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# CUBA IN 1851;

CONTAINING

AUTHENTIC STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, AGRICULTURE AND  
COMMERCE OF THE ISLAND FOR A SERIES OF YEARS,

WITH

OFFICIAL AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

IN RELATION TO THE

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1850 AND 1851.

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NEW YORK:

STRINGER & TOWNSEND, 222 BROADWAY,

CORNER OF ANN STREET.

1851.

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P R E F A C E .

THE following work has been undertaken with a humble desire to disseminate, in a popular form, more general and correct information regarding the island of Cuba.

Recent events have drawn the attention, not only of our own citizens, to Cuban affairs, but have also attracted the serious notice of the leading journals and people of Europe.

The subject is not confined to the excitement of the moment growing out of the late transactions on the island. General Lopez and his party may be swept from existence, and undisturbed quiet apparently reign ; yet, the end will not be reached.

any serious considerations will force themselves upon the regard of the political economist, the philanthropist, and statesman, with respect to the future destiny of Cuba.

Those who look to the public weal of states, must understand the past, and learn from its experience, lessons to guide and light them in the path of the future.

The time will arrive, shape our course as we may, when the Cuban question will force itself upon our notice, and challenge the most grave consideration. It will, sooner or later, assume an importance of no ordinary interest. To be prepared for any turn it may take, and to steer a course that shall secure the safety, as well as the honor and interest of the country, should be the anxious desire of every American.

In the compilation of the statistical information of the island we have found some discrepancies as to the exactness of figures.

The census, with commercial and other statistical details, do not seem to have been arranged with such scrupulous care as matters of similar character are usually prepared in the United States, France, or England. Still, the results have generally proved more satisfactory than were reasonably to have been expected, considering that not much value is usually placed upon such knowledge by the mass, who are expected to aid in supplying it. The author has also to put in a plea for the indulgence of the reader. His time for composition has been exceedingly limited, and in the hurry of preparing the work for the press, he has been compelled to overlook, or to omit, many subjects that would likely have interested the reader. It was the irregular labor of a few days, confined to hours between the calls of other daily pursuits, or taken from the time usually allotted for sleep.

In arranging the plan of the work it was not deemed necessary to go back to the colonial history of the island, which is so fully set forth in Dr. Robertson's work, and dwelt upon in the publications of subsequent authors, including the work of Richard K. Kimball, Esq., entitled "Cuba and the Cubans." The object has been as far as possible to SET OUT MODERN CUBA to the latest moment of the present year before the public.

In treating with matters touching the late revolutionary movements, including those of Puerto Principe and Santiago, with the late expedition of Lopez, much difficulty was experienced in reconciling conflicting accounts, so as to arrive at a tolerable and intelligible narrative of facts.

And in some cases we have been compelled to give such statements as presented the best claims to probability, in the absence of more positive information.

THE AUTHOR.

## C U B A .

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THIS island retains the name given to it by the Indians or Aborigenes. It is about 800 miles long, by a variable breadth of from 25 to 130 miles.

According to Humboldt, it contains an area of 43,380 square miles ; while Mr. Turnbull estimates it as low as 32,807.

The extent of territory is put down by the statistics of 1850, at 731,773 caballerias, each caballeria being about 33 acres. Of this, 65,677 caballerias are under cultivation ; 99,615 consist of natural pasturage, 37,204 of artificial pasturage, 409,826 of woodlands. The balance, 189,255 caballerias, is barren or uncultivated land.

A ridge or cordillera of mountains stretches centrally through the island, from east to west, having strips of comparatively level land, of unequal width between their base and sea-shore.

The mountains are said to approach nearer the coast on the north, than on the south side.

The land immediately on the sea-shore and bays is generally low and flat, rising but little above the level of the sea.

The climate differs with the elevation of the country. On the northern mountain slopes of 300 to 400 feet above the level of the sea, during the prevalence of north winds in winter, frost and ice are sometimes seen, but no snow.

The hottest months of the year are July and August, when the mean temperature is said to be about 82° to 84° Fahr. The coldest months are December and January, when the tem-

perature ranges about  $10^{\circ}$  below that of the tropics at the same period.

The heat at the warmest season is much relieved by sea and land breezes.

The island is mostly exempt from hurricanes, so common in other West India islands.

The productions of the vegetable and animal kingdoms are too well known to require any detailed description.

The soil is known to be one of the most fertile in the world. The range of mountains referred to are chiefly composed of calcareous or limestone rock, which, after undergoing decomposition, is washed into the valleys and plains, where, mixing with clays and silicious earths, it forms the most fertile soil.

The greater part of the land on the island is said to be richer than the best portions of St. Domingo, or Guiana. Tobacco is a native of the island, while the finest mahogany abounds in the forest. It is needless to add that the island abounds in the finest tropical fruits of all kinds.

But the articles which are cultivated to the greatest extent, and form the chief staples, are sugar, tobacco and coffee; though indigo, rice, cotton, and Indian corn, can all be grown, such is the variety of the soil and climate.

The great fruitfulness and beauty of the island justly entitle it to be called "*The Queen of the Antilles.*"

The position of the island is remarkable. It stretches away in a sort of crescent from east to west, throwing its western end into a curve, as if to form an impregnable barrier to the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico, as though it, at some ancient period, had formed a part of the American continent, and had been severed on its north side from the Florida peninsula, by the wearing of the Gulf stream, and from Yucatan, on its southwestern point, by a current setting into the gulf.

Its political position, all concede to be vital to the United States, and especially so to the Valley of the Mississippi. This is apparent, from the slightest inspection of the map.







In the possession of a maritime power at war with the United States, our whole trade in the Gulf of Mexico, embracing that of New Orleans, would be at its mercy, as well as the safety of our intercourse with California by the various peninsular transits to the Pacific. The extent of our trade, including imports and exports passing on one side or the other of Cuba, and our California trade, probably amounts to over \$200,000,000 per annum. In the event of war with a strong maritime power, should the enemy occupy Havana on one side, and Yucatan on the other, he could do much towards destroying the trade of New Orleans. The exports which now leave the mouth of the Mississippi would—estimated at \$114,000,000 per annum—then be compelled to seek Atlantic ports, through the agency of railroads and canals connecting them with the western rivers. During the late war with Great Britain, cotton had to be wagoned from the Carolinas and Georgia, to Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Momentous as these political considerations are, yet, under existing treaties, American citizens have no right to invade Cuba with views of conquest. But when it becomes apparent that wide-spread disaffection prevails among the creole or native white population towards the government by which they are unmercifully oppressed, and it is known that portions of the people of the island have risen in rebellion, the citizens of the United States, then, have a perfect right to emigrate to the island, and to aid the insurgents in establishing their independence, and if captured, they cannot, under the laws of nations, be treated as pirates. Hence the brutal and summary execution of the fifty Americans was an act in direct violation of the laws of nations and of humanity.

A declaration made in advance of an intention to violate the laws of nations by a government, does not justify the commission of the act when the case arises; hence, the previous threats of the Government cannot be plead as an excuse for a deed of such gross barbarity. For further remarks on this subject we refer the reader to other parts of this work.

Before proceeding further it may be remarked that, beyond the copper mines at Cobre, near Santiago, worked by an English company; and others near Santa Clara, worked at one time by an American company, few minerals of value have been found on the island. In some localities coal is said to exist.

The copper mines in 1841 yielded about four millions of dollars' worth of ore, which was sent to England to be smelted. But the exactions of the Government were such that they greatly reduced the yield of the ore. An export duty of 5 per cent. was at first imposed upon the ore exported. Finally the exportation was prohibited unless shipped to old Spain, with a view of compelling it to be smelted in that country. These measures soon reduced the value of the ore from four millions in 1841 to about two millions in 1845, and the American company, we believe, ceased operations. Since then the Government has relaxed, and imposed the present duty of about \$1,75 per ton; but the former prosperity of the mines has not been restored.

The mountains it is supposed contain valuable minerals—but no geological survey of the island has been made.

The great and inexhaustible wealth of Cuba lies in her rich soil, which, under the influence of an active, intelligent, and free population, would soon be converted into the garden spot of the world.

As far back as 1837 the imports of Cuba were \$23,921,251.02, and the exports \$22,920,251. The total amount of revenue for the same year was \$9,056,231.06. Of the imports, \$1,373,962 were from England, and 6,541,955 from the United States—the exports to each country being in about the same relative proportion. It is remarkable how the growth of Cuba has grown up in trade and population *pari passu* with the growth of the United States.

In 1775, about the commencement of our revolution, we find the trade of the island insignificant and confined chiefly to the town of Santiago de Cuba on the south side. A writer states that, "It is only of late years that Cuba has assumed

an important position in the Spanish monarchy, yet, we venture to say, there has seldom been witnessed a more rapid advancement than this island has attained—far surpassing the other Spanish colonies with whom its prosperous state forms a painful contrast.”

The population at the respective periods has been as follows:

1775,	-	-	-	-	170,000
1791,	-	-	-	-	272,000
1817,	-	-	-	-	598,000
1827,	-	-	-	-	730,000
1841,	-	-	-	-	1,007,624
1846,	-	-	-	-	898,752*
1850,	-	-	-	-	1,247,230

Increase from 1775 to 1850, seventy-five years, 1,077,230.

The increase in the imports, exports, and revenues of the island has been no less remarkable.

Total imports, exports, and revenues of Cuba for 19 years from 1828 to 1847:

	1828.	
Imports.	Exports.	Revenues.
\$19,534,922	\$13,414,362	\$9,086,406
	1847.	
32,389,117	27,998,770	12,808,713
	Increase in 19 years.	
\$12,854,197	\$14,584,408	\$3,722,307

The imports and exports for 1848 fell off some, owing to the year '47 having been deficient in provisions and breadstuffs in Cuba, on account of a drought, &c. They were as follows for 1848: Imports, 25,435,565; exports, 26,077,068.

The above statistics exhibit a most extraordinary growth, and the greatest increase has been on the north side of the island next the United States.

In 1847 and 1848 the imports and exports of Cuba were divided between Spain, England, France, and the United States, as follows:

	1847.		1848.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
U. States,	\$ 10,892,335	8,880,040	6,933,538	8,285,928
Spain,	7,088,750	6,780,058	7,088,750	3,927,007
England,	6,389,936	7,240,880	4,974,545	7,064,798
France,	1,349,683	1,940,535	1,349,683	1,184,201

\* Probably incorrect.

The entries and clearances of vessels of the foregoing respective nations were as follows :

	1847.		1848.	
	Entries.	Clearances.	Entries.	Clearances.
United States,	2,012	1,722	1,733	1,611
Spain,	819	751	875	747
England,	563	489	670	348
France,	99	81	85	63

The exports of molasses from the following ports in 1849, were, with the exception of about 22,000 hogsheads, made to the United States : From Havana, 36,692 ; Matanzas, 68,597 ; Cardinas, 65,757. Total, 163,000 hhds. Of which about 141,046 were taken by the United States.

The foregoing statistics exhibit the great stake the United States has in Cuba.

It will be seen that our trade with her, both in imports and exports, vastly outstrips that of any other nation. While the number of vessels trading to the island in 1847, is more than double those of Spain, and exceeds those of England and France, both combined, more than four-fold ; *yet, an armed intervention, by those two powers, against us, in the affairs of Cuba, has been hinted at !!*

Cuba has been made, to a great extent, what she is by American trade and enterprise. Had the island been placed on the coast of Spain, or near the coast of Europe, even with her present soil and climate, does, or can any one believe, that her growth, within the past nineteen or twenty years, would have been so great as it has been in its present position near the United States ?

As a further proof of the great prosperity Cuba has derived from American trade, we have only to compare the growth, in population and commerce, of the towns on the north side of the island with those on the south side. We have only to state that the population, imports and exports of the towns of Havana, Matanzas and Cardinas, *alone*, on the north side, excel those of all the towns on the south side. The south-side towns, of which Cuba de Santiago is the chief, do not, in any respect, equal more

than about 25 per cent. of the trade of the island. Before American Independence, the principal trade of the island was conducted from the south side, through Santiago, which was most convenient to Jamaica and St. Domingo. A large number of Americans own estates in Cuba.

#### RAILROADS.

The first railroad was that opened from Havana to Guinez, forty-five miles, in 1839, and constructed under the direction of Mr. Cruger, an American engineer.

In 1848, the number of miles of railroad, it was supposed, in the aggregate, reached 285 miles, and 85 more were projected.

They connect Havana, by a main line and branches, to Guinez, and Batabano on the south side; Cardinas and Matanzas on the north side. From Cardinas to Jucaro, from Matanzas to Sabanilla and Colisco. From Neuvitas, a road extends to Puerto Principe; another from Cuba Santiago to the Copper Mines. Others are contemplated from Remedios to Cairbarien, and from Cienfuegos to Villa Clara, and also between other points on the island. The total amount invested in these roads is estimated to be between five and six millions of dollars.

It is believed that some of the Americans residing on the island, who enjoy *privileges* under the government, are opposed to its ever becoming annexed to the United States, fearing the competition of American enterprise.

#### TAXES.

The taxes of Cuba are enormous. In 1836, the government revenues amounted to \$9,227,266.02, and in 1847, they had increased to \$12,808,713. The government constantly augments the taxes in the most arbitrary manner. It is said, fearing the resistance of the people, they always augment the troops with every increase of taxation. A writer, speaking of Cuba in 1847, states that "the people are taxed beyond any other known community,—its half million of whites paying more than twelve millions annually, a trifling portion of which is expended on the island in other than means to keep them in subjection."

The tariff is exceedingly heavy, and operates very seriously upon produce from the United States. The tariff was increased, the present year (1851), both on exports and imports, and the number of troops increased about the same time, the pretext being the fear of a foreign invasion. The export duty (always a *direct tax on the producer*) on box sugars was raised from 50 cents per box to  $87\frac{1}{2}$ . On leaf tobacco it was raised to 25 cents per quintal. On the thousand cigars, 25 cents per thousand. And an additional amount of *one-seventh of one per cent.* on all imports in national vessels, and one per cent. on those in foreign vessels. This, added to one-half per cent. added in November 1850, makes it  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The aggregate duties by the late increase on all imports arriving in foreign vessels, now amount to  $35\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On foreign flour there is a fixed duty of \$10, to which, if we add the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., with other charges, the duty will amount to about \$10.50, swelling the cost to the consumer in Cuba to about \$16 per barrel. On flour from Spain, in Spanish vessels, the duty was formerly \$2.50 per barrel, increased since, it is said, to about \$6 per barrel. This enormous tax on flour prevents its use in the island, except by the wealthy classes.

The poor and oppressed creole whites are compelled to use the dry and insipid Casava root as a miserable substitute for bread. This exclusion of American flour from Cuba operates as a great drawback to American trade. If our flour was admitted at a moderate duty, it would augment our commerce with the island.

The importations of flour into Cuba in 1847 and 1848 were as follows:—

Imports of Flour.	1847.	1848.
From Spain,	175,870	212,944 bbls.
From America,	59,373	18,175 "
Total,	<u>235,243</u>	<u>231,119</u> "

It will be seen by this statement that the consumption of flour was less in 1848 than in 1847, and that the imports from the United States fell off to 18,175 in 1848. For the same year our



imports from Cuba exceeded our exports by \$1,352,390. Flour forms one among the largest articles of export with us. The estimation of its consumption among our people is put down at about *one and a half* barrels per head, per annum. Some estimate the consumption as high as eight bushels of wheat per head. But let us for the sake of calculation suppose the free population of Cuba are capable of consuming only one barrel per head, per annum. Now the free population of Cuba, including strangers, soldiers, &c., amounts to about 600,000. This would give rise to a demand, under a moderate duty, for 600,000 barrels of flour; valued at \$4.50 per barrel in the United States, would make the sum of \$2,700,000 per annum. If we allow half a barrel to each of the slaves—436,000—it would require 218,000 barrels, making a total for the island of 818,000, equal in value, at \$4.50 per barrel, to \$3,681,000. Can it be wondered at that the balance of trade is against us, when so large an article of our produce is excluded from the island? Under a fair tariff how could Castile, 4,000 miles off, compete with us within three or four days sail, and with such a vast supply of cheap flour? Hogs are subjected to a duty of six dollars each, and all other articles including bacon, lard, pork, &c., to about thirty-five and a half per cent., *ad valorem*. While these almost prohibitory duties are imposed upon our exports sent to Cuba, we only impose an *ad valorem* duty of about thirty per cent. on sugar, molasses, and tobacco, and admit their coffee duty free.

No foreign vessel under eighty tons can import goods into Cuba on deposit. The tonnage duties are \$1 50 per ton, for foreign vessels, or 75 cents for vessels carrying more than 1,000 hogsheads sugar, which were formerly much higher.

The \$12,000,000 revenue taxes are not the only plunder the people have to endure. The church comes in besides for its share.

*One-tenth* of all the *Ganado* (produce) of the farms, is paid to the church. Everything is taxed in Cuba, except the air the people breathe, and the light of the sun. The Government is

paid six per cent. on the gross amount of the sales of lands, mines, houses, negroes, &c., amounting to about four millions of dollars. There are taxes on domestic manufactures, on butchers' meat, lotteries, hucksters, and on the sale of papal bulls, stamp paper, cock and bull fights.

