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**DEDICATED**

TO THE

**PRESS AND PEOPLE**

OF THE

**UNITED STATES.**

BY

**THE EDITORS OF "LA VERDAD,"**

A JOURNAL SUPPORTED BY THE PATRIOTS OF CUBA, FOR  
THE DISSEMINATION OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES  
AND INTELLIGENCE.

REVISED

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# A SERIES OF ARTICLES

ON THE

# CUBAN QUESTION.

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORS OF "LA VERDAD."

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## TO OUR READERS.

In the last number of our paper "*La Verdad*," we made known our design to insert in its columns, and then to publish apart, such articles as may tend to demonstrate the importance of the Island of Cuba, and place it in its true point of view, political, commercial and military, as well in regard to the United States as to the whole world; not only in the case of Cuba becoming a free and independent nation, but in that, too, of its being annexed to this Confederation.

These articles very plainly depict the deformity of the Cuban Government, which, by enforcing restrictions of every kind, hinders the improvement of its large and numberless elements of power and richness, thus damaging not only the Island of Cuba, but the United States and a great many other nations of the world. The reader will also find in those writings a sketch of the awful tyranny which the Colonial Government exerts upon the unhappy Cubans, now suffering under all kinds of exaction and injustice; and, above all, the scandal with which that Government causes our country to be overrun by savage hordes from Africa in spite of solemn international treaties.

We therefore insert the following article copied from "*La Verdad*," trust-

ing that our readers will find in it a large supply of judicious and exact remarks, and facts deserving the notice and consideration of every thinking man, and highly interesting to the diplomatic, commercial and working classes.

## Will the annexation of Cuba add to our strength as a Nation?

The reply is written on the map of North America, and in the last ten years of her history. The elements of our outward strength and defence—like the points and possibilities of foreign annoyance—are visible to any capacity that has received the free, broad training of American thought.

With our vast and varied territory and our self-dependent habits, more than to any other nation, it is desirable to us to maintain the freedom of our coast trade beyond every fear of insult or embarrassment. It is desirable that a foreign nation should no longer boast that it can at any time "cut in two the trade between the Gulf and Atlantic States, and break up at pleasure the sea communication between New Orleans and New York." It is desirable that we should ourselves command the outlets

and inlets of our own inland seas, and hold open in our own hands the best avenues to our territories and trade on the Pacific. It is desirable, for the integrity of the Confederation, to protect thoroughly the sea door to the shortest overland route to California on our own soil, which is accessible to the greatest number of States, and also opens to them the not less important though unexplored mineral regions of Central a.

It is desirable that a negro empire should not be consolidated by a hostile power within a few days' sail, by steam, of fifteen hundred or two thousand miles range of our seaboard, and held in leash to cast its ferocious hordes upon that long defenceless line of towns and settlements to burn and slaughter until exterminated. It is desirable also to be more independent of standing armies, with their train of military burthens and privileges above the law. It is not less desirable to escape the charges and bad example of a costly and unrepublican navy, and create in its stead a powerful and self-supporting steam marine.

If on the accession of Cuba turns the gain or loss of all this, it will not be denied that its purchase would be an economy, and its admission a rich gain to our republican strength and majesty.

Without recurring to the importance of Cuba as a Mart of Exchange, at the most accessible crossing-point, to all the thirty partners in our confederation of trade and production; or to her value as a buyer and seller in all our markets, and the cheap supplier of the tropical productions not yet included in our home list; or to her weight as the employer of our ships and mariners to the amount of twenty—or, under the impetus of freedom—thirty millions a year: she would be a tower of strength and a rock of defence to all our coasts. Her whole seven hundred miles of length is one mighty fortress: each one of her hundred hill-crowned bays is a haven of shelter to our wandering ships, and an outpost to sentinel every movement of offence and to bar out every act of hostile import. Standing like a proud and faithful warder in the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, yet stretching far to the east, so as to overlook and intercept any unfriendly demonstration upon

either of the great thoroughfares to South America or the Pacific, she is in a position to overawe the islands around her, and watch and defend all the outside approaches to the Isthmus routes to the Pacific, while she guards the portals of our vast inland sea, the reservoir of the Mississippi and Mexican trade, the rendezvous of California transit, and, what has not yet been duly heeded, the outlet of an immense though new-born mineral wealth which is yet to control the metal markets of Christendom.

