meet till near the close of March. They urged immediate action. He was immovable, and told them "his Majesty would do nothing without consulting the Senate, his first duty being to guard and preserve the Constitution." Mr. Walsh (as he says in his despatch to Mr. Webster, March 9,) thought he "might try the effect of an argument which he took care to represent as wholly unofficial:

"The day before I left Norfolk, I was told by a friend that he had been offered a command in an expedition, which was contemplated to go to St. Domingo and assist its inhabitants against the Haytiens. This fact I communicated to the Minister with all plausible emphasis, dwelling upon the perilous probability that should such an expedition ever land upon the island, all the miseries and horrors with which the Emperor was now threatening the Dominicans would be brought to his own door; that the desperadoes composing it would never rest until they had exhausted every effort to overwhelm the Empire, and that, even if they should fail in destroying it, the evils they would suffer would be almost equivalent to ruin. The only sure way, I added, to arrest the danger, was to conclude a peace, and by thus depriving the expedition of the lawful motive of lending aid to a people whose independence was wrongfully assailed, it would become the duty of the United States to prevent it from leaving their shores.

"The chord was one which seemed to vibrate more strongly than any other, for the Government has been in great dread of such an expedition ever since the attack upon Cuba. I begged the Minister, therefore, to inform his Majesty of what I had said, in order that he might fully appreciate all the dangers of procrastination; and this he assured me he would do."

Filibustering intervention, this. The statement of Mr. Walsh throws some light upon the enterprise of General Green. Has our Government been as vigilant in looking after this expedition as the movements of the Cuban plotters?

Subsequently, the following note was received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

PORT AU PRINCE, *Feb.* 21, 1851.

The Minister of Foreign Relations of Hayti has had the honor to receive your collective note, dated the 11th instant, in which you request from the Government of his Majesty a categorical answer to the propositions made by you in the name of your three Governments, in regard to the question of the eastern part of the island.

The questions raised by this note are of the gravest nature, and the Government of his Majesty believes that they ought to be maturely considered and seriously treated; and it has just appointed a commission, composed of Messrs. A. La Rochel, D. Labonté, N. V. Plesance, Senators, and Mr. Laforestrie, in order to come to an understanding with you concerning the object of your communication.

The undersigned, &c., &c., L. DUFRERE.

The allied powers demurred to this—they wanted no more discussion. The Minister of Foreign Affairs replied firmly—

PORT AU PRINCE, *Feb.* 24, 1851.

The Minister of Foreign Relations of Hayti has had the honor to receive the note of the agents, &c., &c., dated the 1st instant, in which they decline all discussion of the propositions which they have presented in the name of their Governments.

Those propositions raise too serious questions, and those questions are too vital, not to give the Government of his Majesty at least the right of knowing the reason and the motives of them, and of having the satisfaction of not taking, in regard to them, any resolution whatever, unless with full comprehension and after mature deliberation.

The Government of his Majesty insists, therefore, that its commission should confer with the agents of the three Powers concerning the object of their note of the 11th instant.

L. DUFRERE.

Further negotiation took place, in which the Haytien Government proved itself more than a match for the allied powers. The final resolve of Faustin was announced to them, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 13, as follows:

"This reply contains the resolution of his Majesty's Government, in accordance with that of the legislative body.

"The Constitution does not permit the Haytien Government to subscribe to the first proposition of the three Powers, because, by so doing, it would violate Articles 1, 4, and 116, of that Constitution, and consent to the alienation of a part of the territory of the Empire.

"The second proposition, which tends in effect to the same result, cannot either be accepted by the Haytien Government, for the aforesaid reasons.

"Nevertheless, deeming it a matter of urgency to give a solution to the question of the east, and to arrive, by some means compatible with the rights, the interests, and the dignity of the nation, and a definite pacification of the island, the Haytien Government, actuated by the principles of humanity, in the name of which the three Powers have interfered in the dispute, proposes that all the points of difference be regulated and settled by deputies, named for the purpose by the two parties, in equal number on both sides, and that the decision be effected under the mediation and guaranty of the representatives of the three Powers.

"The Government of his Majesty takes upon itself, besides, the engagement, from the present moment, of continuing the truce which exists, in fact, since the commencement of the negotiations to this day. In testimony of its desire of peace and conciliation, it further proposes to the inhabitants of the east, that relations of commerce and friendship should be immediately re-established between them and the rest of the Empire.

"The desire of a pacific solution so clearly manifested by the Haytien Government, the importance of the commercial relations and of the interests of the three Powers with Hayti, the kindly intercourse of constant friendship between the latter and the Governments represented by the three agents, the principles of the strictest justice and of the impartiality of mediators, who, in an arrangement between two parties to be reconciled, cannot exact from one of them, exclusively, sacrifices incompatible with its existence—all give to the Government of his Majesty the hope that the agents of the three Governments will second its desire of pacifying definitely the east, but on equitable conditions."