Foreigners landing in the island have to pay \$2 for a passport, and give security for good conduct, called "*Fiador*." His baggage is searched, and a Bible, if found with other contraband books, under the ban of the Church or Government, is taken from him. If he wishes to go into the interior he must pay two shillings more for a passport. When he leaves the island, he has to pay \$7.50 for the privilege. A free country indeed! What glorious liberty, which a certain class of Americans perhaps desire, to *see perpetuated forever!!*

The native white or creole population on the island is more than ten to one of the Spaniards, hence they feel and realize the monstrous oppressions of the government in all their force.

If the taxes gathered from the poor creatures were spent on the island in advancing their industrial and intellectual progress, it would be quite another affair, and render the monarchical authority more tolerable.

Estimating the taxes alone at twelve millions, and the population of the island at one million, it would make it equal to \$12 per head; but when levied on about five hundred and sixty thousand white inhabitants, it would be equal to the enormous sum of near \$24 per head—some authors have made the estimate as high as \$38 per head. The taxes in the United States for the support of the national government, direct and indirect, average only about \$2 per head. And that, included with taxes for state, local, and municipal purposes, in no part of the country probably exceeds \$5 per head. The Spaniards on the island are only about 35,000 strong, while that of the creole amounts to 520,000. The Spaniards as a class are rich, intelligent, aristocratic, and supercilious. They look down upon the creoles as an inferior race whom they wish to see kept in a state of ignorance,

dependence, and servitude. The fact is, Spain has struggled later and harder than any other power to keep up the feudal customs and laws of past ages ; she has done her best to preserve those despotic fetters which bind the minds and spirits of her subjects in unchanging ignorance and superstition. To make the subject the abject slave of two precious masters, kingcraft and priestcraft.

When the Spanish colonies of South America and Mexico gained their independence, such as unabated priestcraft permits it to be, and Florida with Louisiana fell into the possession of the United States, large numbers of loyal and wealthy Spanish Dons and noblemen abandoned them, and removed with all their effects, some to Spain, but a large number to Cuba, who carried with them also the feudal prejudices of their government. The 35,000 Spaniards of Cuba comprise a large number of families of this class, who are as loyal to the crown of Spain, and as scornful towards republicanism, as the American loyalists of Nova Scotia were at the close of our revolution. The inveterate innate pride of a Castilian Don peculiarly fits him for a disciple of feudalism. Hence they combine with the Spanish crown to keep the creoles in ignorance and degradation. Education in the island is at a very low ebb. In the whole population of about one million of souls in 1850, 605,560 of whom are white people, 205,570 free colored, there were only 222 schools, attended by 8,442 white children, and 540 free colored children ! And such schools ; a mere mockery of education ; a flummery of church dogmas and catechisms, with perhaps a little music and drawing to divert their minds from more serious and useful studies, such as would shed light on the truths of science, or upon their inalienable and sacred political, and social rights. The wealthy Spaniards send their sons to European colleges to become educated.

Is it wonderful then that the more intelligent of the enslaved creoles, who live in such close proximity to ourselves, who from the great trade and intercourse we have with the island, hear of

our liberty and progress, and witness the glorious results of our independence, and wide-spread intelligence, and freedom, should sigh to imitate our example, and to strike for their own independence, casting off forever the threadbare and tottering monarchy of Spain, which retains little of its former existence except its feudal oppression. And when they, though ignorant, feeble, and undisciplined as the creoles are, strike for liberty, is it *piracy* for citizens of the United States to aid them? And can they be butchered like dogs by Spanish authority without calling down the execrations of a civilized world?

Christian civilization demands the revolution of Cuba as a means of abolishing the slavetrade.

Mr. Turnbull, an *English author*, states, that the people of the island are opposed to the continuance of the African slavetrade, as our colonial governments were, including Virginia, whose House of Assembly passed an act against the continuance of it which the king refused to sanction. This formed one of our grievances set forth in the Declaration of Independence, saying the king refused to sanction laws of "the most wholesome character."

Mr. Turnbull affirms, that "*The trade is protected by the Spanish government for the purpose of retaining more securely in Her Catholic Majesty's obedience.*"

Another writer on Cuba states that the slave dealer pays the Governor General half an ounce of gold on each slave imported as a sort of "douceur," and that the amount has been doubled. He affirms that the Count d'Alcoy, the predecessor to *Concha*, received about \$200,000 from this source in a single year!

The cultivators of the soil believe that if the slavetrade were abolished their present slaves would be greatly enhanced in value. An able bodied negro man in Louisiana, worth from \$800 to \$1000, would bring only \$300 to \$400 in Cuba. The enhancement in their value would secure more humane and careful treatment.

But now, such are the facilities for obtaining slaves from

Africa that they are badly treated, and severely driven, hence their numbers soon become thinned, and require replenishing.

Mr. Turnbull, in 1838-39, estimated the average annual importation of African slaves into Cuba, at 23,000. Yet, from the census stated, the slave population has been nearly stationary, showing that the destruction of life is nearly equal to the births and the foreign importation combined. This is seen from the following table :

POPULATION IN 1841.			
	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
	418,291	152,838	436,495
		IN 1850.	
	565,560	204,570	436,100
Increase,	146,279	51,732	
Decrease,			395

In 1846 another table estimates the slaves as low as 323,779, which is probably an error.

We thus see, notwithstanding the annual importation of African slaves, that during the last nine years they have actually decreased 395, showing a fearful loss of human life attributed to the infernal traffic in African slaves. Surely if an end could be put to the slavetrade in Cuba by its independence, or annexation, the change should enlist the warmest support and sympathy of every sincere philanthropist in the United States, where no African slavetrade exists, and where the slaves being so much more valuable, and kindly treated, their increase has been quite rapid; keeping up about the same ratio as that of the whites in the Southern States, or rather exceeding it.

The increase in the slave population of the United States is shown by the following statement :

	1830.	1840.	1850.
Slaves,	2,009,045	2,487,213	3,122,873*
Increase,		478,170	635,661

Nearly 25 per cent. for each decade.

\* Official and estimated by the press.

The mortality among the blacks of Cuba is said to be large, and the natural increase small; owing to the sexes being unequal in number. The males greatly exceed the females, as it is likely more of them are introduced from Africa than females. By the census of 1846 there were set down 201,011 males to 122,748 females, in the proportion of nearly two to one. Had the slaves increased in Cuba as rapidly as in the United States for the last nine or ten years, the population would have augmented 100,000, instead of falling below the returns of 1841.

Abolish the slavetrade in Cuba, as the creoles wish, and the same results will follow. The very first grand result obtained by Cuban independence or annexation would be the total destruction of the slavetrade, the prevention of the annual subjugation of 23,000 miserable Africans, and their rescue from bondage and death; while the condition of the present 436,000 slaves, by an increase of value, would be greatly ameliorated and elevated. This would not be all; the spirit and love of knowledge would spring up in the island; schools and colleges multiply; a free press pour forth its echoes, and the mission of a higher, and nobler, God-like religion shed its undying and humanizing light abroad over every mountain top and fertilizing plain. Who shall say that God has not a great work to fulfill in the destiny of Cuba? And who shall say that the blood of fifty Americans drank by her soil, is not the first, yet mysterious link in the hand of Providence for carrying forward and accomplishing His own great and inscrutable purposes?

A strong objection has been made to the annexation of Cuba on the ground that it would greatly injure, if it did not destroy, the planting interest of the South, and particularly of Louisiana, in the cultivation of the sugar cane. No reasoning can be more fallacious.

At the present time the most formidable competition in Cuba which our southern planters have to contend against is not so much owing to her climate and soil as to cheap slave labor, and the cheap food on which they are fed, or rather starved: The differ-

ence of raising sugar with grown slaves at a cost of \$300 to \$400 per head in Cuba, and at a cost of \$800 to \$1000 per head in Louisiana, makes a wide difference, equal to more than 50 per cent., and which enables Cuba to supply our markets in opposition to our own planters. The cost of feeding and clothing our slaves, under kinder treatment, cost our planters probably 25 per cent. more than those of Cuba. What tariff short of prohibition can equalize these differences, which would oppress our own people. But let Cuba become independent, or annexed to the United States, and an end put to the African slavetrade, as would naturally follow, the negroes of Cuba would then rapidly advance in value to equal those of Louisiana; and by introducing our flour, meal, and provisions to feed them the expense of supporting them would also be more nearly equal, and hence the present unequal contest would cease.

We find the following among the official police regulations in force at Havana:

“All *colored persons, slaves or free*, that arrive from foreign countries, shall be sent immediately to a depot (prison) prepared by the government for that purpose, where they shall remain until the moment of leaving the island, or they can remain on board the vessel, provided the consignee will give a bond of \$1000, to be forfeited in case they leave her, which bond shall not be cancelled until the return of the boarding officer, on the departure of the vessel.”

This is a regulation, which we should think as deserving the attention of the English government, as that of the municipal authorities of Charleston; but so far, we have heard of no strong remonstrances being made to the government of Spain, regarding its exercise.

The fear, or the idea expressed by rumor, that Cuba cannot become independent, or annexed, without experiencing the horrible scenes of St. Domingo, is grossly absurd. And the threat thrown out by the Governor, that rather than Spain shall lose the government of Cuba, he would liberate the negroes, and

arm them, is as inhuman and barbarous in its conception, as it is futile and impracticable in execution. Cuba will neither be "Castile" long, and never "*St. Domingo*."

The circumstances of the two islands, and the advancement of power on the part of the white race, here and elsewhere, in steam-vessels and munitions of war, places the power of the blacks at a greater distance below them. A few armed Americans, with repeating arms, and flying artillery, would scatter tens, if not hundreds of blacks, to one of the whites. The revolution of *St. Domingo* occurred in 1793. In 1790, three years before, the population stood as follows: whites 38,831; blacks 431,429; free people of color 24,000; domestic slaves, negro mechanics, &c., 50,000. The comparative population of *St. Domingo*, on the eve of the revolution, and of Cuba at the present time, stands as follows:

	Whites.	Free Col.	Slaves.
Cuba in 1850, - - -	605,560	205,570	436,000
<i>St. Domingo</i> in 1790, - -	38,813		431,429
Free Col. 24,000			
Other pop. 50,000		74,000	
Difference,	566,729	131,570	4,571

For the Governor-General of Cuba to arm the blacks before the island became independent, would be to lose it. To do so afterwards, would be out of his power.

The relative wealth of the two islands at the periods named, stands as follows:

	Sugar E.	Coffee E.	Tobac. Plant.	Grazing F.	Cattle.
Cuba, 1850,	1,442	1,618	9,162	9,930	898,199
<i>St. Domingo</i> , '93,	*793	3,117			
		Indigo.	Cotton.	Various.	
<i>St. Domingo</i> ,		3,160	789	677	

This affords a most extraordinary contrast. We find that Cuba only contains 4,571 more slaves than *St. Domingo* did, while she possesses 566,729 more whites, and 131,570 more free people of color! Can the Governor-General, or the wildest fanatic,

\* The owners, it is said, of extensive estates in *St. Domingo* were not residents, and lived in France.



imagine that 436,000 slaves can put down, or conquer 600,000 whites, with the aid of Americans to back them?

Had St. Domingo escaped under the circumstances which surrounded her, the fact would have been more miraculous than her fall. With a small weak French population of 38,000, and they divided by the feuds which distracted the mother country, how were they to stand up against 431,000 blacks, declared free by a predominant fanatical abolition faction in the National Convention of France, with an Abbe Gregoire at its head? England seized upon the island, and when she finally withdrew her troops, the handful of French people were left defenceless, to be butchered indiscriminately by an excited mob of blacks, through the mere force of brutal numbers.

Not so with Cuba. Spain cannot give freedom to the blacks, without simultaneously giving liberty to the whites, when the latter, aided by Americans, would not only take care of themselves, but of the blacks and Spaniards also.

#### CURRENCY.

The currency of Cuba consists of gold and silver. The total amount of coin in 1842 amounted to about \$12,000,000.

The most of the gold coin circulates in doubloons, of \$17 government value. Formerly, the government compelled four pistareens to circulate for a dollar. These were called in finally, and now they pass at five to the dollar.

The imports of specie were in

	1841,	\$781,639	1842,	\$1,158,770
Exports	"	<u>1,092,671</u>	"	<u>1,290,661</u>
Excess exports,	"	311,032	"	131,890

In 1839, the excess of imports amounted to 481,375, and in 1840, to 209,126.

We have intimated before that the revenues gathered from the people of Cuba amounted at this time to above twelve millions of dollars per annum, which forms no doubt the chief support to the monarchy of Spain, gathered from her oppressed Cuban subjects. The creoles endure all the evils, in their worst form, of which we

complained when colonies, and for the redress of which we waged a seven years war. Among the chief of these evils is *taxation without representation*. The creoles of Cuba are not voters. They have not the slightest controlling voice in the Government under which they live. The authority of the Governor-General is vice-regal and despotic. He unites in himself all the functions of government, civil, judicial and military, and is only amenable to the crown. He feels no responsibility on account of the people. He is not one of them; but comes from a foreign country, to plunder and oppress them in behalf of the crown. And yet it is contended that the creoles are contented and happy under such a *despotism*! If so, it is the happiness and contentment of the serfs of Russia, and of all other countries secured by debasement, ignorance, and superstition, the cherished props of despotism all over the world. But all the creoles are not so debased; some have caught the fire of our own free institutions and struck for liberty, and neither God nor man will condemn those who aid them as *outlawed pirates*.

We proceed in the next place to give the divisions or departments of the island, with statistics of the population, sugar and coffee estates, number of towns, tobacco plantations, grazing farms, cattle, &c., from the census of 1850.

Cuba is divided into three departments:—

- 1st. The Western, of which Havana is the principal town.
- 2d. The Central, of which Puerto Principe is the chief town, with a Governor of the East, of subordinate jurisdiction to that of the Governor-General, but amenable to the court only.
- 3d. The Eastern Department, of which Santiago de Cuba is the principal town.

The Western Department is the most wealthy and populous part of the island, as will be seen by the following tables from the census of 1850.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.			
Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
325,500	88,300	320,500	734,030

Towns.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Estates.	Tobacco Plantations.	Grazing Farms.	Cattle.
157	735	1,012	3,990	1,741	267,033

## CENTRAL DEPARTMENT.

Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
153,000	42,500	50,500	246,000

Towns.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Estates.	Tobacco Plantations.	Grazing Farms.	Cattle.
46	404	76	967	4,881	458,166

## EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
87,060	74,770	65,100	226,930.

Towns.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Estates.	Tobacco Plantations.	Grazing Farms.	Cattle.
20	303	580	4,145	3,308	173,000

## AGGREGATE STATEMENT.

	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
Western Department	325,500	88,300	320,500	734,300
Central "	153,000	42,500	50,500	246,000
Eastern "	87,060	74,770	65,100	326,930
Total	565,560	204,570	436,100	1,207,230

Estimate for troops, strangers, &c., 40,000

	Towns.	Sugar Estates.	Coffee Estates.	Tobacco Plantations.	Grazing Farms.	Cattle.
Western Department	157	735	1,012	3,990	1,741	267,933
Central "	46	414	76	967	4,881	458,166
Eastern "	20	303	530	4,145	3,308	173,000
Total	223	1,442	1,618	9,102	9,930	898,199

The cultivation of sugar has steadily increased, while the coffee estates have diminished from about 2,000 in 1849, to 1,618 in 1850.

## Recapitulation and classification of the Island of Cuba in 1850 :

Creole or Native Whites,	520,000		
Spaniards,	35,000		
Troops and Marines,	23,000		
Foreigners,	10,560		
Floating Population,	17,000	605,560 Whites,	
Free Mulattoes,	118,200		
Free Blacks,	87,370	205,570 Free Colored.	
Slave Mulattoes,	11,100		
do. Blacks,	425,000	436,100 Slaves.	
Total,		1,247,230	

Number of Men estimated as capable of bearing Arms:

Creole Whites,	140,000	
do. Free Colored,	40,000	180,000
Spaniards,	20,000	
Spanish Troops	23,000	43,000
Slaves,	————	170,000
Total,		393,000

CHIEF TOWNS ON THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

NORTH SIDE.	Pop.	Departm't.	SOUTH SIDE.	Pop.	Departm't.
Havana,	200,000	Western.	Santiago		
Matanzas,	25,000	do.	de Cuba,	35,000	Eastern.
Cardinas,	5,000	do.	Mazanillo,	4,000	do.
Saguda Le Grande,	2,500	Central.	Trinidad,	15,000	Central.
S. Juan de los			San Spiritero,		
Remedios,	6,000	do.	interior,	12,000	do.
Villa Clara,			Cienfuegos,	5,200	do.
interior,	9,000	do.	Batabuno,	1,000	Western.
P. Principe, in the			San Juan,	1,000	do.
interior, with the					
Port Neuventus,	35,000	do.			
Holguin, interior,	5,000	Eastern.			
Baracoa,	4,000	do.			

The above towns, where not stated to be in the interior, are sea-ports. The names of a number of small places on the sea-coast are omitted.

Besides the general features of the main land there are a number of smaller islands scattered along the coast, both on its northern, western, and southern shores. The most important of these is the Isle of Pines on the south side, which is said to contain a population of 800 people, probably mostly occupied as fishermen.