Half a dozen steamers would bridge with their cannon the narrow straits between Yucatan and the west point of Cuba, and between Florida and Matanzas on the north, and seal hermetically to every aggressive stranger the entire coast circle of the American Mediterranean. This simple geographical fact constitutes Cuba the key of the Gulf, and it would be felt if it passed into the grasp of a strong and jealous rival. England, firmly resting on Cuba, and with Jamaica and Bahamas to flank her steam operations, would have full retreat and succour for her fleets, and would be able at need to concentrate the force of an empire against our coasting trade. With such a firm and convenient cover as that island, with its self-defended coast and secure harbors, she could face, Janus-like, in every direction. With Canada and the Bermudas—raised for that purpose into a strong naval station—opposite our centre on the Atlantic and half way between those strong extremes, she would present a dangerous front to our northern coasts, while she executed the bold threat of her Minister, to "shut up the Gulf of Mexico, cut in twain the commerce between it and the Atlantic states, and close the mouth of the Mississippi and its hundred tributaries to the trade and assistance of the shipping and manufacturing states." But strike Cuba—its central and noblest jewel—from this diadem of power, and her broken circlet of American strongholds is no longer worth the wearing.

England, controlling Cuba on the north as she claims to the Mosquito shore on the south, and mistress of Belize on the west as she is of Jamaica on the east, would be the arbitress of

the Caribbean sea—even now almost her own, and well guarded by her long array of Leeward and Windward Islands from other intrusion.

The same steam fleets that watch, and the same Island Key that locks and unlocks the Gulf of Mexico, with our long chain of rivers and states depending on it, also watches the inlets of the Caribbean and locks or unlocks the gates of the Pacific. Cuba, the Queen of the Antilles, unrolls her long barrier exactly in the path to the Pacific, whether by the Gulf or Isthmus; and whoever holds her, commands the great highway to Mexico and South America, to Oregon, California and the Pacific. If it was ours, we would soon cut asunder the narrow bar of land and turn the revolutionized trade of the world into our seas, where we should know well how to defend its treasures.

The command of the shortest route by sea and by land to our distant territories, is a national necessity only to be computed by our estimation of the value of safety, harmony and progress to the Union. The omission to secure the right of way across the Isthmus of Cortes, and to carry our southern boundary so far south as was needful to open a fair and practicable land route on our own soil to the Pacific, was a stupid and disgraceful lapse in those who signed a peace with Mexico. The only remedy for this dereliction, is in guarding for the future such communications as we do possess between the remote members of the Family Compact, from all chances of hostile interference.

The shortest land routes from the older states to California, Oregon, and the immense but faintly known mineral regions of the great central basin, runs through Texas and touches the Gulf at Corpus Christi; and all the great land routes to the Pacific about eastwardly on the Mississippi, if not on the Gulf, and are included in the imperial ring of seaboard to which Cuba is the closing diamond. If it comes to the Atlantic states to decide who shall hold this door to the Gulf, to the Pacific, to the mines of California and Centralia, to Oregon and the whale fisheries, with the East India trade—trebled by the use of steam and the Isthmus.—to China, in whose markets our merchants will soon turn to

profit a doubled and quadrupled capital by monopolising, through the shortened distance, the sale of our cottons and the purchase of her teas and silks; will they refuse the fifty millions a year which it will pour upon their exhilarated industry, in their fields, factories and shipyards?