Even the Norfolk expedition had failed to intimidate his sable Majesty.

The upshot of it was, that Mr. Walsh came home at the expiration of his four months' mission; and thus terminated this ridiculous chapter in our diplomatic history.

There is an episode connected with it, however, that must not be forgotten. We have referred to Mr. Webster's letter in relation to consular appointments. Mr. Walsh undertook to communicate the substance of it to the Haytien Government, and received a dignified rebuke, which greatly offended his delicacy. In his despatch to Mr. Webster, March 27, he says—

"The Haytien Government, it seems, took great umbrage at the phrase in my first note—'not of African extraction'—which I transcribed from your instructions; and after nourishing its anger for nearly a fortnight, gave vent to it in expressions which appeared to me so impertinent as to call for immediate rebuke. I trust that my reply will meet with your approval, especially as I know that it has had a good effect."

We submit the whole correspondence, and the enlightened reader will be at no loss to determine which was the impertinent party. The language of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is dignified, and though it conveys an intense rebuke, it is marked throughout by great courtesy:

Mr. Walsh to the Minister of Foreign Relations.

PORT AU PRINCE, *March* 14, 1851.

The undersigned begs leave to say to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that some time since he addressed, under instructions from his Government, a note to his excellency, in regard to the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark as Haytien consul at Boston. No notice whatever having been taken of that note, the undersigned finds himself under the necessity of requesting at least an acknowledgment of its receipt, a courtesy which he is willing to believe has only been neglected in consequence of the multiplicity of business which occupies his excellency's attention.

The undersigned will avail himself of the opportunity to say also to the Minister, that, as the period to which his mission is limited is drawing to a close, he trusts that the Haytien Government will use all possible expedition in giving an answer to the proposition of the three powers in regard to the pacification of the island, and that it will be such as they desire to receive. He would *warn the Government for the last time, in the most earnest and emphatic manner, against any attack upon the Dominican Republic*. It may be assured that *any attempt of the kind will only result in disaster to itself*. He cannot, however, permit himself to suppose that it will be so insensible to the commonest dictates of prudence and reason as to sacrifice, in pursuit of a wholly unjustifiable and unattainable object, the respect and friendship of the three powers, whose good will is so essential for the welfare of the Haytien empire and people. The undersigned, &c., &c.,

R. M. WALSH.

To his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Translation.]

The Minister of Foreign Relations to Mr. Walsh.

PORT AU PRINCE, *March* 26, 1851.

SIR: I have had the honor of receiving your two notes, of the 14th and 24th instant, in which you transmit to me the remarks of your Government upon the title of Haytien consul, taken by Mr. B. C. Clark, of Boston.

The Government of his Majesty, understanding the prejudices existing in the United States against men of the African race, and lamenting such a state of things in so civilized a country, with which Hayti entertains relations of friendship, has never throught of having itself represented near it by one of its subjects.

The appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark, at Boston, explains sufficiently that it knew well enough what it had to expect, in this regard, to be spared the notification thereof. As to the considerations with which you conclude your last letter, I can only say that I have noted them. I wish in no respect to anticipate the decision of the country, which will undoubtedly show itself through the medium of its representatives.

I renew to you, sir, the assurance of my high consideration. L. DUFRERE,

The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. R. M. Walsh, Special Agent of the United States, Port au Prince.

Mr. Walsh to the Minister of Foreign Relations.

PORT AU PRINCE, *March* 27, 1851.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive this morning your note of the 26th instant, in reply to those which I addressed to you on the 14th and 24th.

The object of my Government in directing me to make the communication which I sent to the Government of Hayti, in regard to the appointment of Mr. B. C. Clark as Haytien consul at Boston, was simply to state a fact which it is necessary that the latter Government should understand, in order that the relations between the two may be clearly defined. Nothing was further from its intention than to say aught in the least calculated to wound the sensibilities of the Haytien Government or people, and nothing *was* said to give the slightest justification for the remarks which you have permitted yourself to make—remarks not only gratuitously discourteous, but which come with peculiarly bad grace from a Government that denies the most ordinary privileges to all who are of a different race from its own.

If the prejudices to which the Haytien Government has so improperly alluded do still exist, it is attributable in no small degree to that Government itself. When it devotes its energies to the successful cultivation of the acts of peace, instead of desolating one of the fairest portions of the earth with ruthless and insensate strife; when it exhibits a spectacle of national prosperity and enlightenment, which shall command the respect of the civilized world; when it does this, it will materially assist in dislodging those "prejudices" by proving that they are radically unjust. Until then, it cannot be entitled to denounce in any way the "state of things" of which it has ventered officially to deplore the existence in "a country so civilized as the United States."