By examining the map, it will be seen that the coast west of Havana is studded with a number of small islands, and indented with a number of bays. On the first bay is the small town of Mariel and fort; on the second is Cabanos, named after the bays on which they stand. The third bay is that of *Bahia Honda*, (*deep bay*) where Gen. Lopez and the Americans are said to have landed on the 12th of August, 1851. Still west of *Bahia Honda* is seen a series of small islands, one of which is called by the Spaniards Cayo (Key) *Levisa*, on the shore and in the vicinity of which Col. Crittenden and his party, in four launches, were

captured by the Spanish force in the steamer Habanero. The water on the outer side of the keys, or islands, is deep, being from 24 to 25 feet; but between the keys and the shore the water shallows off to 10 and 12 feet. The Habanero being of light draught was enabled to run in, while the frigate Esperanza (Hope) could not. This frigate was formerly the Caledonia, of the Cunard line, and which was too slow to come up with the Falcon, and the Pizarro, in attempting to go too near in shore, near Bahia Honda, is said to have grounded and was wrecked.

We have embodied under another head all the particulars regarding this bold expedition of Lopez and the capture and brutal execution of the fifty Americans, as far as can be ascertained, together with the lives and characters of the principal victims, *as far as known*.

Before concluding our notice of the island, it may be of interest to some readers to notice some of the principal towns.

#### HAVANA.

By far the most important and remarkable town on the island is HAVANA, spelt *Habana* by the Spaniards, and sometimes *Havannah* by the English. The city was founded in 1511 by Diego Velasquez. It was taken by a French pirate in 1563. Afterwards by the English and French buccaneers; and again by the English in 1762, by whom it was restored to Spain, by the treaty of peace of 1763.

In 1795, the remains of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS were brought from St. Domingo and buried in the cathedral of this city, where they yet rest.

The population of Havana, as far back as 1827, was estimated at about 94,000. By the census of 1850, its population is set down at about 200,000, including Spanish troops, residents and natives of all kinds. As far back as 1836, it exported to the United States 669,460 boxes of sugar, of 400 lbs. each, and 697,491 arobas of coffee; four arobas (or quintals) are equal to 101 $\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. Since the year 1836, the export of sugar has more rapidly increased than that of coffee.

A railroad was opened from Havana to Guinez (to the east), forty-five miles long, in 1839. Another railroad extends west to Guanajay. It was over this road troops were sent against Lopez. Another railway, as before noticed, connects Havana with Cardinas, to the east, and from which other short branches have been built. The rails of this road, near Cardinas, were torn up by Lopez's men at his former descent in 1850, to prevent communication with the capital.

The position of Havana is such, defended as it is by powerful fortifications on both sides of the entrance from sea, and on the land side, as to make it justly considered the GIBRALTAR of the western world.

On the northern side of the entrance, from sea, frowns *Moro Castle*, and on the southern or western side are seen the strong works of the Castle of La Punta. Behind the Moro, inland, are again seen the works of La Cabano, and Fort No. 4. Behind La Punta, on the other side, are seen extensive barracks. On the land side of the town, beyond its walls, is seen rising towards the south, *Prince's Castle*; and again to the south-east of the land side of the town, and on the small bay of *Atares*, is seen to rise the *Castle of Atares* (not far from the suburbs of El Horcon), at the base of which the fifty Americans were shot, at five minutes past eleven, A.M., on the 16th August, 1851, their bodies stripped by the populace, and afterwards carried in common dead-carts to Potter's Field.

Besides the defences alluded to, the old city, proper, is walled; but the Campo de Marte is beyond the walls, as well as the new part of the town known as the suburbs of Señor de La Salud, Guadaloupe, Cerro, and Jesus Maria. Casa Blanca, on the north or east side of the entrance, in the rear of Cabano, is the slavetrade mart. It is here that cargoes of slaves are landed from Africa, and sold.

The city contains, besides the cathedral, nine parish churches, and six others connected with hospitals and military orders.

Five chapels or hermitages, eleven convents, a university, two colleges, a botanic garden, anatomical museum and lecture-rooms, an academy of painting, a school for navigation, and about seventy ordinary schools for both sexes.

It also contains several benevolent institutions, among which is the *Casa Real Beneficencia*, which contains within its walls two lunatic asylums with 180 inmates. The city also contains a penitentiary, a Magdalen asylum, a foundling asylum, and several hospitals. These charitable institutions are supported by an annual revenue of 55 to \$60,000, derived from various sources of municipal taxes, rents, &c. The ship and dock-yards are located to the south of the city. The town also contains three theatres and an amphitheatre for bull-fights. The old town is level, with narrow streets, and until greater attention was paid to cleanliness it used to be severely afflicted at certain seasons of the year with yellow fever.

#### MATANZAS.

This town is situated on the north coast of the island, in the Western Department, at the bottom of a deep bay, and is fifty-two miles from Havana, in north latitude  $23^{\circ} 2' 28''$ , and longitude  $81^{\circ} 37' 44''$ . By the census of 1850 it contained a population of 25,000. It is well built, having some good streets, and well built houses of stone.

Matanzas in point of trade and wealth is the next town to Havana on the island.

The following exports from the principal towns in 1848 exhibit, somewhat, their relative importance.

#### NORTH SIDE.

	Havana.	Matanzas.	Cardinas.	Sagua Le Grand.
Sugar, boxes,	671,440	318,931	13,900	34,628
Coffee, arobas,	93,797	61,251	1,094	
Molasses, hhds.,	25,886	61,793	60,508	8,327
Rum, pipes,	10,479			1
Leaf unsm. Tobacco lbs.				
Cigars, thousands,	136,980			62
Copper ore, quintals 100 lbs.				

	Gibaro.	Remedios.	Neuvilas.	Baracoa.
Sugar,	1,648	5,595	4,293	
Coffee,	16,241			114
Molasses,	16,201	1,880	5,030	
Rum,			223	
Tobacco,	1,867,736		2,269	102,168
Cigars,	588	88	2,061	247
Copper ore,				
Maricel, 8,336 hhds. molasses.				

## SOUTH SIDE.

	Mazanillo.	Trinidad.	St. Jago de Cuba.	Cenfuegos.	Santa Cruz.
Sugar,	115	69,656	31,298	59,215	198
Coffee,		3,609	548,432	128	
Molasses,	1,475	26,175	857	14,160	997
Rum,		60	554	379	181
Tobacco,	315,570		1,208,536	5,000	2,669
Cigars,	542	399½	4,575	41½	155
Copper, ore,			571,826		

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 THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

The contemplated revolution by the creole inhabitants of Cuba is not of recent origin. As far back as 1842, an American gentleman who had resided in Cuba, and was familiar with its people and their political opinions, while on a visit to New York stated that a revolution was then in confidential agitation and was sanctioned by some of the wealthiest and most respectable creole families on the island. This gentleman, feeling disposed to favor their views, examined into the nature and cost of the implements of war. Among other things he investigated plans for blowing vessels out of water by means of the electrical battery. He also informed himself as to other missiles of war. He returned to Havana well stored with information to await the ripening of the schemes of revolution. We believe that he died some years since. There were very few in New York at the time referred to with whom he conferred on the subject.

It was not until the winter and spring of 1849-50 that any plans were sufficiently matured to make the attempt, when General Lopez projected the famous expedition in the steamship Creole,



and landed at Cardinas, in May, 1850. There seemed to be a want of concert of action between his plans and those of the patriots on the island; for instead of their meeting him and seconding his movement, he found it impossible, with the small force of Americans under his command, to maintain his position. Matanzas was the point for which he was aiming, and which he expected to reach by railroad, or other means from Cardinas. But the better to defend himself he had to tear up the rails of the road to prevent the arrival of government troops, and the transmission of intelligence to the capital. It is said the officer in command of the Spanish troops after marching within 12 miles of Cardinas came to a halt, and failed to go a step further. For this he was threatened with a court martial; but he intimated that if he was brought to trial he would be compelled to disclose the fact, that the reason he could not go farther was, that the fidelity of the troops could not be depended on. The court martial it is said was never ordered.

General Lopez, for his retreat from Cardinas in the Creole, was severely condemned by many. They considered it an act of fickleness, if not of cowardice; but the story related by himself and friends was, that he returned on board of the Creole with the view of entering the town of Matanzas from sea, where the patriots had more strength, and were better prepared to give him assistance; but that after getting to sea, his men, discouraged by the fatigue and fighting at Cardinas, feared that their numbers were too small to make a stand at Matanzas, and insisted on his returning them in the Creole to the United States, which was accordingly complied with. General Lopez, after landing some of his men, we believe, at Key West, landed himself at Savannah, where he was arrested but discharged. He afterwards went to New Orleans, and visited other places.

Another portion of his expedition was landed at the island of Contoy, where they were taken by the Spanish authorities, without arms, and carried into Havana, where, by the unwearyed exertions and firm conduct of Mr. Campbell, our consul,

they were finally liberated and sent home. Some members of this division stated that they shipped from New Orleans in good faith as California emigrants, and were not undeceived until they were at sea, and that they then insisted on being returned, or landed somewhere else than on the island of Cuba, and were hence left on the island of Contoy.

Colonel Campbell claimed their discharge as American citizens, captured beyond the jurisdiction of the Captain-General. This, with other arguments earnestly enforced, led to their discharge. The persons charged with having been concerned in the Cuba expedition were arraigned before the United States Circuit Court at New Orleans on the 16th December, 1851. The following answered to their names:—General Narcisso Lopez, Colonel Theodore O'Hara, Colonel John Picket, Major Thomas Hawkins, Colonel William H. Bell, Captain Sigur, and General D. Augustin. Those who did not appear were A. Gonzales, Governor Quitman, John O'Sullivan, Major Bunch, Peter Smith, and N. D. Havens. General Lopez pleaded in abatement of the indictment, on the ground that the grand jury had been illegally impaneled, as also did Sigur and Augustin. The others put in a plea of not guilty.

General Quitman, for whose arrest a warrant was issued by the court, at first hesitated to obey, but afterwards resigned his office as governor and submitted to the requirements of the law.

Governor Henderson's trial was proceeded with, and resulted in the failure of the prosecution to procure a conviction. The attorney withdrew all the suits, and the parties were discharged.

The collection at Round Island had dispersed, probably from the impossibility of escaping the intervention of the United States authorities, combined with the difficulty of obtaining transports properly commanded and armed. Another contemplated expedition from New York was also checked, and prevented from sailing.

General Taylor had issued a proclamation in favor of enforcing

the neutrality laws. The people of New Orleans soon after gave General Quitman a public dinner.

The steamer Pampero was fitted out at New Orleans with great privacy, and little was known about the movement until she was nearly ready to sail with General Lopez and his 450 officers and men. She passed down the river, being cheered on her way, and went to sea without molestation.

The expedition was one of the most daring, not to say rash, of modern times. Notwithstanding Pres. Fillmore had issued his proclamation, declaring all persons engaging in the expedition outlaws, and beyond the protection of the American flag; notwithstanding the Captain-General of Cuba had published his intention of shooting all taken with arms in their hands against the government, yet we find the Pampero standing on a straight course for Bahia Honda, within forty miles of Havana, and passing within sight of the battlements of Moro Castle. This small but brave band of men were landed. They placed themselves, like Scipio on landing in Africa, without the means of retreat,—the former burnt his vessels; the latter sent off the Pampero for more men.

The attempt made the year before, had set the creoles to thinking, and the revolutionary feeling had within a year greatly increased, and had broken out near Puerto Principe and Santiago, about the 3d of July, and the patriots on the 4th of the same month issued their declaration of independence. These tidings, with other favorable accounts, reaching the United States, greatly stimulated the movements of the patriots in this country, and caused General Lopez to hasten his departure from New Orleans.

In the progress of this work, and especially in relation to the facts connected with the late revolutionary movement, we have experienced much difficulty in arriving at reliable facts. It is probable that the whole truth regarding the movements of the patriots will never be revealed, unless the whole enterprise should be crowned with success.

General Lopez was formerly a citizen of Cuba, and no doubt sincerely sympathized with his countrymen in the political oppressions they endured. We think it too early to form an opinion as to the real character of General Lopez, and that it would be premature to denounce him in advance for deception and imposition, from an unfavorable expression or two, uttered in a letter purporting to come from one of the unfortunate men butchered by the Governor-General. If deception was practiced, Lopez himself may have been the victim of it, as well as his men. The poor untaught and timid creoles, through their leaders, may have made promises to Lopez and his friends, which they have failed, or have been unable, to fulfill.

The letters of Captain Kerr, and other prisoners, make no allusion to being betrayed or deceived by Lopez.

Many suppose, because the creoles have not risen *en masse* against the government, that they are therefore contented with their lot and opposed to change. Considering their situation, stripped as they are of arms of all kinds, beyond the possession of a pocket-knife; excluded from all offices, and deprived, to a great extent, of the common rudiments of an education, it could not be supposed that they were in a situation to resist, at once, 23,000 Spanish troops. Only about one in sixty-three children of the creole population attend any school. Hence, it may be supposed, that the number who can read and write among them, does not probably exceed one in sixty-three. Hence, it would be difficult for them to act in concert, and to convey intelligence from one to another. If they are so loyal as pretended, why does not the Governor-General enrol them in the militia and arm them for the defence of the island? Our militia force constitutes the bulwark of our defence. Contentment and loyalty is all fudge. They could not be expected to do much until a force was landed, with supplies of arms for them, to form the nucleus of an army, around the standard of which they could rally. People in their condition are moved by ocular demonstrations in favor of liberty; and once the patriots

break the spell of Spanish rule, and military domination, by a few successful victories, the creoles would very soon rally for freedom.

It is not yet known whether Lopez was culpable for neglecting to succor Col. Crittenden. His own position might have been such as to have rendered it impossible. A very large force might have unexpectedly been so near at hand, as to have prevented it. It is possible that he might have expected the arrival of creole reinforcements at Pasos, or wherever he had encamped. Lopez may have been deceived as to the power or disposition of his countrymen to aid him, or he may have been rash, but it remains to be shown that he was either a "scoundrel" or a "coward." His life was at stake as much as that of any of his men, and if captured, he could only expect to die by the severest tortures known to Spanish cruelty.

If the creoles of Havana are contented and happy, it is singular that they should send so many creoles to the United States, soliciting aid in the way of arms and men, and that so many having fallen under suspicion, should have been exiled, and their property confiscated.

The chief sums expended in the United States, in getting up expeditions, have been supplied by the creoles of Cuba. It is mostly their funds which have supplied the sinews of war.

The London *Times* admits that the half million of creoles are badly governed, and that the example of our free institutions has had its influence on them, and that their tendencies are American, and not European; but regarding the possibility of its annexation to the United States as dangerous to the interest of England, intimates that some sort of understanding or agreement between England, France and Spain exist, or should be come to, to prevent the independence of the people, and to perpetuate the despotism which rules the island. It charges that a bankrupt military man, and court favorite, is usually sent to Cuba, from Spain, to enrich himself and family at the expense of the people. It seems too, by its report, that the

European consuls residing on the island have been acting in the character of *spies*, and keeping their respective monarchies advised of the movements of the creoles; and it might have added also, of the movements of the people of the United States. We direct the attention of the reader to the following statement of the London *Times* of the 16th August last. It speaks for itself.

*“ We have reason to believe that accounts have been received from the consular agents of the principal European powers in Cuba, which have excited some apprehensions, and have led to communications between the allies of the Queen of Spain !”*

The truth is, this island, indebted to our trade and enterprise for its prosperity, and lying, as it were, at our very doors, is converted into a sort of stool-pigeon outpost of monarchy, where its spies and pimps, devoted to its interest, can concoct measures for our injury or annoyance.

No American at heart, or the American government, of whatever party, could be indifferent to the armed intervention of European powers to destroy the independence of Cuba, and that mainly from the fear of annexation to the United States. War, it seems to us, would in that case be unavoidable;—the results of which might not only sweep monarchy from the New World—Cuba included—but from the leading kingdoms of Europe also.

We believe in the progressive tendency of the American institutions and her people. While some fifteen or more new free states remain to be carved out of the territory west of Minnesota and Iowa, extending to the Pacific Ocean, embracing the territories of New Mexico and Utah, other states, in the course of time, must sooner or later spring up on our southern and southwestern borders. Our free institutions, if we are true to them and each other, will fight more battles, and win more victories for us, than the sword, and they are harder to fight against on the part of monarchies, than the best appointed armies of men.

Probably the next move of foreign diplomacy may be an attempt to estrange the Mexican and other southern republics

from us, and endeavor to unite them against us. *If so*, this too will fail.

The epithets of "*Pirates*," "*Freebooters*," "*Robbers*," "*Outlaws*," &c., applied so freely to the Americans who went to Cuba in the firm belief that they were going to aid the creoles who had revolted against the government, we consider not justified by the facts, or the character of the Americans engaged in the expedition. Whatever the real state of the case was, they no doubt sincerely believed that a revolution had broken out, and that their errand was both honorable and patriotic.

Such men as Col. Crittenden and his companions were far above the commission of "*piracy*" and "*robbery*."

So it was predicted, if the Americans ever went into Mexico as soldiers that they would rob the churches. When, it is said, they were there during the late war, the churches would have been robbed by Mexicans, and other foreigners, had not the Americans protected them.

"*Free-booting*," "*piracy*," &c., are not ordinarily attendant traits of Americans. All men struggling for liberty are pirates and rebels in the eyes of despotism. The Hungarians were pirates in the eyes of Austria. We were rebels and pirates in the eyes of George the Third, and so are the creoles taken and shot as pirates by the Spanish Haynau, Gen. Concha of Cuba.