At this moment England commands two-thirds of the most valuable commerce of Asia; but the United States gains rapidly upon her, and the entire change in the course of trade, by conducting it across the lower line of North America, instead of around Africa and South America, will transfer to this republic the sceptre of commerce, if not of manufacture, within ten years. Let our manufacturing and trading princes estimate if they can the value of Cuba to their interests, as a centre of intelligence and exchange and an advanced post of guard and defence. With Cuba for our watch-tower, the merchant and mail steamers which must naturally be employed in the enormously increasing traffic and emigration that circulates past and around her, would be the cheap and sufficient defence of our coasts. No nation would dream of wresting such a well-fortified possession from the vigorous grasp of the Union; and too powerful to fear, and too just, it is to be hoped, to make aggressions, we could trust the protection of our flag to its known greatness. We could displace fearlessly our unpopular sailing navy for a steam marine, useful and self-supporting in peace, yet capable of becoming, at the shortest warning, a formidable element of war.

When Cuba passes into our constellation, we may dismiss two-thirds of our standing army, and turn three-fourths of our expensive fortifications into Houses of Instruction and Refuge; for England, against whose threats and pretensions they are chiefly maintained, will depart from this continent when the cannon of Moro Castle thunders a republican welcome to the Stars of the Confederation. That salva will destroy her last dream of supremacy on this side of the Atlantic, and at its voice she will leave the shattered remains of her splendid chain of colonies to be gathered in their ripeness to the embrace of the Union.

In 1845, when the independent press had roused the people, and urged our laggard government into some energy of action, her power and possessions unfolded on every side like the coil of a serpent—her northern provinces were linked by her steam ships in an unbroken circle, with the Bermudas, Jamaica, the Belize, the Mosquito Shore, and across the Isthmus which she controlled to California, at which she aimed, and Oregon which she partly held until the bands met again, and thus completed a line of circumvallation around our territory. We broke forever her closer and stricter circle, when we annexed Texas, obtained California, and removed her Oregon claims far North of Columbia River. That decisive blow expelled her influence from our South-western border, while we improved our boundaries, and, Cuba excepted, had nothing left to interfere with us in the Gulf. The exclusive acquisition of this noble extent of territory on our Southern line, widened and weakened the vaunted cordon of British power around the Union, but while the hope of Cuba remained, she had still a brilliant and potent line of reserve. She still stretches across the continent on our Northern border, shares with us the empire of the lakes, domineers over our highway to the Pacific, and stands midway in the path of our coast communication. Cuba is the precious clasp that joins or disjoins the Gulf and Pacific with the Atlantic lines, and ruinously opens or nobly closes the disconnected parts of her magnificent American plan. If it falls into our chain, and closes the circle for us, and against her, the matchless band is broken, the fragments become so, and whether Canada or the Islands, without cost or conquest, our confederation will absorb British America, and make the ocean her boundary, and its waves our army of border defence.

### How will Cuba influence Slavery?

It is difficult to steer truly and justly between the Scylla and Charybdis of Northern and Southern prejudices, but we may safely aver this much: if England settles the destiny of Cuba, her

lot is read in the story of Jamaica, Hayti and Martinica.

If she becomes really independent, the whites who are but little inferior in numbers to the blacks, will maintain the ascendancy by their superior intelligence, and slavery will probably be abolished by slow degrees.