R. M. WALSH.

His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

We hope when our Government shall again send a special agent to Hayti, it will take care to select one who shall at least be equal in diplomatic tact and gentlemanly bearing to Monsieur L. Dufrere.

But we have not yet reached the final result of our indefensible conduct towards Hayti. As we have already said, had we recognised her independence, and exchanged with her the usual international courtesies, we should have enjoyed the largest portion of her valuable trade, and obtained an influence over her, beneficial to her internal interests, and protective against foreign aggression. In obedience to a blind and bigoted sectional Interest, we have pursued an opposite policy, and now retribution is about to overtake us. We have interfered impertinently in her domestic affairs, we have united with foreign Governments in bullying her—and now, one of these Governments, if the latest intelligence be correct, has taken possession of a most important station on the island, on pretence of making its intervention for Dominica more effective, but in reality with a view to secure a most important naval station, close upon our shores. Samana has been taken possession of by the French, by whom, it is stated, it is to be held as a naval station. And its positien is such, that it will enable France to keep an eye upon our commerce, and, in the event of war, facilitate hostile movements against our shores. And this is the result of negro-phobia—of Slavery domination—of pro-slavery diplomacy—of the base policy which we have pursued towards that important island. The spirit of [illegible] and Hayti is placed at the mercy of a European Government, in whose hands it may be used as an engine against us.

Why is the *Washington Union* so meek at this encroachment upon our sphere? It was ready, a few months since, to go to war, if France or England attempted to obtain the slightest foothold in Cuba. France has secured foothold in Hayti, but the patriotic *Union* is tranquil!

Well; it may be the French aggression is the legitimate result of the domination of Slavery in our legislation and our diplomacy. And yet so in love with this beneficent rule are the two old parties, that they have agreed to proscribe, as unfit for political position, any man, whatever his public services, or capacity for usefulness, who will not bend the knee to that exacting Tyrant.

How long will the People tolerate such rule and misrule?

THE OCCUPATION OF SAMANA BY THE FRENCH: MONROE DOCTRINE OF NON-INTERVENTION.

We notice in our exchanges a statement copied from the *Phare*, a French journal, published in New York, explaining a transaction, which though a gross violation of the Monroe principle of non-intervention, has aroused very little indignation in our neighbors of the Washington *Union*. The substance of it is this:

When in the year 1842 Dominica revolted, it looked about for foreign support. Spain could not grant it—England and the United States were totally alien, as well as liable to suspicion on account of their annexation propensities—France was the only Power from which it could expect protection. Negotiations were accordingly opened—Louis Philippe hesitated—at last, a treaty was signed on the following basis:

First. France should lend an effective support to the new Dominican Republic, as well to conquer its absolute independence as to maintain it.

Second. The Dominican Republic should yield to France the peninsula of Samana, to found a permanent establishment.

Third. The French Governor of the establishment of Samana should be the direct personification of the protectorate, accorded by France to the Dominican Republic, and should be invested with full powers to this effect.

This treaty, accepted by M. Ferdinand Barrot, was ratified at Paris early in 1844. Soon after, France fulfilled the first engagement it had assumed, by causing the Dominican movement to be supported by Vice Admiral de Moges, commander of the West India squadron.

The other engagements remained unfulfilled, France hesitating to occupy Samana, afraid, we presume, of raising troublesome questions with the United States. Meantime, the Dominican Government was importunate, praying France "to choose between the powers of a single protectorate, the conditions of present ownership, or even the absolute sovereignty of the young Republic."

At last, Louis Napoleon makes amends for past delays, and occupies the peninsula of Samana, thus fulfilling the rest of the engagements contained in the treaty of December 22, 1843.

This is the statement of an interested party. Of course, France does nothing which a loyal Frenchman will not justify by the highest reasons.

We shall doubt whether the Dominican Government has been so importunate for her protection, until we hear the other side.

But whether the statement of the *Phare* be true or false, if the accounts which have reached this country be correct, France has taken possession of Samana—in other words, a European Government, ambitious of universal empire, has colonized a portion of the New World, in defiance of the declaration first made by Mr. Monroe, then repeated by Mr. Polk, and almost universally sanctioned by the Democratic party. The declaration of Mr. Monroe was as follows:

"We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part *to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with *the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged*, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, *or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.*"

As this country has not acknowledged the independence of Dominica, it may be alleged that the declaration does not apply to the interference of France, with that Government. This is true, as to its *terms*, but not its spirit. The principle was meant to apply to any case of foreign interference with the concerns of any independent Government in this hemisphere, with a view to control its destinies.

Mr. Polk's re-affirmation of the principle, was claimed by the Democratic party to present it in its true bearings.