If the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church, the blood of patriots is no less the seed of liberty. It is believed the bloody-minded course pursued by the Spanish Government has done more to prejudice the people of the United States against Spanish rule, and in favor of the creoles, than any other measure it could have adopted. As a mere stroke of political policy, it was the most fatal error that could have been committed. So far from affording any additional security to the island, it has made it a hundred fold more insecure, if it does not cause the loss of it forever. The inhuman act has been received with feelings of horror and indignation throughout the United States, and has raised up thousands of friends for Cuban independence where there

was one before. It is an act that, for all time to come, will rest as a bloody stain upon the character of the Spanish Government, and receive the seal of reprobation of all civilized people throughout the world.

The Government, by executing even some of the ringleaders and confining the rest in the prison walls of Havana or of Spain, the ends of justice could have been better reached and with more advantage to the Government. The prisoners would have been just as incapable of harm when immured in Spanish dungeons as though shot and cast on a dunghill or into a potter's field to rot.

Even admitting that Lopez and all his remaining force have been captured and shot, it will not in the least strengthen the Spaniards in the government of the island. And should Gen. Concha shoot in succession 300 or 400 more Americans in the same summary manner as those slain at the castle of Atares, it will awaken and extend a flame of indignation from one end of the United States to the other, which no human authority can check, and which will never rest satisfied until every footprint of Spanish despotism is forever swept away and effaced from the island.

As to the insurrection near Puerto Principe, in the Central Department, it is stated to have been less successful than that near St. Jago de Cuba, where, at last accounts, the Spanish General in command had returned into St. Jago without being able to overcome it.

Yet some who oppose the proffered aid of American citizens contend that no revolution has been attempted; and, forsooth, that all Americans going there to aid them are outlaws and must be dealt with and shot as *pirates!* We do not envy the feelings of those who can join the executioners in their exultations over the dead and mutilated bodies of American citizens.



EVIDENCES OF THE REVOLUTION IN CUBA, COMMENCED BY THE  
CREOLES OF THE ISLAND, WITH THEIR DECLARATION  
OF INDEPENDENCE, ON THE 4TH JULY, 1851.

The first notice we received of an attempt at revolution in Cuba, was brought to New York on the evening of the 21st July, and the character and extent of which is explained by the following correspondence, published in the *New York Herald* on the morning of the 22d.

Although the transactions referred to have not been verified in every particular by later advices, it is sufficiently clear that there was a revolutionary movement on foot, however great or small, and which, of itself, was sufficient to enlist the minds and feelings of American citizens in favor of it, and to inspire them with the ambition of repairing to the island, to aid those whom they considered struggling for liberty, and without supposing, that on reaching the island they were to be branded and executed as *pirates*, without trial.

HAVANA, July 16, 1851.

The revolution of Cuba has changed its chrysalis for the full grown fly. The first blood has been spilled. Cuba, some seem to think, has her Lexington. The particulars of the accounts which we receive from the interior are exceedingly various, but all unite upon the one great fact, that the *pronunciamento* has been made, and a slight advantage gained over the troops. The people of Principe have been the first to draw the sword.

One of the most probable versions of the affair is the following:— Under pretence of celebrating Saint John and Saint Peter's festivals, (which occur on the 24th and 30th of June, respectively,) and in consequence, by some order of the government, of their not being celebrated in Puerto Principe, a gathering of people was made a few leagues from the city, on the fourth day of July. The Governor, anticipating some open act, sent a detachment of dragoons to disperse them. These did not come up to the Cubans until evening, when they were attacked and forced to retire with a loss of (according to some accounts) 20, and others, 60 men. When the troops had fled, the Cubans retired to the hills, where they have formed an entrenched camp, and are driving in cattle, collecting forage, and men, and arms. It is said that Puerto Principe, Neuvitas, and all the adjacent country has been abandoned by the young men, who are supposed to have gone to join the insurgents. The point where they are collecting is in the hills of Najassa. This *pronunciamento* was followed by another at Tunas, a village about

half way between Principe and Saint Jago ; and it is supposed that the rising has, before this time, become general in the centre and eastern part of the island. In the official accounts, which you will find in to-day's *Gaceta*, you will observe that no report, later than the 5th, is given from Principe.

Letters have been received up to the 10th, by which we learn that a detachment of troops had been sent out, but did not consider itself strong enough to penetrate the hill country. It is feared that a corresponding movement may be made here ; and I am told that on Saturday night last, very strong patrols were about, as though some movement was anticipated. The revolution having begun, it cannot go backward ; and it is more than probable that the days of Spain's rule here are at least to be much embarrassed. The government count 14,000 troops, and no more, in all the island, and may, perhaps, be able to raise as many more from the Spanish population ; but their fleet is a good one, comprising some twenty sail, of which six are steamers. Whether the struggle be a long or short one, will depend upon the "aid and comfort" the Cubans receive from the United States in the shape of guns, pistols, powder, ball, and men that can teach them to organize and manœuvre. The Spanish troops are scattered all over the island, and cannot with facility be now concentrated. If, therefore, the movement becomes at all general, they will probably fall or pass to the other side—a thing that is not at all improbable—and whispers there-arent are already abroad. The civil war in Spain has so accustomed the army to change sides, that there is hardly a regiment that has not fought once or more for each. It is this, it appears to me, that makes the fidelity of the Spanish army such a strange contradiction. True to their colors, but following their colors either way.

P. S.—4 P.M.—Letters from Principe state that the troops are deserting in squads to the insurgents. Two steamers leave to-morrow morning with reinforcements. A rumor is about town that Trinidad will rise to-morrow.

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HAVANA, July 16, 1851.

You may place the fullest confidence in the following information, as to the insurrection going on in the eastern department of the island, especially in the district of Puerto Principe, for I have my intelligence from a source upon which I place the most implicit reliance. It appears that, about the 5th inst., from about 800 to 1,000 men, attended by great numbers of women and children, assembled at a place some twenty leagues from Principe, unfurled the standard of Cuban independence, amidst cries of "Viva la Independencia Cubana !" "Mueron los opresores Espanolis," displaying, at the same time, several American banners. The men were fully equipped for war, so that the troops sent after them by General Lemory, were beaten off with the loss of one of the general's adjutants, and several soldiers. The loss on the part of the insurgents was small. A larger force, under Lemory in person, was then sent out to them, when, it is said, 100 cavalry went

over to the people, who fought their way to the mountains, where they have entrenched themselves for the present, in the hope of receiving reinforcements from their friends in the States. In this last affair forty or forty-two prisoners were captured by the troops, and, although it is difficult to credit, I am assured they were instantly shot. Such is the history of the affair, as it stands at present. The object of the government being to prevent reports becoming known, seem under no apprehension or alarm as to the result of this affair. But it is easily to be seen, from the anxiety displayed, by those better acquainted with the country, that there is every reason to think that the terrible disasters which have been long foreshadowed in Cuba, are about to be brought to a crisis.

John Foster, a native of Portsmouth, U. S., has been the driver of an omnibus between Havana and Jesus del Monte. Some three weeks ago, two Comisarios, or policemen, came to the stand at the Plaza des Armas, and arrested the coachman of an omnibus belonging to the Cerro line of coaches, a line quite distinct from that of Jesus del Monte, for, as they stated, running over a child in the street. This coachman, being a Spaniard, protested he knew nothing at all about what they accused him of, when, unfortunately for Foster, he happening to be on the stand at the time, they went towards him, and said: "You are the man who run over the child." Foster knew as much about it as the other—perhaps less—but, being an American, he was forthwith conducted to jail, where he has been locked up ever since, and up to yesterday, not a soul had been near him, to inquire into the case; his deposition, if he had any to make, poor fellow, was not even taken, and there he may remain, probably for months, shut up with assassins and robbers of all descriptions, while his poor wife and children are left to starve, and he, all the while, entirely innocent of the charge against him.

The father of the child, which I have since learned was knocked down by a volante, and was only slightly bruised, said he would compromise the matter with Foster for \$50. But Foster, adhering to the fact of his being entirely innocent of the charge, and supported in his assertion by the passengers who were in his coach at the time the accident is said to have happened, and who have declared through a public journal that it was not done by him, refused to pay so large a sum out of his hardly earned wages, and so he is still confined in jail.

The Austrian frigate *Venus*, of 44 guns, arrived here yesterday, from the island of St. Thomas, having on board a young Prince of the royal family of Wirtemberg, who, I understand, is to be fêted on a very magnificent scale, if the attention of the government be not otherwise engaged by the present difficulties in the interior. The French steam frigate of war *Mogador*, which has now been lying in this harbor for upwards of a year—for what particular reason nobody can tell—is about to be relieved by the *Asmodea*, first class steam frigate, hourly expected to arrive, also from St. Thomas. Why the French should keep stationed here continually a large vessel like the *Mogador*, would seem

a mystery, were it not strongly suspected that it has some reference to the recent "filibustero" business. In the meanwhile, we, who have a better right to watch so important a crisis in the affairs of the island, and ought to be at Havana, are content to be cruising from Key West to Pensacola, and from Pensacola back to Key West.

General Lemory has himself to thank for the insurrection at Principe. From the moment of his arrival at that city as its governor, arrests were the order of the day. The prisons were filled with what he was pleased to term suspected people, and those, too, from the position they hold as proprietors, planters, &c., the most influential of the place. We have seen numbers banished the island, and others confined in the forts; and it is absurd to suppose that the tearing away, from the bosoms of their families, of fathers and sons, in the barbarous manner in which this has been done, on the most frivolous pretences and suspicions, would not be resented, and rouse feelings which have now burst forth with a vigor which will require all the means of this government to quash.

P. S.—The government, alarmed by the probable consequences of the information reaching the United States, as to the critical state of things in the interior, have to-day put forth a statement which you will find in the *Gazette*, of this day's date, to the effect that two parties had risen in insurrection, but had been compelled to seek safety in flight, and calling upon the people to be under no apprehension.

This statement of the government is admitted, even by the Spaniards themselves, to be by no means correct, and that the affair is of far greater importance than what they are willing to admit. I think, from all I can gather, that the statements already made, are much nearer the truth, and you may make them public accordingly.

The statement is evidently published to mislead the American people as to the serious nature of the Principe business—got up for the steamers about to sail, well knowing that the affair would reach the United States in spite of their wishes to the contrary.

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HAVANA, July 16, 1851.

I consider that, in a political point of view, this island was never in a more critical state than it is at this present moment. The creoles of Cuba have at length thrown down the gauntlet of defiance to the authority of Spain. The late act of the Captain-General, in dismissing the "Ayuntamiento and Sindico" (corporation) of Puerto Principe, is alleged to have aroused the indignation not only of the "Camagueñanas," but that of the whole population of the interior cities of the island, and even that of Havana itself, loyal, as they may be disposed to be towards Spain. His Excellency, many think, might in the same manner dismiss them, should they venture to displease him in his course.

A disturbance broke out on the 3d instant, in the neighborhood of Puerto Principe—a city next in importance to Havana—in the eastern department of the island. It is known that, simultaneous with the affair at Principe, a large meeting of men took place some twenty

leagues from that city, and that upon the troops being sent to disperse them, a skirmish ensued, which resulted in the troops being beaten off, with the loss of their commander, and sixteen killed. The insurgents, who, it is variously stated, number from five hundred to fifteen hundred men, took to the mountains, and have strongly entrenched themselves, in the hope that the move now begun will prove general throughout the island, and that their friends, the *Filibusteros*, will fly to their assistance. The creoles of the interior are excellent horsemen, strong, athletic, and hardy men, always on horseback, and accustomed to thread the dense and intricate forests of the island, in which the Spanish soldier would be found completely useless, however brave. This movement has, it is supposed, extensive ramifications throughout the whole of Cuba; and we are on the verge of a crisis which will require all the energy and ability of the government to put down—an event by no means certain, if we are to credit the reports of the natives, who seem to be quite confident of the success of their plans, and the speedy overthrow of the Spanish dominion in Cuba. It is no less a sign of the times to witness the hasty departure abroad of certain wealthy creoles, who might, from their supposed opinions, in favor of Cuban independence, become compromised by remaining on the island, in the power of the government.

You will scarcely credit what I now tell you, but it is nevertheless a fact, that it was considered necessary that this, "the always faithful city," surrounded as it is, and completely at the mercy of so many forts, should be guarded with the greatest vigilance, which was duly exercised over it on Saturday night last. Patrols were seen in every direction, and double guards mounted, for it was suspected that some were disloyal enough to follow the example of Principe; and yet such is the terror exercised over the minds of the Habaneros, from the system of espionage introduced into the city, that few indeed venture to express an open opinion upon the state of things, or even any opinion at all, so that a stranger coming here would imagine we were in the enjoyment of the most perfect state of political tranquillity.

That the present state of feeling which exists between the Cubans and the Spanish can last, is out of the question. The hospitality and generosity of the Cubans in the interior is proverbial, and their love for their country amounts almost to adoration. I could recount many anecdotes illustrating this, but the following will be sufficient:—About a month back, some one hundred men and their officers, belonging to a regiment of cavalry, on their way from Manati to Puerto Principe, halted for the night at a hacienda, where the proprietor received them with the greatest cordiality—made provision for the men to pass the night, and invited the officers to partake of the hospitality the house afforded. He being a creole of great wealth, they fared well; his two daughters, handsome, well educated, and accomplished girls, were invited by the officers to play for them on the piano, and to sing, saying they had heard much of their vocal powers. The young ladies, with the grace and ease of their caste, at once acceded to their request, and

commenced singing several of their most patriotic Cuban airs, to the consternation of the officers, who for some time, perhaps out of delicacy, or from surprise, remained rooted to the spot; at length they remonstrated with the ladies, declaring they could not listen to songs so treasonable and improper. The ladies, singularly enough, replied, "that those were their favorite songs, which they preferred to all others, and that if the gentlemen did not like them, they could proceed upon their journey when it suited their convenience."

HAVANA, July 17—11 30 A. M.

Notwithstanding the counter statements again put forth by the government, this morning, I confirm all the previous information which you will find in my letters of yesterday's date, relative to the revolution going on in the interior and eastern district of this island, with the addition that similar movements have taken place at Las Tunas, Sabbeccu, Byamo, Trinidad, and Pino del Rio, and that it is positively stated that great numbers of the troops have gone over to the insurgents. The government do all in their power to prevent the true state of things becoming known to the people of the capital, and it is easily to be perceived they are under great apprehensions and alarm. Nearly all the vessels of war have been sent to sea, and the steamer *Blasco de Garcy* sailed at 10 P.M., last night, with troops for Principe.

The expected French steamer *Asmodea*, a large vessel, arrived from St. Thomas, yesterday afternoon.

On the 28th of July, news of the further progress of the revolution was received by the arrival of the *Isabella* at Savannah, and by the schooner *Pauline* from Neuvitas, on the 27th, together with the declaration of independence, published in the *New York Herald* of the 28th of July. In submitting a copy of the declaration of independence, we head it with a copy of the flag adopted by the patriots.

The editor of the *Herald* prefaces these advices with the following remarks :

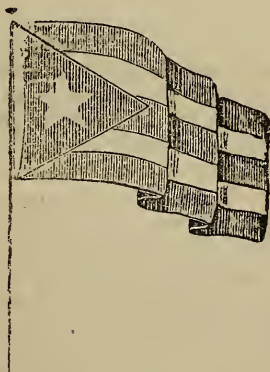
"These advices are probably the most authentic of any yet received.

"The official account of the insurrection at Port Principe related only to a small skirmish on the 3d of July, in which Joaquin de Agüero y Sanchez was taken prisoner, and a few arms captured by the Spanish troops. The news by this arrival is to the 14th July from Puerto Principe, being eleven days later than the last accounts from that place.

"The *pronunciamento* for independence was made on the 4th of July, on which day the first real battle may be said to have taken place. The government troops previously sent out to make prisoners of any revolutionists, came up with the guerilla party of Joaquin Agüero y Agüero, at the foot of the Cascorro mountains, and about four or five

miles from the village of that name. The Cubans numbered 200 men, and the Spaniards 300 men, consisting of 100 lancers and 200 infantry. After a sharp engagement, the Spaniards fled, their captain being killed, and twenty others, together with eighteen wounded. The Cubans had only two or three wounded, and none killed. Twelve of the Spanish soldiers came over to the Cuban side. This battle inspired very great confidence among the people, and immediately the numbers of the insurgents increased rapidly. At the last account their numbers were in all as high as 1,000 men. These were divided up into five guerilla parties of 200 each, under the command of Joaquin Aguero y Aguero, Francisco Aguero y Estrada, and Ubaldo Arteaga Piña. These parties are stationed around in the strongholds, in the vicinity of Cascorro and Principe, drilling and augmenting their numbers.

“After the battle of the 4th, the Spanish troops hurried back to Principe, seventeen leagues from Cascorro. When the news of the defeat reached Principe there was a great excitement among the people, and nothing but the large number of soldiers prevented a general rising and massacre among the troops. The garrison is over 4,000; but notwithstanding this large number, General Lemory did not deem it prudent to withdraw a single man to go out in pursuit of the Cubans, for fear of a rising, but awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Havana, having sent for 2,000 men.



TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

*Manifesto and Proclamation of their Independence by the Liberating Society of Puerto Principe. (La Sociedad Libertadora de P. P.)*

Human Reason revolts against the idea that the social and political condition of a people can be indefinitely prolonged, in which man, stripped of all rights and guarantees, with no security of person or property, no enjoyment in the present, no hope in the future, lives only by the will, and under the conditions imposed by the pleasure of his tyrants; where a vile calumny, a prisoner's denunciation, a despot's

suspicion, a word caught up by surprise in the sanctuary of home, or from the violated privacy of a letter, furnishes ample grounds for tearing a man from his hearth, and casting him forth to die of destitution or despair in a foreign soil, if he escapes being subjected to the insulting forms of a barbarous and arbitrary tribunal, where his persecutors are themselves the judges who condemn him, and where, instead of their proving his offence, he is required to prove his innocence.

A situation so violent as this, Cuba has now been for many years enduring; and far from any promise of remedy appearing, every day adds new proof that the policy of the mother-country, and the ferocity of her rulers, will grant neither truce nor rest till she is reduced to the condition of an immense prison, where every Cuban will be watched by a guard, and will have to pay that guard for watching him. In vain have this people exhibited a mildness, a prudence, and even a submission and loyalty, which have been proverbial.

When the iniquity of the government has not been able to find any ostensible grounds for persecution, it has had recourse to cowardly arts and snares to tempt its victims into some offence. Thus were various individuals of Matanzas entrapped into an ambuscade of the soldiery, by the pretext of selling them some arms, under circumstances which made them believe those arms were necessary for self-defence, against threatened attacks from the Peninsulars. Thus have sergeants, and even officers, been seen to mingle among the country people, and pass themselves off as enemies of the government, for the purpose of betraying them into avowals of their sentiments, to the ruin of many persons so informed against, as well as to the disgrace of military honor on the part of those who have lent themselves to so villanous a service.

If the sons of Cuba, moved by the dread of greater evils, have ever determined to employ legitimate means of imposing some law, or some restraint, upon the unbridled excesses of their rulers, these latter have always found the way to distort such acts into attempts at rebellion.

For having dared to give utterance to principles and opinions, which, to other nations, constitute the foundation of their moral progress and glory, the Cubans most distinguished for their virtues and talents have found themselves wanderers and exiles. For the offence of having exhibited their opposition to the unlawful and perilous slavetrade, from which the avarice of General O'Donnell promised itself so rich a harvest of lucre, the latter satiated his resentment with the monstrous vengeance of involving them in a charge of conspiracy with the free colored people and the slaves of the estates; endeavoring, as the last outrage that an immoral government could offer to law, to reason, or to nature, to prove the object of that conspiracy, in which they implicated whites of the most eminent virtue, knowledge, and patriotism, to have been no other than the "destruction of their own race."

All the laws of society and nature trampled under foot—all races and conditions confounded together—the island of Cuba then presented to the civilized world a spectacle worthy of the rejoicings of hell. The wretched slaves saw their flesh torn from them under the lash, and bespattered with blood the faces of their executioners, who did not cease



exacting from their tortures denunciations against accomplices. Others were shot in platoons, without form of trial, and without even coming to understand the pretext under which they were massacred. The free colored people, after having been first lacerated by the lash, were then hurried to the scaffold, and those only escaped with life who had gold enough to appease the fury of their executioners. And nevertheless, when the government, or its followers, has come to fear some rising of the Cubans, their first threat has been that of arming the colored people against them for their extermination. We abstain for very shame from repeating the senseless pretences to which they have had recourse to terrify the timid. Wretches! how have they been able to imagine that the victims of their fury, with whom the whites of Cuba have shared in common the horrors of misery and persecution, will turn against their own friends at the call of the very tyrant who has torn them in pieces? If the free colored people, who know their interests as well as the whites, take any part in the movement of Cuba, it certainly will not be to the injury of the mother who shelters them in her bosom, nor of those other sons of hers who have never made them feel the difference of their race and condition, and who, far from plundering them, have taken pride in being their defenders, and in meriting the title of their benefactors.

The world would refuse to believe the history of the horrid crimes which have been perpetrated in Cuba, and would reasonably consider that if there have been monsters to commit, it is inconceivable that there could so long have been men to endure them. But if there are few able to penetrate to the truth of particular facts, through all the means employed by the government to obscure and distort them, no one will resist the evidence of public and official facts.

Publicly, and with arms in his hands, did Gen. Tacon despoil Cuba of the constitution of Spain, proclaimed by all the powers of the monarchy, and sent to be sworn to in Cuba, as the fundamental law of the whole kingdom.

Publicly, and by legislative act, was Cuba declared to be deprived of all the rights enjoyed by all Spaniards, and conceded by nature and the laws of nations the least advanced in civilization.

Publicly have the sons of Cuba been cut off from all admission to the commands and lucrative employments of the State.

Public are the unlimited powers, of every description granted to the Captain Generals of Cuba, who can refuse to those whom they condemn even the right of a trial, and the privilege of being sentenced by a tribunal.

Public and permanent in the island of Cuba, are those courts martial which the laws permit only in extraordinary cases of war, for offences against the State.

Publicly has the Spanish press hurled against Cuba the threat of converting the island into ruin and ashes, by liberating the slaves, and unchaining against her the hordes of barbarian Africans.

Public are the impediments and difficulties imposed upon every indi-

vidual, to restrain him from moving from place to place, and from exercising any branch of industry—no one being safe from arrest and fine, for some deficiency of authority or license, at every step he may take.

Public are the taxes which have wasted away the substance of the island and the projects of other new ones, which threaten to abolish all the products of its riches—nothing being left for its people but the toils to produce them.

Public are the petty exactions and plunderings, at every turn, inflicted in the most unblushing manner, in addition to the general impositions by the subaltern mandarins of authority in their respective localities.

Finally, the government has publicly and officially declared—and the journals in its pay have labored to sustain the declaration with foul commentary—“that the inhabitants of Cuba have no organ nor right of action, even for the purpose of directing an humble prayer to the feet of the sovereign.” The fact that the corporation of Puerto Principe, with the authorization of the Governor, who presided over it, addressed to the Queen a memorial to the effect that the royal court (*audiencia*) shall not be suppressed in that district, gave rise to the removal of the members of the corporation from office, and to the unheard-of arbitrariness of that declaration, in which to increase the outrage, it added that the government is not bound in its proceedings to consult the opinions and interests of the country.

Outrages so great and so frequent, reasons so many and so strong, suffice not merely to justify, but to sanctify, in the eyes of the whole world, the cause of the independence of Cuba, and any effort of her people, by their own exertions, or with friendly aid from abroad, to put an end to the evils they suffer, and secure the rights with which God and nature have invested man.

Who will in Cuba oppose this indefeasible instinct, this imperative necessity of defending our property, and of seeking in the institutions of a just, free and regulated government, that welfare and security which are the conditions on which alone civilized society can exist?

The Peninsulars (natives of Spain) perhaps, who have come to Cuba to marry our daughters, who have here their children, their affections and their property, will they disregard the laws of nature to range themselves on the side of a government which oppresses them as it oppresses us, and which will neither thank them for the service, nor be able, with all their help, to prevent the triumph of the independence of Cuba?

Are not they as intimately bound up with the happiness and interest of Cuba as those blood natives of her soil, who will never be able to deny the name of their fathers, and who, in rising up to-day against the despotism of the government, would wish to count upon their co-operation as the best guaranty of their new social organization, and the strongest proof of the justice of their cause?

Have they not fought in the Peninsula itself, for their national independence, for the support of the same principles for which we, the sons

of Cuba proclaim, and which, being the same for men in all countries, cannot be admitted in one and rejected in another without doing treason to nature and to the light of reason, from which they spring?

No, no—it cannot be that they should carry submissiveness to the point of preferring their own ruin, and the spilling of the blood of their sons and brothers, to the triumph of the holiest cause ever embraced by man—a cause which aims to promote their own happiness, and to protect their rights and properties. The Peninsulars who adorn and enrich our soil, and to whom the title of labor gives as high a right as our own to its preservation, know very well that the sons of Cuba regard them with personal affection—have never failed to recognise the interest and reciprocal wants which unite the two—nor have ever held them responsible for the perversenesses of the few, and for the iniquities of a government whose infernal policy alone has labored to separate them, on the tyrant's familiar maxim—to divide and conquer.

We, who proceed in good faith, and with the noble ambition of earning the applause of the world for the justice of our acts—we surely cannot aim at the destruction of our brothers, nor at the usurpation of their properties; and far from meriting that vile calumny which the government will endeavor to fasten upon us, we do not hesitate to swear, in the sight of God and of man, that nothing would better accord with the wishes of our hearts, or with the glory and happiness of our country, than the co-operation of the Peninsulars in the sacred work of liberation. United with them, we could realize that idea of entire independence which is a pleasing one to their own minds; but if they present themselves in our way as enemies, we shall not be able to answer for the security of their persons and properties, nor, when adventuring all for the main object of the liberty of Cuba, shall we be able to renounce any means of effecting it.

But if we have all these reasons to expect that the Peninsulars, who are in nowise dependent on the government, and who are so bound up with the fate of Cuba, will at least remain neutral, it will not be supposed that we can promise ourselves the same conduct on the part of the army, the individuals composing which, without ties or affections, know no other law nor consideration than the will of their commander. We pity the lot of those unfortunate men, subject to a tyranny as hard as our own, who, torn from their homes in the flower of their youth, have been brought to Cuba to oppress us, on comments and hopes of life. If they shall appreciate the difference between a free and happy citizen and a dependent and hireling soldier, and choose to accept the benefits of liberty and prosperity, which we tender them, we will admit them into our ranks as brethren. But if they shall disregard the dictates of reason and of their own interests, and allow themselves to be controlled by the insidious representations of their tyrants, so as to regard it as their duty to oppose themselves to us on the field of battle as enemies, we will then accept the combat, alike without hate

and without fear, and always willing, whenever they may lay down their arms, to welcome them to our embrace.

To employ the language of moderation and justice—to seek for means of peace and conciliation—to invoke the sentiments of love and brotherhood—befits a cultivated and Christian people, which finds itself forced to appeal to the violent recourse of arms, not for the purpose of attacking the social order and the lives of fellow beings, but to recover the condition and the rights of man, usurped from them by an unjust and tyrannical power. But let not the expression of our progress and wishes encourage in our opponents the idea that we are ignorant of our resources, or distrustful of our strength. All the means united, at the disposal of the Peninsulars in Cuba, against us, could only make the struggle more protracted and disastrous; but the issue in our favor could not be any the less sure and decisive.

In the ranks of independence we have to count all the free sons of Cuba, whatever may be the color of their race—the brave nations of South America, who inhabit our soil, and who have already made trial of the strength and conduct of our tyrants—the sturdy islanders of the Canaries, who love Cuba as their country, and who have already had an Hernandez and a Montes de Oca, to seal with the proof of martyrdom, the heroic decision of their compatriots for our cause.

The ranks of the government would find themselves constantly thinned by desertion, by the climate, by death, which from all quarters would spring up among them in a thousand forms. Cut short of means to pay and maintain their army, dependent on recruits from Spain to fill up their vacancies, without an inch of friendly ground on which to plant their feet, or an individual on whom to rely with security, war in the field would be for them one of extermination; while, if they shut themselves within the defences of their fortresses, hunger and want would soon compel them to abandon them, if they were not carried by force of arms. The example of the whole continent of Spanish America, under circumstances more favorable for them, when they had Cuba as their arsenal, the benefit of her coffers, and native aid in those countries themselves, ought to serve them as a lesson not to undertake an exterminating and fratricidal struggle, which could not fail to be attended with the same or worse results.

We, on the other hand, besides our own resources, have, in the neighboring States of the Union, and in all the republics of America, the encampments of our troops, the depots of our supplies, and the arsenals of our arms. All the sons of this vast New World, whose bosom shelters the island of Cuba, and who have had, like us, to shake off by force the yoke of tyranny, will enthusiastically applaud our resolve, will fly by hundreds to place themselves beneath the flag of liberty in our ranks, and their trained and experienced valor will aid us in annihilating, once and for always, the last badge of ignominy that still disgraces the free and independent soil of America.

If we have hitherto hoped, with patience and resignation, that justice and their own interests would change the mind of our tyrants; if we

have trusted to external efforts to bring the mother country to a negotiation which should avoid the disasters of war, we are resolved to prove by deeds that inaction and endurance have not been the results of impotence and cowardice. Let the government undeceive itself in regard to the power of its bayonets and the efficacy of all the means it has invented to oppress and watch us. In the face of its very authorities—in the sight of the spies at our side—on the day when we have resolved to demand back our rights, and by force to break our chains, nothing has prevented us from combining the plan of our revolution; and the cry of liberty and independence will rise from the Cape of San Antonia to the Point of Maysi.

We, then, as provisional representatives of the people of Cuba, and in exercise of the rights which God and nature have bestowed upon every freeman, to secure his welfare and establish himself under the form of government that suits him, do solemnly declare, taking God to witness the ends we propose, and invoking the favor of the people of America, who have preceded us with their example; that the Island of Cuba is, and, by the laws of nature ought to be, independent of Spain; and that henceforth the inhabitants of Cuba are free from all obedience or subjection to the Spanish government, and the individuals composing it; owing submission only to the authority and direction of those who, while awaiting the action of the general suffrage of the people, are charged, or may provisionally charge themselves, with the command and government of each locality, and of the military forces.

By virtue of this declaration, the free sons of Cuba, and the inhabitants of the Island who adhere to her cause, are authorized to take up arms, to unite into corps, to name officers and juntas of government for their organization and direction, for the purpose of putting themselves in communication with the juntas constituted for the proclamation of the independence of Cuba, and which have given the initiative to this movement. Placed in the imposing attitude of making themselves respected, our compatriots will prefer all the means of persuasion to those of force; they will protect the property of neutrals, whatever may be their origin; they will welcome the Peninsulars into their ranks as brothers, and will respect all property.

If, notwithstanding our purposes and fraternal intentions, the Spanish government should find partizans obstinately bent upon sustaining it, and we have to owe our liberty to the force of arms, sons of Cuba, let us prove to the republics of America which are contemplating us, that we having been the last to follow their example does not make us unworthy of them, nor incapable of meriting our liberty and achieving our independence.

JOAQUIN DE AGUERO AGUERO,  
FRANCISCO AGUERO ESTRADU,  
UBALDO ARTEACA PIÑA.

July 4, 1851.

DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION, AND OF THE EXECUTION OF  
THE FIFTY AMERICANS UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL  
CRITTENDEN, AT HAVANA.

On the 21st of August the steamship Winfield Scott arrived at New York from New Orleans, *via* Key West, bringing the startling intelligence that General Lopez had landed, from the Pampero, on the island of Cuba, with 450 men. The following letter from Key West to the *New York Herald* received by the Scott, unfolds particulars of interest respecting the expedition:—

KEY WEST, August 17, 1851.

The steamer Pampero, Captain Lewis, with General Narciso Lopez, and four hundred and fifty followers, came through the North West Pass, and anchored off our light house, on Sunday last, at 5 P. M. She communicated with the shore and left again at 10 P. M. It is understood that the Hungarian General Pragy, with several other distinguished foreign officers, were on board, with Colonels Chace, Crittenden, Downer, and many other American gentlemen of standing and character. The night was perfectly calm, and the moon shone brightly when she left her anchorage for the shores of Cuba, and all hands appeared to be in glorious spirits and gave three hearty cheers.

On Thursday last the Pampero returned, remained a few minutes in the harbor, and left again for parts unknown; it is supposed for another party of filibusteros. It is understood that she took a pilot out of a Spanish vessel off Havana, and *landed her people at ten o'clock, p.m., on Tuesday last, about twelve miles eastward of Bahia Honda, where they were immediately joined by the people of the surrounding country. The Pampero left at seven o'clock on the next morning, and Lopez was to march at ten o'clock against the nearest military post.*

A Spanish smack, sent by Francisco Marti, the manager of the Havana Opera House, came here four days ago to pick up intelligence and left again the same evening, carrying off a Spanish refugee from justice, who has resided here for some

time, and who goes over to give such items of news as his fears or invention may dictate.

A company of volunteers for Cuba, armed and equipped efficiently, left here privately within the last few days.

This expedition seems to have been planned with a good deal of skill ; and there appears to be a determination among those engaged in it, to sink or swim, survive or perish, in the cause. The following are the names of most of the leading men who are supposed to have landed at Cubanos from the Pampero :

General Narciso Lopez, the leader of the expedition.

Colonel J. Pragay, late of the Hungarian army, formerly Adjutant General to General Klapka, and second in command at Comorn, when that place capitulated. He goes second in command to General Lopez.

Colonel Crittenden, late of the U. S. Army, and nephew of the Attorney General of the United States. He has the immediate command of the artillery.

Colonel Dollman, of Georgia, who served through the Mexican war.

Colonel Chase.

Major J. A. Kelly, who served in the Florida and Mexican wars, and was once a leading whig editor in Louisiana.

Captain W. Scott Haynes.

Captain A. J. Dailey.

Captain Ellis, late of the Hungarian Army.

Captain Victor Kerr, late of the American Army in Mexico.

The Pampero is commanded by Captain Lewis, who directed the Creole so successfully in the Cardenas expedition ; and who was arrested in this city a short time ago, while in command of the Cleopatra, and held to bail in the sum of \$5,000. The Pampero is quite fast, and will run ahead of any of the war steamers.