If the United States receive her, humanity will at least rejoice over the suppression of the slave trade, and a mitigation of the horrors of the Spanish system of servitude, that "deepest hell of cruelty," as an indignant Creole of the island terms it. The Spanish conquerors, as merciless as they were avaricious, enslaved and scourged to utter extinction the gentle and confident Cibonayes whom they found on the soil, and now annually destroy by brutal treatment more slaves, *including free-born Mexicans entrapped into servitude*, than all the plantations in all our slave states put together. Their own statisticians calmly account for the horrid mortality among the slaves, by "the severity of their labors and insufficient food," but never hint at redress or remedy. The supply is kept up by an energetic importation from Africa, under the patronage of Queen Christina, who employs in the slave trade much of the \$25,000 a month which she draws from the revenues of Cuba. In the last twenty years more than 160,000 negroes have been brought in from Africa, 430 slave ships having entered Havana alone, without counting the other ports of the island—and the fees of the Captain-General, at three doubloons a-head, on these importations are no inconsiderable item in his perquisites. England has a right by solemn treaty with Spain in 1817, and re-sealed in 1820, to end this infamous traffic, yet it proceeds vigorously under her eyes. Is it that even by this means she is willing to increase the negro majority, while she awaits the hour in which Cuba can be added to the black empire she is fostering within striking distance of our Southern states?

Not only is this open protection lent to the African slave trade, while white immigration is as openly discouraged, but large bodies of Indians are inveigled out from Yucatan and Mexico, and these men are sunk into the slave gangs,



where they are lashed, pillored and chained without pity, like the Africans, under the sanction of the Governor, who has conferred this authority on the masters by a formal decree.

The admission of Cuba would at least set these freemen free, and stop the importation of 8000 slaves every year from Africa, and this would be something saved to humanity and the character of American population. It is open to discussion, whether in a comprehensive view, the colored race would gain or lose by Cuba coming within the range of our institutions: but there can be no doubt, that the condition of the white's half of her population, would be infinitely softened, elevated and improved. It is not the fashion of the day to think of the good or evil resulting to the eighteen millions of white Americans, when a measure touching the supposed interests of our three millions of blacks is in agitation, and still less where races are so nearly balanced as in Cuba, and although the abrupt supremacy of the blacks would drive to ruin, or exile the half million of whites on the Island, we must reserve no anxieties for them.

In Hayti the negroes have had unlimited power, as in Jamaica they have had unlimited equality, and what advance have they made in happiness or civilization? In the plenitude of their undisputed sway, they have murdered, insulted it; and driven out the whites in St. Domingo, and no authority prevented; they have governed themselves, and no man has said them nay, yet in the mad, unchecked animality of their untaught, untamed masses, they have heaped upon each other more sufferings, more bloodshed, more tortures, and even in that beautiful island of plenty, more downright want and misery among their population of 780,000, than could be inflicted on our thrice that number of slaves, in the presence of a white community. This is proved by their own official statements of murders, riots, outrages and military punishments. It does not prove that slavery is a good, or that the race is incapable of better things, but it does prove by conclusive evidence of experiment, that hasty emancipation has its evils for the unprepared Africans, even though wo

refuse to count for anything what befalls the whites.

To those who argue that emancipation is too slow in the States, I will not reply, it can move no faster, but I appeal to the chart of the Union to prove that much has been done—and well done, for the race in freedom, in instruction, and in colonization. In the British, and more lately in the French West Indies, unbounded means of improvement are enjoyed by the blacks, for there the presence and cultivation of the whites, who are in a minority of one-seventh, are made conspicuously subservient to the colored race, yet it is undeniable that their two millions are far worse fed, clad, and taught, than the two millions of the same lineage now living slave and free, in the "Old Thirteen" States.

This parent band of thirteen, were all of them slave-holding when they joined hands at the altar of independence, and some of them, Rhode Island and Massachusetts in particular, were deeply engaged in the slave trade. Seven of them are now free soil, and two more, Delaware and Maryland, within a step of it: and to this number of emancipating States have been added eight more, that never were in effect slave-holding. The aggregate of this free soil territory, which includes all the States north of the Ohio, comprises a larger area than the whole original thirteen States, and has unquestionably the preponderance in the national councils.