"The United States," he says, "sincerely desirous of preserving relations of good understanding with all nations, *cannot in silence permit any European interference on the North American continent, and should any such interference be attempted, will be ready to resist it at any and all hazards.* It is well known to the American people and to all nations, that this Government has never interfered with the relations subsisting between other Governments. We have never made ourselves parties to their wars or their alliances; we have not sought their territories by conquest; we have not mingled with parties in their domestic struggles; and believing our own form of Government to be the best, we have never attempted to propagate it by intrigues, by diplomacy, or by force. We may claim on this continent a like exemption from European interference. The nations of America are equally sovereign and independent with those of Europe. They possess the same rights, independent of all foreign interposition, to make war, to conclude peace, and to regulate their internal affairs. The people of the United States cannot, therefore, *view with indifference attempts of European powers to interfere with the independent action of the nations on this continent.* The American system of Government is entirely different from that of Europe. Jealousy among the different sovereigns of Europe, lest any one of them might become too powerful for the rest, has caused them anxiously to desire the establishment of what they term the 'balance of power.'

"It cannot be permitted to have any application on the North American continent, and especially to the United States. We must ever maintain the principle that the people of this continent alone have the right to decide their own destiny. Should any portion of them, constituting an independent State, propose to unite themselves with our Confederacy, this will be a question for them and us to determine, without any foreign interposition. We can never consent that European powers shall interfere to prevent such a union, because it might disturb the 'balance of power' which they may desire to maintain upon this continent. Near a quarter of a century ago, the principle was distinctly announced to the world in the annual message of one of my predecessors, that '*the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.* This principle will apply with greatly increased force, should any European power attempt to establish any new colony in North America.'

"In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe, and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom and sound policy. The reassertion of this principle, especially in reference to North America, is, at this day, but the promulgation of a policy which no European power should cherish the disposition to resist. Existing rights of every European nation should be respected; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and *that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent.*"

Hayti is a portion of North America—the West India islands are appendages of the North American continent—"a European colony" has just been established in one of them by France. The question now is, what will the Government of this country do? It is pledged by its declarations to resist such colonization and such interference as that undertaken by France. Shall the pledge be fulfilled? Shall France be called upon to give up Samana; to abandon the protectorate she has raised over an independent Government of this hemisphere? And if she refuse compliance, shall we go to war, or expose ourselves to the ridicule of the world, by shrinking from the fulfilment of our pledge?

Can we shut our eyes to the causes which have placed us in this dilemma? A prompt recognition of Hayti, and the extension of the usual international courtesies towards her would have prevented such a state of things. But we have played the fool in obedience to Slavery; we have used our influence against the Haytien Government; we have countenanced, if not fostered, disaffection and revolt; and, now, this very revolt is used as a pretext by an ambitious European Power, to gain foothold in this hemisphere, to plant a new colony, with a view doubtless to set bounds to the empire of this Republic. And, now, as the ultimate result of the working of this infernal Element of Evil in our Government, we must either fight, or be branded as coward and recreant in the face of the civilized world.

What shall be said of the Washington *Union*, the loud declaimer in favor of the Monroe declaration, when Cuba was concerned? It is delighted with the intervention of Mr. Fillmore in the affairs of Hayti—in other words, with a transaction in which the United States have beaten the bush, while France has bagged the game. "It originated," says that paper, "in an impulse of humanity, and sought to protect a civilized country from the oppression and ferocity of a bloodthirsty savage. The mission of Mr. Walsh was a mission of peace and true philanthropy."

O, most vigilant guardian of American interests and Honor!

DR. NICHOLS'S "ESOTERIC ANTHROPOLOGY."

GENTLEMEN: I write to correct some misapprehensions respecting my book advertised in your columns. It is not "professional" in the sense of being technical, or intended for the medical profession. It is for all, male and female, who wish to study life as a science, and do not fear to penetrate its deepest mysteries. It is not devoted to any speciality in Physiology, or disease, but is a nearly universal as a book of 450 pages can be, containing much that was never before written. I cannot briefly give my reasons for requiring that every copy be obtained directly of me, but they will be appreciated by every reader. T. L. NICHOLS, M. D.

PORT CHESTER, N. Y.

* Of this undertaking we have as yet caught mere glimpses. It is thus referred to in a late number of the *Alexandria Gazette*:

"A manifesto of General Duff Green developes a notable plan for the colonization and subjugation of the island of St. Domingo. He proposes to accomplish a task which the French Government some years since attempted, but which even the genius of Napoleon could not consummate. But it seems Gen. Green's plan also contemplates ulterior objects. After subjugating the Haytiens and dethroning his sable Majesty, Soulouque, the General will next turn his attention to the island of Cuba."