The public had scarcely had time to become acquainted with this news, before the Cherokee arrived, about nine o'clock at night on the 21st, with the horrifying details of the summary

execution of the fifty Americans before the castle of Atares, at Havana. We make the following extracts from the published accounts :—

It appears from statemetns published in the New Orleans papers, said to have been supplied from Col. Crittenden himself, that soon after landing from the Pampero, near Bahia Honda, that he was left with his detachment in charge of the artillery and baggage, while Lopez, with his remaining force, pushed on to a village not far distant, probably *Posas*; and that after waiting some-time to hear from Lopez, Colonel Crittenden sent to him to learn his position and his wishes, when Lopez ordered him to join him. With this view Colonel Crittenden commenced his line of march at a late hour in the night, and had only proceeded about two or three miles, when he was met by a large Spanish force, whom he succeeded in repelling, but they were shortly reinforced to the estimated number of five hundred to seven hundred of the Queen's troops, when they charged on Crittenden with his handful of men and dispersed them. They were forced to seek safety in the chapparal, where they remained for a day or two destitute of food, and finally reached the sea-shore, where they embarked in four launches, and spent one night at sea, hoping to fall in with a vessel of some friendly power. They were, however, forced to return near the coast, and when near to the island of Levisa, they were captured by the Habanero, as stated, without having with them any means of defence. It is said that Colonel Crittenden stated that he was not in possession of a single cartridge.

“ They were brought to Havana by the Habanero, on Saturday morning, the 16th August, at 1 A.M., and taken from on board a Spanish frigate, lying in port, and executed at 11:5 A.M. of the same morning. After they were shot, they were dragged by the feet, by negroes, and then left to the mob, who commenced stripping them of their clothes and carrying them on sticks through the streets, yelling like so many wild demons.

“ Annexed is a list of the names of those men who were shot on the public road, in Havana. It is estimated that there were 20,000 spectators :—



Colonel W. S. Crittenden,	Private James L. Manville,
Captain F. S. Sewer,	“ G. M. Green,
“ Victor Kerr,	“ J. Salmon,
“ T. B. Veacey,	“ Napoleon Collins,
Lieutenant James Brandt,	“ N. H. Fisher,
“ J. O. Bryce,	“ William Chilling,
“ Thomas C. James,	“ G. A. Cook,
Doctor John Fisher,	“ S. O. Jones,
“ K. A. Tourniquet,	“ M. H. Ball,
Sergeant J. Whiteous,	“ James Buxet,
“ A. M. Cotchett,	“ Robert Caldwell,
Adjutant R. C. Stanford,	“ C. C. Wm. Smith,
Lieutenant M. H. Homes,	“ A. Ross,
Private Samuel Mills,	“ P. Brouke,
“ Edward Bulman,	“ John Christdes,
“ George A. Arnold,	“ William B. Little,
“ B. J. Wregy,	“ Robert Cantley,
“ William Niseman,	“ John G. Sanka,
“ Anselmo Torres,	“ James Stanton,
“ — Hernandez,	“ Thomas Harnatt,
“ Patrick Dillon,	“ Alexander McIlcer,
“ Thomas Hearsey,	“ John Stubbs,
“ Samuel Reed,	“ James Ellis,
“ H. T. Vinne,	“ William Hogan,
“ M. Philips,	“ Charles A. Robinson.

“ This list embraces forty-nine, there were fifty-two shot.

“ Many of the Cherokee's passengers, who were on the spot at the execution, were pointed at with a sneer of contempt, and many stopped in the streets and insulted—called Americans, and that they were one and all of the same party—that one of these days they would be served in the same way. It was dangerous for an American to be in the streets alone at night.

“ The Falcon steamship, while on her way up the coast of Cuba from Chagres, was fired at three times, by the war steamer Habanero, and was obliged to heave to, and was boarded by the officers of the Habanero. After the Falcon stopped, the officers of the Habanero cheered as if they had gained a glorious victory. This is the third time the Falcon has been served the same trick.”

These men were at three o'clock in the morning of the 16th August, transferred from the Habanero to the frigate Esperanza, which landed them at Havana, at about nine o'clock in the morning. The following account of their landing is taken from a letter written by a party on board the United States sloop of war Albany, which was lying in the port of Havana:—

“ A horrid story remains for to-day—fifty men, detached by Lopez to gain some town, on or near the coast, were captured by the Spanish Admiral, last night, at 2 A.M. They were brought into the harbor, placed on board the frigate *Esperanza*, (Hope,) and this morning, at 9 o'clock, they marched down the ship's gangway, one by one, stripped to trowsers and shirt, some even without the latter covering, bare-headed, hands tightly bound behind their backs—a pale train, hurried toward the land of ghosts.

“ I saw these fifty men, one colonel, three captains, four lieutenants, two surgeons, five sergeants, and thirty-five soldiers, bareheaded and almost naked, bound, marched down the flag ship's gangway, on the side next to, and not two hundred and fifty yards from, the *Albany*, into a ferry boat, transported to the head of the harbor, distance about one mile, and there, amidst an immense concourse of spectators—perhaps one hundred thousand—shot without mercy. I saw their pale faces and firm steps as they descended from their trial to death. Many were very young, and some had the forms as they no doubt had the souls, of heroes.”

We annex the following account of the execution from a letter published in the *New York Herald*, though probably exaggerated in some respects, yet, as far as it relates to the brutal conduct of the mob to the dead bodies after death, although denied, later accounts are said to have confirmed them.

The friends of Mr. Owen, our Consul at Havana, have asked a suspension of public opinion until he can be heard in defence; while not expressing an opinion as to his culpability, we put upon record the censures expressed by correspondents regarding his conduct.

HAVANA, August 16—4½ P.M.

I am too much affected to write to you more than to say that I have this day been witness to one of the most brutal acts of wanton inhumanity ever perpetrated in the annals of history. Not content, this government, in revenging themselves in the death of these unfortunate and, perhaps, misguided men, and which, it may even be said, was brought upon themselves; but these Spanish authorities deserve to be most severely chastised for their exceedingly reprehensible conduct in permitting the desecration, as they have done, of the senseless clay of our brave countrymen. This morning

Forty Americans,	One Italian,
Four Irish,	One Philippine Islander,
One Scotch,	Two Habaneros, and
Two Germans, or Hungarians,	

were shot at 11 o'clock—after which the troops were ordered to retire; and some hundreds of the very vilest rabble and negroes, hired for the

purpose, commenced stripping the dead bodies, mutilating their limbs, tearing out their eyes, cutting off their noses and fingers, and some of the poor fellows (privates) these wretches brought to the city on sticks, and paraded them under the very walls of the palace. Oh, the very remembrance of the sight is frightful.

I never saw men—and could scarcely have supposed it possible—conduct themselves at such an awful moment with the fortitude these men displayed under such trying circumstances. They were shot six at a time, *i. e.*, twelve were brought to the place of execution, six made to kneel down and receive the fire of the soldiers, after which the remaining six were made to walk round their dead comrades, and kneel opposite to them, when they also were shot. After being stripped, and their bodies mutilated in the barbarous manner I have described, they were shoved, six or seven together, bound as they were, into hearses, which were used last year for cholera cases. No coffins were allowed them; and I think the manner they were put into the hearses was equally as disgusting as the other acts; the heads of some were almost dragging on the ground, and it had more the appearance of a slaughter cart on its way to market from the slaughter house, than that of a hearse conveying the dead bodies of human beings.

A finer looking set of young men I never saw; they made not a single complaint, not a murmur, against their sentence, and decency should have been shown to their dead bodies, in admiration for the heroism they displayed when brought out for execution. Not a muscle was seen to move, and they proved to the miserable rabble congregated to witness the horrid spectacle, that, it being the fortune of war that they fell into the power of this government, they were not afraid to die. It would have been a great consolation to these poor fellows, as they repeatedly asked, to see their consul, and, through him, to have sent their last adieus, and such little mementos as they had, to their beloved relations in the States. One handsome young fellow desired that his watch should be sent to his sweetheart. But Mr. Owens, the American Consul, did not even make application to the Captain-General to see these unfortunate countrymen in their distress, and their sacred wishes in their last moments have been unattended to. Lastly, at the very hour of their triumph, when the people of the Spanish steamer *Habanero* knew that the execution of the American prisoners, which they had taken to Havana, was about to take place, two shots were fired across, or at, the steamer *Falcon*, off *Bahia Honda*; and, notwithstanding that this vessel was well known to them, having, as she had, the American flag hoisted, &c., she was detained and overhauled by these Spanish officers, who, upon returning to their vessel, commenced cheering and hissing at the *Falcon*, proud, no doubt, of the impunity with which they had detained an American mail steamer on the high seas, at their pleasure.

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HAVANA, August 16, 1851.

*The Bloody Day in Havana—The Execution of Fifty Patriots—The Conduct of the American Consul—The Rising of the People—The Reported Successes of the Invaders.*

☞ The bloodiest day of the Cuban revolution is fast drawing to its close, and the sun that is now rapidly sinking in the west has seen fifty prisoners—the greater part of them young Americans—shot in cold blood, and their mutilated remains torn and dragged by a savage populace, the outpourings of Spain, the mule of Europe.

This morning, about three o'clock, the steamer Habanero arrived with fifty prisoners, of whose capture we have only the official report as you will find it in the *Gaceta* of this morning. At eleven o'clock they were shot at the foot of the Fort Atares, in the presence of an immense assemblage. The list I will send to you, if it is published in time to go by this mail. The saddest portion of the history which I have to relate is the indifference of the American Consul to their sad fate. This gentlemen, as you are aware, is Mr. A. F. Owen, late representative from Georgia in Congress, and nominated by Mr. Fillmore to replace General Campbell, the late Consul here. Mr. Owen was called upon by an American gentleman residing here, to see if he had made any effort to see those of his countrymen who were thus inhumanly to be shot; the Consul took the ground *that they had been declared outlaws by Mr. Fillmore*, and he should not interfere in the matter. After some conversation he concluded that he would write to the Captain-General, which he did, requesting only an interview. At two o'clock he had received no answer.

In the career of a public man, moments present themselves in which all rules of action, all the formalities of courts, all the delays of etiquette, must be set aside, and the voice of public good, or of humanity, must be obeyed with that decision which marks the high resolve, the steady nerve, and the noble soul of the man of worth. Obeying the generous impulses of such a moment, the man of action receives the reward he merits in the approval of the world; but the hour suffered to pass in inglorious inaction, the laggard in the cause of humanity merits only the opprobrium and the scorn of his fellow men. Such has been the error committed by Mr. Owen; such has been the want of generous impulse in his bosom, and in the eyes of men he has covered himself with disgrace and infamy. The Diplomat may shield himself behind the "Proclamation of the President;" the Consul may allege "the want of power;" but where will the Man hide himself when the fathers and mothers shall ask him tidings of their sons? when the wives and daughters shall ask him for the last words of their husbands and fathers; when their brethren (and wherever liberty scatters her blessings they have brethren) shall ask him, what of our brothers? These are not vain words, but it is the outcry of young Cuba, from Capa Marsi to San Antonio, and her thousand hills echo back the cry. This will be the voice of a sympathizing people, that fill the land shadowing with wings.

Access to the Captain-General can be obtained at all hours by the simple assertion that his business is urgent, and how much more easily could the Consul of the great republic have obtained access. His simply asking for an interview might have delayed their fate, and given them more time to prepare for that dread tribunal before which they were about to appear. His simply showing the interest of a man in their fate, might, perhaps, have inclined the Captain-General to a less vengeful determination, and have saved some from the fate they met. Had he saved but one man it would have been to him forever a fountain of joy ; as he made no effort, it must be to him forever a source of bitter regret. As a public man, he has shown himself unfitted for the responsible position he holds ; for, in times of revolution, men, and not books—living impulse, not dead rules, are to be consulted.

I do not write this in a spirit of anger, but after hours of calm reflection ; and, to any gentleman who asks my name from any other motive than an impertinent curiosity, you are at perfect liberty to communicate it. Mr. Owen I leave to the judgment of his fellow-citizens.

The revolution goes gloriously on. In the East and the West the patriots are everywhere triumphant. The people join them in crowds, and the year 1851 will see the close of the Spanish rule in Cuba. I leave to your able correspondents all details.

CUBANA.

#### THE SPANISH ACCOUNTS OF THE EXECUTION.

The following is the blood-thirsty death warrant issued by the Governor-General. Not the slightest allusion is made in this document to any sort of previous trial, which even the forms of Spanish laws required:—

“ It having been decreed by the general order of the 20th of April last, and subsequently reproduced, what was to be the fate of the pirates who should dare to profane the soil of this island, and in view of the declarations of the fifty individuals who have been taken by his Excellency the Commander General of this naval station, and placed at my disposal, which declarations establish the identity of their persons as pertaining to the horde commanded by the traitor Lopez, I have resolved, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Ordinances, General Laws of the Kingdom, and particularly in the Royal Order of the 12th June of the past year, issued for this particular case, that the said individuals, whose names and designations are set forth in the following statement, suffer this day the pain of death, by being shot, the execution being committed to the Señor Teniente de Rey, Brigadier of the Plaza.

“ JOSE DE LA CONCHA.”

## THE SPANISH ACCOUNTS.

HAVANA, August 17—8 o'clock A. M.

[Translated from the Government Journals of Havana.]

The excellent Senor General D. Jose Marie de Bustillos, General Commander of the Navy in that district, has sent, to-day, at half past one o'clock, A. M., the following communication to the Governor-General:—

YOUR EXCELLENCY :—I started yesterday from Bahia Honda, in the steamer Habanero, with a view to reconnoitre the coast of Playitas and Morillo, in order to remove all the means by which the pirates could possibly escape ; or, in case of more expeditions to these points, to remove the means of disembarkation. At seven o'clock in the morning, I communicated with the inhabitants of Morillo, and was informed by the proprietors that, at ten o'clock on the preceding night, one part of them embarked in four boats, which were on the shore, in order to go to New Orleans, by taking the first vessel they could find. Having calculated the hour of their sailing, and the distance probably made in ten hours, and supposing they had taken the direction of New Orleans, which was the cause of their having disappeared from the inhabitants of the neighborhood, I proceeded in that direction eighteen miles, with full steam ; but, after having accomplished that distance, I could not discover any of those I pursued. Believing that the road they had followed was within the rocks, I directed my steamer to that point, and made the greatest exertions to encounter the fugitive pirates. At ten o'clock in the morning I found myself in the proximity of the passage, and detected the four boats navigating along the coast, but so near to it that I was afraid of my inability to seize them. In order to take them, I ordered the steam to be pressed as much as possible ; and I think myself correct in affirming to your Excellency that the steamer was running thirteen miles. This was not enough to overtake them. I could only seize one. Two others were upon the rocks of the island, and the fourth upon the rocks of Cayo Levisa. When I seized the men of the first boat, I armed the boats of the ship in order to pursue the second and third, which were on the rocks ; but the officers of the army who were in the boats, as well as the troops and sailors, the commander of the boat, D. Ignacio de Arellano, and the captain of the steamer Cardenas, D. Francisco Estolt—who, stimulated by his patriotism, has taken a part in all the services rendered by this boat—threw themselves in the water to pursue the pirates, of whom two only escaped. Having left their arms, we did not pursue them, in order to occupy ourselves with the boat in Cayo Levisa, for it was one of the largest and contained more men. In short, I armed the boats, and directed them to stop the debarkation of the men who were looking for a landing, and to pursue these fugitive pirates. These, twenty-four in number, were hidden within a small creek, having the boat drawn up among the rocks ; and here the pirates were seized. The number of the prisoners was fifty, well armed men, headed by a chief and five officers.

This important result proves that the faction is dispirited, and that the greater number have sought their safety by flight, astonished at the bravery of our soldiers, and convinced that their doctrines cannot find an echo in the country.

At half-past two o'clock in the evening I returned to Morillo, as the inhabitants, who informed me of the departure of the pirates, told me, also, that some parties of the fugitives were wandering in the neighborhood, and that the troops of her Majesty were at a small distance from this place. I sent to the commander, by a faithful peasant, this communication, with the names of the prisoners, whom I keep, for the disposition of your Excellency, in the frigate *Esperanza*, in which I am just now starting again to sea.

Published, by order of his Excellency, in the *Gaceta Extraordinaria*.  
PEDRO ESTEBAN.

HAVANA, August 16.

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### SPANISH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

We translate from a supplement of the *Prensa*, of August 16, the following article :—

#### JUSTICE.

We have just come from the shooting execution, at the brow of the Castle of Atares, of the fifty pirates taken by the excellent General Commander of Marine of this station, having arrived, in the morning, on board the war frigate of her Majesty the Queen, *Esperanza*.

The justice of man is accomplished. The unfortunate criminals are now before the tribunal of God, giving an account of their past lives.

We hate the crime. We have compassion for the criminals.

Please God, that this inevitable and just warning may wake the understanding and reason of those perverse men who, from a foreign land, sent to death those who are their instruments; the infamous, who, incited by the most vile passions and voracity, are intent to bring ruin, desolation, and crime into a peaceful and quiet country, which respects all the other nations of the world—which is always occupied with its business, its industry, and its commerce.

New Orleans papers, there is your work! There is the result of your diragations, of your iniquitous falsehoods, of your placards with large black letters, and your detestable extras. There you have that scattered blood, and that will be scattered in future. There you have it, smoking in accusation against you, perverse instigators, against you, who have murdered those deluded men, whom you have sent to death—for you knew well that they certainly would be killed. This blood must flow, drop by drop, upon your heads—this blood will torment you in your sleep, for they have lost their lives when you were in security in your houses.