Our acquisitions of slave territory have failed to increase the comparative number and weight of the Slave States, because they only served to drain that class of labor towards the South, and as it receded, it set free at the North more States and large divisions of the colored classes. Fifteen States are already free, and five more, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Mississippi, are in transition ready to pass over to the side of free labor whenever the reference of such questions to the territories immediately concerned is established as a fixed principle, and they can abandon their posts honorably and without danger to the equipoise of the Union. All the territory now held in common—sufficient in area to make forty of the largest States, must inevitably come in free as the climate and charac-

ter of production will make slave labor unprofitable. To balance this wide domain of free soil, there is but a comparatively small band of States along the extreme South, and to which the island of Cuba can make no frightful addition. The emigration from Europe in a single year, amounts to as much as the whole total of her slave inhabitants, and after that last fragment of thralldom is brought within the pale of light and freedom, there can be no farther additions. The eighteen millions of whites will enlarge *their* ranks by emigration as well as births, and make stronger every year the disproportion of numbers, but the blacks and servitude can draw no recruits from abroad. While State after State supplants and drives out unprofitable slave labor by the low wages of sound, mature, and intelligent white industry, hereditary servitude must contract its limits, until it is compressed into those regions of hot unhealthy marsh in which they thrive, and but the constitution of the white man is unequal to the change of redeeming from jungle and morass, and there slavery will end its mission and expire.

The non-slaveholding States would show a most ungenerous sectional spirit if they object to the addition of Cuba to the political weight of the South, for her vote will not give the South an even, much less a controlling voice. Besides the majority in the House of Representatives, and an equal vote of 20 to 30 in the Senate,—the fifteen Free Soil States are confident of taking before 1860 five States more from the opposite scale, and thus changing the present imperfect equilibrium, to an advantage on their side of twenty States to ten. Add to this, the certainty that six new States California Oregon, Minnesota, New Mexico and Nebraska, will complete their nonage during this period, and must beyond peradventure take their places in the national councils among the non-slaveholders, while but two slave States west of Texas, and possibly Cuba, are all that can be hoped for by the diminishing slave minority. Twenty-six free soil to thirteen slave States is the number and proportion that by every antecedent we may expect to sit in the thirty-fifth Congress. If, as is possible, the number of States exceeds that cal-

culatation, still the ratio of one free to two slave States will not vary much, and with this assurance before us, it is non-sense, if it is not a falsehood, to reject Cuba under the plea of giving "too much power to the South."

For the individual States, for the Nation, and for the ultimate good of the races, it seems wisest and kindest to invite Cuba into the Compact of Union, and subject the crude and undeveloped negro family to the crucible of gradual emancipation. The interests of the human family demand that it should not be made the nucleus of a negro-empire watching a European nod to foray our coast villages, while our domestic and foreign policy equally cautions us to win as promptly as we may the key of the Gulf, and hold with firm sovereignty the gates of the Pacific.

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### The Southern States, Cuba, AND "THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

Although reasons bringing home full conviction ought to satisfy all, yet, in order to forestall every motive for cavillation and malicious interpretations of what we have asserted, on account of the circumstance of our being Americans, born in Cuba, we prefer in the subject matter under discussion, adducing arguments and opinions used by others, confining ourselves to some slight observations, that may necessarily be thrown in for a better understanding of the same by the reader, and therefore continue following the thread of the article of the correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, "Mr. A. S."

With this view we will here below insert one of the few articles which throw most light on the question of the annexation of Cuba to these United States, its political and mercantile importance, and the consequences to arise in that two-fold aspect of the question for the *whole* of this American Union, and to the States of the South and South west in particular. And in introducing that interesting composition, we beg to be permitted to ask its enlightened author, to favor the public with a continuation of his exact and judicious observations, as he in that article offers to do.

In order not to fatigue the reader, we will hastily glide over some peculiarities in the article of "Mr. A. S." as not pre-

senting much of interest, such as venturing upon the belief, "that the papers of the South do not occupy themselves with the question of annexation," while almost in the same breath, he admits having neglected reading newspapers for the last 3 months; [It is some three months since I left my home in Texas, during which time I have seen the Southern newspapers only occasionally. They are, I believe, silent on the annexation of Cuba]; and further, when he attempts determining and fashioning public opinion in the States of the South, from some conversations he had on the subject with some gentlemen coming from those states in the Astor-house here; [But so far, as I have conversed with Southern gentlemen—Astor house—I find them very generally opposed to the measure.] The mere mention of this will suffice, and we turn our attention to the points of higher importance.

"What Cuba being slave-holding," says Mr. A. S., "would add to the political strength of the South, is less than the dust of the balance."

To show that to be an error, it will be sufficient for us to throw ourselves on views and opinions, which have been pronounced by statesmen of all parties from John Q. Adams down to our own time, in official documents as well as in speeches delivered in Congress, or propagated by the public press; but here also comes opportunely, as if called for, the opinion of the editors of the *Times of London*, propounded in that public print on an occasion, when speaking of the importance of the Island of Cuba in the words following: "Commanding [Cuba] the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, and possessing one of the noblest harbors in the world, Cuba crowns by her political importance, the commercial advantages of a rich soil, a varied and teeming productiveness, and a climate which enjoys the genial warmth, but escapes the fiercer heats of the tropics. The occupation of such an island must give strength and wealth to any nation." The possession of it by Great Britain would crush slavery and the slave-trade immediately in the Western seas. In the hand of the American republic, it would aggravate the cause of dissention between the abolitionists and their opponents, and by the menace of a rupture, insure a compromise in favor of the slaves."

Will "Mr. A. S." deny these truths? We wait for an answer from the *Journal of Commerce*. We besides direct the attention of both to that, which the author of the article to which we alluded above, has to say on the subject, and which they will find here below.

"Mr. A. S." further on says again: "The addition of a couple of senators, and a few representatives will not materially strengthen us. If it seem to be given at first, it will prove in the end utter weakness." We may in this point be in error, but we do seriously believe quite the contrary will be the result, and we also add, that few men versed in the politics of this country, and at all acquainted with the interests of the South will think so with "Mr. A. S." The equilibrium of representation in the Senate and House is a question of vital importance for the States of the South, as between them and those of the North. The latter would suffer but passing prejudice, if at all, in their interests, if in Congress really existed a majority in favor of the slave states; and in the whole such a prejudicial position would be no more than momentary, for the former could never think of establishing laws affecting the interests of the latter for future generations, nor cause a relaxation of strength in the ties of the Union, as might be the case if the non slave holding states were to be in a decided majority. Do we not see opposition manifesting itself in the thinking men of the South against an annexation of Canada, and against the admission of California as a state into the union for no other reason, and on no other ground, than because the realisation of either would augment the preponderance of the North by a couple of senators, and some representatives?

Further we observe the embarrassment of the South, arising from their ill-sources of obtaining a greater working force in the representation, and how much alarm is spreading among its most illustrious defenders contemplating what immense preponderance the North is wielding, threatening the present and future interests of the Southern States, and all this, notwithstanding, that during the last presidential periods, the presidency has always been in the keeping of a man from the slave-holding states, and is so at present. This equilibrium of representation, we repeat it once more, is of vital importance to the States of the South, and at the same time to the whole union. If this equipoise be destroyed, and the balance of power incline yet more decidedly towards the North, the evil will become endurable, at least in the state the slave-question is at present, and the South will be degraded into little more than a mere colony of the North, or it will have to recede from the Union, if they can do so.

Further on "Mr. A. S." assures us, "annexation would furnish us a new occasion for abolition and anti-slavery ex-



citements." We on the contrary believe, that quite a different effect has to be the natural result, if, as we cannot doubt, the abolition-party are moved on by desires only for the good of humanity; for no other thing would more powerfully contribute to realising so desirable an object, than the annexation of Cuba, which, without in the least aggravating the present evils, accompanying the condition of slavery, and without increasing the present number of slaves by one individual, would be the surest means for raising an effectual bar against the further augmentation of the victims of that horrible trade, if not in the whole world, at least in the Island of Cuba, as under the laws of the United States, she could not receive a single slave from Africa.