Never mind that those stupid men who left them to be taken by your demoniac cries, have fallen! What interest had you in that, if gold was in your pockets, the gold your only god, the payment of the blood

shed? The greatest culprits of all are the papers of New Orleans. But they are in security, and God alone can punish them. Why did you not come with the pirates, if you loyally believed that you would have been received with open arms, ye iniquitous?

The fifty prisoners of the *Esperanza* have been shot, at the brow of the Castle of Atares, as we have already said. The steamer *Habanero* brought them to the place of their execution.

The troops formed a square. They had on their war uniform—the *blusa* and straw hat. On the arrival of the troops, the cavalry and the civic guard, the multitude on foot and on horseback, placed on the heights, on the plain, on the sea, and a great distance upon the edifices of Jesus del Monte and el Cerro, incessantly cheering the Queen and Spain—eternal idols of that army and of this people so much calumniated by the United States.

Sr. Mayor de Plazo read the usual edict, and the criminals appeared by ten at a time; and, after being shot, were taken away from the place of execution, to make room for their companions! The first chief was shot alone—the two second chiefs were shot together—all in the midst of incessant cries in favor of the Queen and Spain.

Justice being done, the Lieutenant, Rey, in a speech to the soldiers and the people, expressed himself in strong and worthy terms, saying that the punishment inflicted was merited by these men; who, without a God, without a law, without a flag, came in order to attack our nationality, our religion, our Queen, and all other objects dear to our hearts.

The *vivats* to the Queen and to the country were repeated with more energy; the troops defiled, and the people went to the place of execution, where they looked for what the criminals had left.

Ten funeral cars were waiting to convey to the cemetery the mortal remains of the fifty pirates. Those cars had been furnished by the funeral agencies, and were ornamented according to the circumstances of the tragedy.

The justice of man is complete! God has pardoned the young culprits, who have lost their lives by having trusted their faith to the infamous falsehoods of the New Orleans papers.

Lieut. Henry Rogers, U. S. N., in command of the steamship *Falcon*, wrote a letter to M. O. Roberts, announcing his being brought to by the firing across his bow, and questioning the right of the Spanish authorities to stop his vessel on the open sea for examination.

The following copies of letters from some of the Americans executed in Havana, have been published. We preface copies of them by letters received at the same time from other parties in Havana:



HAVANA, August 18, 1851.

You will hear everything. I write to impress you with the conduct of our Consul, Mr. Owens, of Georgia. He has been called upon by several Americans, to go to the Captain-General, who would not have refused him to be present while these poor fellows lived, and obtain their dying request. He refused, absolutely, to have anything to do with it. It appears that one Antonio Costa, a Spaniard, of New Orleans, was present, in order to obtain what he could, as a spy to the Spanish government, to find out of these unfortunate men how things were, &c. I send you a *Faro* of the 14th, from which you will see he has offered his services and one hundred men from New Orleans, to protect the government.

They shot several men on the 5th, (one a German doctor, and the other an American engineer,) so I am well informed. Sixteen others shot, positively.

The Albany left us this morning, in alarm and without protection.

[Correspondence of the New Orleans Crescent.]

\* \* \* \* \* They died bravely, those gallant and unfortunate young men. When the moment of execution came, many, Colonel Crittenden and Captain Victor Kerr among them, refused to kneel with their backs to their executioners. "NO," said the chivalrous Crittenden, "AN AMERICAN KNEELS ONLY TO HIS GOD, AND ALWAYS FACES HIS ENEMY." They stood up, faced their executioners, were shot down, and their brains then knocked out by clubbed muskets.

Other prisoners have been made and executed near the field, or in the vicinity of Bahia Honda—fifteen on board the steamer Pizarro—a good deal of cold bloodshed, which will probably give a not acceptable return to those who have proved their chivalry in vain; but who can unflinchingly look the dead man in the face—but not, I believe, without the sense of shame. The number we shall know, if the government choose to publish.

The creoles here are cowards—they have fled far from their promises. At the East, it is said, they maintain themselves as heroes, and Lopez is not yet defeated. The only hope is, that in divided counsels, want of food, &c., he may fail. Spanish chivalry has been beaten back in every action attempted, with great loss, by a handful of men.

#### LAST WORDS OF AMERICAN PRISONERS.

*From Victor Kerr to his Wife and Friends.*

[From the New Orleans Delta, August 22.]

The following letters from that gallant young creole hero, Victor Kerr, are among the last which he ever wrote. They were written in a bold and masculine style of chirography, and will sufficiently refute the unfounded rumors touching their tenor, put into circulation, yesterday, by the enemies of Cuban liberty:

MY DEAR FELICIA:—Adieu, my dear wife, this is the last letter that you will receive from your Victor. In one hour I shall be no more.

Embrace all my friends for me. Never marry again; it is my desire. My adieus to my sisters and brothers. Again, a last adieu. I die like a soldier.

Your husband,

VICTOR KERR.

August 16, 1851—6 o'clock.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:—I leave you forever, and I go to the other world. I am prisoner in Havana, and in an hour I shall have ceased to exist. My dearest friends, think often of me. I die worthy of a creole, worthy of a Louisianian, and of a Kerr. My dearest friends, adieu for the last time.

Your devoted friend,

VICTOR KERR.

To N. Larose, H. Boulogny, Leon Fazende, William G. Vincent, Felix Arrayo.

August 16, 1851—6¼ o'clock.

Capt. Kerr was a native of New Orleans, and the son of Dr. Kerr of that city, who died the present year, aged about 53 or 54. Some have confounded this name with that of Dr. Wm. Kerr, who was surgeon under Gen. Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. Capt. Victor Kerr was the son-in-law of Mr. Michell, who published a card, thanking a friend for having secured and returned the body of the Captain to his friends in New Orleans.

Capt. Kerr served in the war with Mexico, and his commanding officer speaks of him in the following language :

NEW YORK, August 25, 1851.

I will also state, that Victor Kerr was one of the gallant creoles of Louisiana, enlisted in the company (G) I had the honor of recruiting and commanding during the Mexican war. He was at the battle of Tolome, fought by Colonel McIntosh, U. S. A., June 6, 1847, and distinguished himself in the highest degree. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

A. M. DUPERU,

late Captain co. G, 3d Dragoons.

*From Thomas C. James.*

SPANISH FRIGATE ESPERANZA. }

Harbor of Havana, August 15, 1851. }

MY DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS:—This is the last letter you will ever receive from your brother Thomas. In one hour more I will be launched into eternity, being now a prisoner, with fifty others, aboard of this ship, and now under sentence of death. All to be shot! This

is a hard fate, but I trust in the mercy of God, and will meet my fate manfully.

Think of me hereafter, not with regret, but as one whom you loved in life, and who loved you. Adieu, forever, my brothers, sisters and friends.

THOMAS C. JAMES.

Robert, our poor friends, G. A. Cook, and John O. Bryce, are with me, and send their last regard to you; also Clement Stanford, formerly of Natchez.

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*From Adjutant Stanford.*

HAVANA, August 16, 1851.

DEAR HULING:—We arrived on the island of Cuba after the most horrible passage you can conceive of, cooped on board with 400 or 500 men.

We arrived on Sunday last, I believe—dates I have almost forgotten. The next morning, Lopez, with General Praguay and all the commanding officers, left us—(I mean Crittenden and his battalion.) We heard nothing more of him for two days, when Crittenden dispatched a note. He then requested we should join him at a little town some six or eight miles off, leaving us in the mean time to take care of all the baggage, &c.

We started for him on Wednesday morning at two o'clock, and had proceeded only three miles when we were attacked by 500 Spanish soldiers. In the first charge I received a very severe wound in the knee. We repulsed them, however. They made another charge, and completely routed us. We spent two days and nights, the most miserable you can imagine, in the chapparal, without anything to eat or drink.

We made the best of our way to the sea-shore, and found some boats with which we put to sea. Spent a night upon the ocean, and the next day, about 12 o'clock, were taken prisoners by the Habanero, were brought to Havana last night and condemned to die this morning. We shall all be shot in an hour.

Good bye and God bless you. I send the Masonic medal enclosed in this, belonging to my father. Convey it to my sister, Mrs. P——n, and tell her my fate. Once more, God bless you. STANFORD.

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*From J. Brandt.*

HAVANA, August 16, 1851.

MY DEAR MOTHER:—I have but a few moments to live. Fifty of us are condemned to be shot within a half hour. I do not value life, but deeply regret the grief it will cause you to hear of my death. Farewell, then, my dear mother, sisters and all; we may meet again in another world. Think of me often; forget the causes I have given you for grief: remember only my virtues. Farewell, again, dearest mother, and believe me to be your affectionate son,

Mrs. MARIA E. BRANDT.

J. BRANDT.

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*From H. Vienne.*

ON BOARD THE MAN-OF-WAR ESPERANZA, }  
August 16, 1851. }

MY DEAR AND AFFECTIONATE SISTERS AND BROTHERS:—Before I die, I am permitted to address my last words in *this world*.

Deceived by false visions, I embarked in the expedition for *Cuba*. We arrived, about four hundred in number, last week, and in about an hour from now, we, I mean fifty of us, will be lost. I was taken prisoner after an engagement, and with fifty others, am to be shot in an hour.

I die, my dear brothers and sisters, a repentant sinner, having been blessed with the last rites of our holy religion. Forgive me for all the follies of my life, and you, my dear and affectionate sisters, pray for my poor soul.

A——, go to my dear mother and console her. Oh! my dear child, kiss her a thousand times for me. Love her for my sake. Kiss my brothers and all your dear children. To Father Blackney, my last profound respect; to Father Lacroix and Father D'Hau, a mass for the repose of my soul.

My dear mother-in-law, farewell! Poor Tacite is shot and dead by this time!

I give and bequeath my dear child to you and you alone. Good-bye, H——; good-bye, G—— and T——. I did my duty. Good-bye, all.

Your dear Son and Brother,

HONORE TACITE VIENNE.

Mr. Antonio Costa has promised to do all he can to obtain my body. If so, please have me buried with my wife.

*From G. A. Cook.*

HAVANA, ON BOARD A MAN OF WAR, }  
8 o'clock A. M., August 16, 1851. }

STANTON & Co.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:—About fifty of us—Col. Crittenden's command—were taken prisoners yesterday; have not received our sentence yet, but no doubt we will be shot before sunset. *Lopez, the Scoundrel*, has deceived us; there is no doubt that all those reports about the Cuban rising were trumped up in New Orleans. Lopez took nearly his command and deserted us. We were attacked by some 500 or 700 of the Queen's troops the second day after we landed. Our own gallant Col. Crittenden did all that any man could do—but we saw we had been deceived and retreated to the sea-shore with the intention of getting off to our country if possible. Got three boats and got off with the intention of coasting until we fell in with an American vessel, and were taken prisoners by the steamboat Habanero.

Explain to my family that I have done nothing but was instigated by the highest motives, that I die with a clear conscience and like a man

with a stout heart. I send my watch to you, it is for little Benny, my nephew. Good bye, God bless you all.

Truly yours,

GILMAN A. COOK.

NOTICES OF THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF SOME OF THE SUFFERERS.

COL. WILLIAM S. CRITTENDEN.

“AN AMERICAN KNEELS ONLY TO HIS GOD, AND ALWAYS FACES HIS ENEMY.”

This noble declaration, and last speech of the gallant Crittenden, would have immortalized a hero, in the best days of GREECE or ROME.

[From the Louisville Courier, Aug. 25.]

The Colonel Crittenden who was one of the Americans executed at Havana was, doubtless, William Crittenden, formerly of this city, and brother of John A. Crittenden, late Marshal of the Chancery Court here. Patrick Dillon, Dr. Fisher, and Manville, who were also executed at the same time, were from this city, and we understand some two or three others of the unfortunates were from Indiana.

[From the New Orleans True Delta.]

Long and well did we know him. We knew him first in the Mexican war, and in many a bivouac shared his blanket. Educated at West Point, he graduated with honor. At the opening of that war, he occupied the position of adjutant of the 1st infantry, and for several months discharged the highly responsible duties of post adjutant at Vera Cruz, with merited honor. He was the son of a brother of the distinguished gentleman who now fills the office of attorney-general of the United States. His father emigrated to Arkansas, when that state was in its infancy, and died in early life, filling a community with universal regret for the loss of a man as highly endowed with the loftiest virtues, as he was gifted with the rarest genius.

Will Crittenden, as he was familiarly named by his friends, was worthy of the stock whence he sprung. A nobler specimen of the Kentucky gentleman, a worthier servant or citizen of the Republic, we have never met. A lion heart, a love of truth, of honor and of liberty, were his. An accomplished soldier, a votary of letters, he was as gentle as he was brave. At the close of the Mexican war, he resigned his military office, and became a citizen of New Orleans, where he resided until he embarked with Lopez.

Our blood has boiled to hear the base inuendoes of the agued lip-lovers of Cuban freedom against him, as well as his companions, for permitting themselves to be captured. The dying missives of his compatriots reveal the causes that compelled his heroic soul to yield. If

ever a man fell a victim to atrocious deception, it was he. A few days before he left, we met him, and a wish that we would accompany him was expressed.—We earnestly advised him against embarking in the enterprise; we spoke our incredulity of the reports that the Cubans had risen. He answered that he was no freebooter; that he could not be induced to join the expedition, were not the people of Cuba in arms against their rulers.

That a revolution had actually commenced, that the Cubans were in the field, he assured us he knew from statements of parties who had given him their confidence. Against this faith, we had nothing but our incredulity to present, and we parted never to meet again. We have felt it a solemn duty to state this, to remove the impression that he, from his position in the expedition, was a party to the cruel artifices practiced by the unseen heads of the scheme.

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#### LIEUT. THOMAS C. JAMES.

[From the Wilmington (N. C.) Herald, August 23.]

Among the victims of the recent execution in Havana, a report of which will be found in another column, we were pained to discover the name of Lieut. Thomas C. James, formerly of this place. We knew him well in days gone by, for he was a school-fellow of ours, and we can bear willing testimony to the many excellent qualities of his mind and heart. He was of an ardent, impulsive temperament, fond of excitement and adventure, and was deservedly esteemed while a resident here. But he has fallen in the full flush of manhood, and whatever may be the shades of opinion with regard to the character of the cause in which he was enlisted, still the warmer emotions of our nature can not but revolt at the inhuman sacrifice which robbed him and his daring associates of life. One consolation, at least, remains to his kindred and friends—and it is that he died like a hero, without a sign of fear.

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[From the New Orleans Delta, August 26.]

We give below a letter sent to us by Colonel R. W. James, brother of that gallant young man, Thomas C. James, who was one of the fifty so cruelly murdered in Havana. Col. James was also the intimate friend of Mr. G. A. Cook, (another of the murdered patriots,) having accompanied him through a long and perilous service in the reconnoissance of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec:—

NEW ORLEANS, August 25, 1851.

Though oppressed with grief for the loss of a beloved brother, and of my dear friend Gilman A. Cook, who were brutally murdered in Havana, on the 16th instant, by the Spanish authorities, I cannot refrain from performing an act of duty, by stating what my intimacy with Mr. Cook enables me to say—that, in going to Cuba, he was neither deceived nor persuaded by any one, but acted from his own noble impulses, which were always on the side of the oppressed. His determination to accompany my brother, with whom he had passed through many dangers, and to whom he was warmly attached, was made but a few hours

before the expedition sailed. He had no knowledge whatever of the plan of operation. My brother and myself, from motives of friendship and regard, knowing that he was the only surviving son of a large family, endeavored to dissuade him from going; but his mind was made up, and he said he would shrink from no dangers which his old friend Thomas C. James might encounter. I am satisfied that he could have had no consultation with Gen. Lopez before he left. I would also add my belief, as one who felt deeply the effects of the calamity, that the command of Col. Crittenden could not have been deserted by General Lopez, but that the gallant old man no doubt did all that mortal could do to save the very flower of his little army, and that their destruction was effected somewhat in the manner described by Gen. Huston, in Sunday's *Delta*—by the unexpected interposition of a large Spanish force between the party with Gen. Lopez and the command of Col. Crittenden which had charge of the baggage. In justice to the old hero, I would oppose to the charges of his assailants in this city, who accuse him of treachery, my own, and what I believe is the sentiment of nearly our whole people, that his conduct was brave and honest.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. W. JAMES.

[From the New Orleans Crescent, July 26.]

A letter from Alex. McAleer, one of the Havana victims, to Mr. John McGinn, was shown to us yesterday. Mr. McA. writes that on the 12th August they had a fight with the Spaniards, killing thirty of them and losing three men; that they then returned to take a vessel for New Orleans, but not arriving in time, took four boats and put to sea, and were captured. The remainder of his letter is in reference to private matters.

[From the Washington Southern Press, August 3d.]

We learn that Alexander M. Colchett, one of the victims of Cuban vengeance, was the son of a wealthy and highly respectable merchant of Charleston, South Carolina, and a brother of John M. Colchett, of the firm of John M. Colchett & Co., of New Orleans. He was between 20 and 21 years of age, and a respectable member of one of the most wealthy and respected families of South Carolina. He had resided for some time in New Orleans, and was a member of the Washington Artillery, of that city.

The St. Louis Republican states that S. C. Jones and T. C. Veasy, included in the list of the persons shot at Havana, were two young and promising lawyers of that city, but does not give further particulars.

Several persons among the slain were known to have gone from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. We

regret that our materials for giving sketches of the lives of those executed are not more abundant.

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CONCLUSION.