Let us not forget what the editor of the *Times* above recited has to say in support of this point, who, although allowing that annexation might cause some more exasperation among the abolitionist-party, is yet convinced that the ultimate result will be a satisfactory compromise, the extinction of the last vestiges of the slave-trade and favorable reforms in the social position of slavery as it exists, which, without doubt is desired, and will be applauded by all parties.

Subsequently "Mr. A. S." says: "But I return to the simple question of the annexation of Cuba. It would turn out to be a present of the Greeks." We cannot help presuming, that the correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, conceived that unfortunate idea under the influence of a disordered digestion, which sending up the vapors of a fatigued stomach, could not but offuscate his powers of thinking clearly. Cuba, indeed, which incorporated in the Union, would turn the Gulf of Mexico into an inland sea, that leaving the coasts of the States of the great West, serves as a reservoir and high road for all the productions of almost the whole territory, comprised between the two great oceans, the Pacific and the Atlantic: Cuba, which exposed to fall into the claws of Great Britain, which emancipating the slaves there, would nearly touch the great goal of its ambition of establishing an African empire there, for the purpose of giving new life to her colonies in the two Indies, and a stunning cath-blow to her rivals of Cuba, Brasil and Port Rico—and which would raise to the horizon of the South a black cloud, menacing calamity and annihilation: Cuba, which besides being the key of the Gulf of Mexico, may just as correctly be considered, that also of the States of the South-west, or speak more properly the great master-key of all

America, and which would put into the hands of the English, a Gibraltar a thousand times more important and precious than that arid rock in the South of Europe, by its numerous and excellent harbors, capable safely to shelter the fleets of all nations all united together, by the teeming luxuriance of its soil, its abounding productiveness of every kind of produce, but might be necessary for the supply of her navy, and finally by its batteries, which would almost sweep the coasts of this union: Cuba, which in the day of the great struggle that threatens to arise out of the conflicting interests of the North and South, will be magnified through the exaltation of the abolitionists, would be the sheet anchor of the slave holding states: Cuba with all this political, military, and mercantile importance, "Cuba, indeed," says "Mr. A. S." giving vent to his bad humors, and perpetrating at the same time, an allusion to the classic fable of Dejanira—"that same Cuba like the present of the Greeks, would be fatal to the States of the South." But "Mr. A. S." ought to have taken into consideration, that the States of the South will not burn like Hercules, though they accept of the present; for they will not permit her to be metamorphosed into borders of an Euenus, on which English Nessus-like might prepare the fatal concoction for the poisoning of that tunic. But enough of classic mythology! We leave "Mr. A. S." in his spleen, and to the people of the States of the South we leave the care of deciding on this vitally interesting question, concluding our article with what we stated in the beginning of it in No. 45, and which was, that "liberty to Cuba is the principal object to which we consecrate our efforts, and though, if we conceive our country free of the yoke of Spain, the best for her would be to annex herself to the American Union, and the latter would gain by annexation, as much as the former; nevertheless, we shall not obstinately insist on obtaining the two aims together at once. We will be content with our freedom, which with the aid of the American people, we have to conquer in spite of the counter-machinations of the whole world—and as for the rest, we will consider that afterwards!"

### Cuba and her destiny.

An oppressed nation stands in the gates of our confederation and pleads with God and man for liberty. Borne down by foreign soldiers for whose support she is

taxed until almost the necessaries of life are doubled in price; deprived of freedom of speech, of press, and of conscience; forbid to discuss or even petition for relief, and overwhelmed by importations of slaves from Africa, whose presence she does not desire, but who are held upon her disarmed citizens in perpetual threat, Cuba has reached that point of suffering in which it becomes suicide and crime to remain passive. Cuba belongs to the Cubans, and they have a right higher than human conventions—a right directly from the throne of Divine Justice—to govern themselves on the soil they give to civilization by their intelligence, and to utility by their toil. Not to admit this axiom is heresy to our republican creed, and we are false to the faith of our revolutionary sires if we deny to others the truths which they bled to leave us in sure heritage. If Washington acted right and Jefferson reasoned well, Cuba cannot be wrong in following their example.