Amidst the conflicting statements daily published, it has been difficult for the most impartial to arrive at satisfactory conclusions regarding the real extent and strength of the revolution. One thing must force itself upon the conviction of the most skeptical, and that is, if the revolution among the creoles is of that brief and contemptible character represented in the Spanish accounts, why has it continued in existence so long at the east end of the island?

We know it first commenced on the 3d July, and, according to advices as late as the 25th August, it still continued unsubdued.

It may also be remarked, that a United States soldier in New York, who was present at the execution in Havana, confirms the fact, that the bodies of the slain Americans were barbarously insulted and mutilated as stated.

The accounts received up to this period, September 5, 1851, represent that two battles had been fought between Lopez and the Spanish troops; one on the 17th, and the other on the 21st August. The first was stated to have been fought near Carambola, and at a coffee plantation formerly owned by the lady of General Lopez. It is said the Spanish troops were drawn up in two columns, and at first refused to advance upon the patriots, who lined the fences in the vicinity.

General Enna then took thirty Cazadors and charged upon the patriots, who succeeded in killing every one of their assailants, with the exception of an aide-de-camp. In the charge, General Enna was mortally wounded.

After the fall of General Enna, General Rosales collected together five hundred of the Spanish troops and fled, leaving seventy wounded upon the field of action.

General Rosales was to be superseded, for cowardice, by General Pavis, of Matanzas.

After this engagement Lopez is said to have advanced to



Guanajay, a point nearer Havana, near which, probably, the second battle was fought, which may possibly have decided his fate, if the last news per Cherokee, by telegraph, proves true. In the first engagement, it is said, the Spanish officers were dismayed at the rapid firing of the Americans, who are said to have fired four times to the Spaniards' once.

General Enna was said to have been buried with great pomp at Havana, on the 21st August.

The *Faro Industrial*, published at Havana, says :

We are authorized to publish the following account of the forces of the traitor Lopez, from a document found among papers taken from one of the prisoners : Six companies of infantry, including officers, 219 ; three artillery, 114 ; one Cuban patriots, 49 ; one Hungarian, 9 ; one German, 9.

LIST OF OFFICERS.—General-in-Chief, Narcisso Lopez ; second in command, and chief of the staff, John Pragay ; officers of the staff, Captain Emmrich Radwitch ; Lieutenants Joseph Lewohl, and Jigys Rodendorf ; Adjutants Colengen and Blumenthal ; Captain Ludwig Schlessenger ; Lieutenants Ludwig and Miller ; Surgeon Hega Lemm-gue. Commissary, G. A. Cook.

Staff of the Regiment of Infantry—Colonel R. L. Dorman, Lieutenant Colonel W. Scott Harness, Adjutant George A. Graham ; Commissary Joseph Bell. Adjutant of the Regiment, George Parr.

Company A.—Captain, Robert Ellis ; Lieutenant, E. McDonald ; Sub-Lieutenant, J. L. La Hascan ; ditto, R. H. Beslinbridge.

Company B.—Captain, John Johnson ; First Lieutenant, James Dunn ; Second do., J. F. Williams ; Third do., James O'Reilly.

Company C.—Captain, J. C. Bridgham ; First Lieutenant, Richard Vrwden ; Second do., J. A. Gray ; Third do., J. N. Baker.

Company D.—Captain, Philip Golday ; First Lieutenant, David L. Rassan ; Second do., John H. Landingham ; Third do. James H. Vowden.

Company E.—Captain, Henry Jackson ; First Lieutenant, Wm. Hobbs ; Second do., J. A. Simpson ; Third do., James Crangh.

Company F.—Captain, Wm. Stewart ; First Lieutenant, James L. Down ; Second do., John L. Bass ; Third do., Thomas Hudwall.

*Regiment of Artillery.—Officers of the Staff.*—Chief, Wm. L. Crittenden ; Adjutant, R. L. Stanford ; Second Master of Commissariat, Felix Hustin ; Surgeon, Ludovic Vinks.

Company A.—Captain W. A. Kelly ; First Lieutenant, N. O. James ; Second do., James A. Nowens ; Third do., J. O. Bryce.

Company B.—Captain, James Saunders ; First Lieutenant, Philip Van Vechten ; Second do., Beverley A. Hunter ; Third do., Wm. H. Craft.

Company C.—Captain, Victor Kerr ; First Lieutenant, James Brandt ; Second do., Wm. T. Vienne.

*Regiment of Cuban Patriots.*—Company A., Captain, Ilde Fousee Overtó ; First Lieutenant, De Jiga Hernandez ; Second do., Miguel Lopez ; Third do., Jose A. Planos ; Fourth do., Henry Lopez.

*Regiment of Hungarians.*—Major, George Botilla ; Captain, Ladislaus Polank ; Lieutenants, Sermerby, Johan Petroce, Adambert Kerskes, and Conrad Richner.

*German Regiment.*—Captain Hugo Schlyct ; Lieutenants, Paul Michael, Biro Cambeas ; Captain, Pietro Muller ; Lieutenant, Giovano Placasee.

The following telegraph despatch, received in New York on the night of the 4th September, contains the latest items of news respecting the death of General Lopez and his brave followers :

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 3d, 1851.

The steamship Cherokee, with, probably, news from Havana to the 31st of August, is telegraphed below the city. We have a brief announcement of her news, to the effect that General Lopez and most of his command have been captured by the Spanish troops, and executed.

FINAL RESULT OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER GENERAL LOPEZ, AND HIS PUBLIC EXECUTION IN THE CITY OF HAVANA.

It will be perceived that in the progress of this work contradictory news and reports were arriving almost daily ; and, before the defeat and death of General Lopez was announced, by telegraph, from New Orleans, on the 5th September, we had already put to press the greater part of our book. Hence, should any discrepancy appear between our previous remarks, and the final developments and closing scenes of the expedition under Lopez, they can be reconciled with the fact that we wrote from the information before us at the time.

It will be perceived from our previous suggestions respecting the charges preferred against Lopez for deception, cowardice, &c., that Lopez himself might have been deceived, and overrated the sympathy and ability of the creoles to aid him. And again, that it might not have been in his power to have rejoined and succored Colonel Crittenden. In confirmation of these views we refer to Mr. James's letter, the brother of Lieutenant James, shot at Havana, received in New York on the 4th September, and which we have inserted beneath the notice of Lieutenant James, from a North Carolina paper, and Lopez' last expressions are said to indicate that he himself was misled.

We, throughout, have not been sanguine of his success. It is apparent that he either over-estimated the aid to be expected from the creoles, or, that he was guilty of great rashness. That he fully desired the liberty of Cuba his dying words attest. The great fault he and his followers committed was landing so near

the stronghold of the Government with such a feeble force, and to commit the fault of separation from Colonel Crittenden. They should have remained together, and fought together. Losing his artillery and the services of some of his ablest men was disastrous.

For him to have successfully accomplished the revolution of the island, he and his friends were unwise to have landed with less than ten thousand men, well supplied with artillery, and cavalry equipments, provisions, and other stores. Should such a force once land on the island, with an experienced military American in command, the conflict would neither be long nor doubtful.

In extending all aid of this kind to the creoles, their co-operation could not be expected unless supplied freely with arms, and taught to some extent the use of them. We presume one reason Lopez failed in securing their services, resulted, in some degree, from his inability to supply them with arms to any useful extent. It is well known the Spanish Government has, for a long time, deprived the creoles of arms of every description.

Again, it is likely that Lopez erred in judgment. At a distance from the scene of action, and unacquainted with his views, one would suppose it would have been most prudent for him with so small a force to have sought a landing at some point of the eastern department, where the standard of revolt had been already raised by the people, and disaffection more widely spread, where, by seeking a junction with them, he could have kept up a guerilla warfare in the mountains for a month or two, until further and more effective aid could have reached him from the States. We imagine that his talents were better fitted for guerilla contest than operations in an open field.

When failures attend enterprises, it always strikes those who witness their results, that if they could have directed affairs, results would have been different.

We believe that Lopez was brave, but rash. The heroism with which he met his fate, shows that he was not destitute of manly nerve.

He has now passed from the tribunal of this world, and let us hope that he may find repose and peace in that endless state upon which he has entered.

We are advised that the revolutionists in the eastern department of the island still maintain themselves in the field against the government. This however, requires more detailed accounts to prove how far it is formidable or successful. That they exist in some form, can hardly be doubted.

Perhaps some future author will close his account of Cuba, with a different story than the one we have just related.

We shall close, by adding a few brief items relating to the biography of Gen. Lopez, which we suppose may at the same time be considered a sort of obituary notice.

#### GEN. NARCISSO LOPEZ.

It is said that he was executed, or garoted, on the Plaza at Havana, on the 1st September, at 7 o'clock A. M., 1851, before an immense concourse of people.

In the absence of fuller accounts due by the mails, we annex the following particulars respecting the capture and execution of Lopez, from telegraph reports received from New Orleans on the 4th September, without, however, vouching for their correctness. The news was received at New Orleans on the 3d or 4th September, by the Cherokee, and telegraphed to New York.

"Lopez was captured near San Christoral, a place about sixty miles southwest of Havana.

"Thence he was escorted to Havana, and PUBLICLY GAROTED ON THE 29TH OF AUGUST.

"It is also added, in the Philadelphia despatch, that all Lopez's men were likewise captured and executed.

"The punishment of the garote is the placing of the victim in an easy chair, clamping his limbs, placing a band around the neck, and gradually pressing a screw until the neck is broken.

"Passengers who witnessed the execution of Lopez, state that he ended his life manfully.

"The failure of the expedition is attributed to the separation of Col. Crittenden's command from the main body under Lopez.

"The Patriots are stated to have deserted Lopez, and fled to the mountains.

"Just previous to the capture of Lopez, he had but thirty remaining followers, and they finally deserted him, so that he had not one remaining friend.

"He wandered alone for some time, and was finally run down by bloodhounds. His last words were, 'Adieu, dear Cuba!'

"The Spanish accounts state, that of the whole number of patriots landed by the Pampero, and from other quarters; 556 have already been killed, and 436 are now in prison.

"Previous to the death of Lopez, he declared that he had been greatly DECEIVED, in regard to promised aid in Cuba.

"A meeting of passengers was held on board the steamer Cherokee, at which Gen. Lane, of Oregon, presided, and the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Resolved, That Mr. Owen, the American consul at Havana, has forfeited every right and title to be regarded as an American citizen.

"That he has outraged every sentiment of humanity, and deserves the execration of every friend of liberty."

"Another requests his recall by the American government.

"We learn by the Cherokee, that Gen. Pray had been killed at Posas."



### GENERAL LOPEZ.

It is stated that these accounts were brought by passengers on the steamer. We give the whole dispatch, including the censure of the American Consul by a meeting of passengers.

Gen. Lopez was born in Venezuela, South America, in 1798-9, and hence, at the time of his execution, must have been about 52 years of age. He was the only son of a wealthy inhabitant of the country, who subsequently lost his property by the civil wars which sprung up.

He commenced his military career at 15 years of age, after the

partial destruction of his family and loss of fortune; he passed through some severe conflicts in the pseudo service of Bolivar, whom he at first favored, and from whom he afterwards separated. Being young and without any prospect of advancement and destitute of fortune, he enlisted in the Spanish army, and not long after rose to a Coloneley and received the cross of San Fernando.

In 1823, on the evacuation of Venezuela by the Spanish troops, he removed to Cuba on the conclusion of peace, where he married and became a citizen of the island.

He remained in retirement until the death of King Ferdinand VII., when his Queen, Christina, succeeded in placing her daughter, the present Queen, on the throne, in opposition to Don Carlos, the brother of the King. The Queen Christina, to gain the support of the liberals, revived the constitution of 1812, or professed to do so. Lopez being on a visit at Madrid, on business with his wife, espoused the cause of the liberals and assisted in disarming the Carlist or loyalist troops. From the courage he displayed in this service, he soon after joined the Liberal army as Aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, Gen. Valdez.

He distinguished himself by many brave exploits, and, at the end of the war, had reached the rank of General, and had received many grand crosses of honor as marks of his distinguished services. He, under all circumstances, adhered to the party called in Spain the "*liberal exaltado*." Gen. Valdez afterwards became Captain-General of Cuba, and was always regarded by Lopez as an upright and virtuous man.

He was placed in command as Governor of Madrid on the flight of the Queen mother to Paris in 1840, which he afterwards resigned into the hands of Espertaro, the Queen's Regent.

He before this had been appointed a Senator for the city of Seville. In his official capacity as Senator he is said to have labored for the advancement of the colonies, and especially for Cuba, the country of his adoption.

Failing of success equal to his wishes, it is said he became disgusted and resolved, if possible, to liberate Cuba from the Spanish yoke. The repulse of the Cuban representatives from the Spanish Cortes gave a strong impulse to his feelings.

He resigned his office as Senator and asked leave to return to Cuba, which was with some difficulty obtained from the Regent. He is said to have returned to Cuba in 1840 or '41, under the Captain-Generalship of Valdez.

On the fall of Espertaro and rise of Narvaez, Gen. O'Donnell superseded Valdez in the Government, and Lopez was deprived of his office which he had held under Valdez, as Governor of Trinidad and Commander-in-chief of the Central Department.

He was still left with the commission of General, though not on duty. He from this time, it seems, commenced studying schemes for the independence of Cuba. He associated freely with the people and joined them in their amusements, and rendered himself as popular as he could by various acts of social kindness in sickness and difficulties of various kinds.

By 1848, he had arranged plans for a sort of general rising. Shortly before the time fixed upon, he wrote a letter to the Queen, resigning his commission. His plans, however, were accidentally discovered, and he barely escaped with life to the United States. After his escape he was condemned to death. His subsequent movements have become more or less familiar to the world.

Many acts of daring and courage are related which he displayed during various stages of his military services.

We annex the following from the *Savannah News*. Those who wish to read a fuller account of his life are referred to the *Democratic Review* of February, 1850 :

#### THE HEROISM OF GENERAL LOPEZ.

During the celebrated Carlist war in Spain, General Lopez and about seven hundred others were taken prisoners and carried to Cantavieja, a fortification among the mountains of Arragon. The governor of the castle was said to have been a heartless wretch, revelling in bloody massacres, and delighting in acts of torture. During the dreadful confinement of these prisoners, the royal army, commanded by General San Miguel, marched to Cantavieja, for the purpose of raising the siege. The place was defended admirably by nature in a narrow defile of the mountains; but the Spanish general, undismayed by the apparent impregnability of the fortress, continued to besiege it, until evidences of his success were soon discovered by his enemies. The governor, thereupon, resolved upon a scheme which could only have entered the mind of a tyrant in whose eyes the sight of blood was a gratification. He determined to put all the prisoners to death, from General Lopez down, and requested the general to notify San Miguel of his intention, hoping, by this threat, to stop the siege. Lopez announced this bloody resolution in his letter, but requested General San Miguel not to allow this threat to interfere with the prosecution of the siege. The governor, finding that the letter produced no effect, and that the works were rapidly advancing to consummation, announced to his prisoners that he had ordered their execution; but that he would allow Lopez to go to San Miguel in person, and explain the circumstances in which they were placed, first receiving his word of honor to return after delivering the message. Lopez was soon in the midst of San Miguel's troops, who hailed his appearance with great demonstrations of joy. He explained the threat of the governor, discussed the plans for the siege, gave all the information he possessed as to the weakest points of the

fortification, and then rose up to return to his fate. San Miguel objected; the army loudly opposed his going from their midst to be put to death by the brutal governor; but the noble Lopez overcame all their entreaties, and surrounded by his sorrowing but admiring friends, he bade them all a kind farewell, wishing them success, even though he himself might be the sacrifice! The siege proceeded vigorously, for San Miguel knew that he could only save Lopez and the other prisoners by accomplishing his purpose with as much speed as his means would allow. The governor and those defending the castle had no time left to put their prisoners to death, as they were kept in constant occupation with the work of resistance and defence. The town was soon taken. The governor and the garrison were dismayed; but Lopez, the patriot and hero, with his gallant band, was saved.

The following additional intelligence has been received by the *Empire City*:

The steamers Habanero, Almendares, Pizarro, and Isabella Catholica, were on Sunday dispatched to Bahia Honda and Mariel to bring up the troops, preparatory to the execution of Lopez.

There are killed and wounded of the Spanish troops 2,000; 1,500 killed and 500 wounded.

In every engagement with Lopez the troops were routed with severe loss.

General Enna, the bravest officer in the army, was shot at the head of an advancing column—he was second in command to Concha. At that charge every man was shot down. The Spanish Generals said it was impossible to rally their troops to charge on the assailants.

Lopez was *garóted* on Monday morning, September 1, at 7 o'clock. The scene of execution was at the "Ponto" opposite the "Moro." There were assembled from eight to ten thousand troops and as many citizens.

A few minutes before seven, Lopez was brought forward, and ascended the platform with a firm and steady step. Facing the multitude he made a short speech, and his last words were, "I die for my beloved Cuba."

He then took his seat—the machine was adjusted, at the first twist of the screw his head dropped forward—and he was dead.

Thus ended the career of General Lopez, so long the dread and terror of Cuban authorities.

In the preparation of this work we were indebted to Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, Simpson's Map of Cuba, McCullough's geographical Dictionary, Stryker's Register, &c., for many statistical items.

ERRATUM.—Page 27, 13th line from bottom, for falling off in coffee, instead of 1849, read 1827.









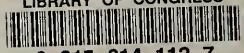








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