Most of the Creoles of the Island are republicans at heart, and the press and institutions of the Union are the object and theme of many secret meetings, and midnight prayers. Exile, imprisonment, ruin and death, await the hardy apostles of freedom; but still they offer themselves freely to the work, and their number, courage, influence and combination disturbs the rest of the governors of Cuba, who in vain seek to stifle them with new oppressions. On one occasion a party of these determined revolutionists conveyed to the woods a small printing press, such a one as Franklin used and "Common Sense" was printed on, and there in silence of night they worked off their revolutionary appeals. This and every other effort was pressed too close by the military police, and some friends of Cuba, connected with the New York press, encouraged the idea of establishing an Anglo-Spanish paper at a convenient point beyond the reach of the Governor General, from whence the truth and light could be cast into Cuba, and her popular thought moulded into some form of general organization. *La Verdad* (The Truth), was thus called into existence, and its plan may be useful to other revolutionists who cannot print the truth at home. The paper is—and has been nearly two years—issued at New York, and circulated gratuitously in the Island of Cuba and Porto Rico, and all along the margin of the Mexican Gulf, from whence the aroma of its sentiments penetrates to its destined mark. The talent and money of the Cubans supports it so ably and liberally that the leading personages of the Spanish govern-

ment are bounteously supplied with valuable information on their conduct and affairs, and not less have the American journals found in its columns their most copious and reliable accounts of the situation of Cuba. The island press is not allowed to speak of public affairs except in such terms as the royal censors direct; and the world at large mainly learns through it and by fragments from private letters—also written under dread of a strict post-office inquisition—what Cuba thinks and suffers. Under the counsels of "La Verdad", the committee of exiles, and in union with her phalanx of resolute sons at home, Cuba is organizing for revolt; and perhaps even as I write the sword is flashing from the scabbard: but whether the effort of to-day is successful, or temporarily quenched in blood, the seed is sown and the harvest near. Spain will scarcely be richer for the fruits of Cuban industry in 1850; and what American would put forth his hand to aid in riveting the fetters of a people who bravely strike at kingly oppressions, and risk all for the enfranchisement of their country and children?

"Cuba has the power as well as the will and wisdom, to be free. She cannot be kept forever in bonds, endowed as she is with a population of 1,200,000; with a revenue of twenty millions; with the intercourse and light attending sixty millions of outward and inward trade; with a territory equal to our noblest States; with a soil teeming with the choicest productions; with her forests of the most precious woods; with her magnificent and commanding harbors; with her unmatched position as the warder of the Mexican Gulf, and the guardian of the communication with the Pacific. Cuba the peerless, Cuba the desired, Cuba the Queen of the American islands, will not consent to remain always a manacled slave at our threshold; and when her chains are to break, the echo will vibrate, whether we choose or not, on our interests. The United States can no more say, "Cuba is nought to us," than Cuba can detach herself from her anchorage in the portals of our American sea or her sentinelship over against the entrance of the thousand armed Mississippi.

When the inevitable day arrives in which the key of the Gulf falls from the hand of its European master, it must take one of these three positions; and either of them will involve grave considerations for this republic:—

1. Cuba, by itself or with Porto Rico, may sustain an independent attitude.
2. United to St. Domingo and other is-

lands under the protection of England, she may head a "Republic of Antilla," subject to a preponderant negro population, and obedient to the British policy of creating a colored empire in the lap of the twin continent of America.

3. Cuba annexed to this Confederation may make another pillar in our temple of Union, and another balance wheel to the Confederation.

The fate of Cuba, with her million souls and boundless hereafter, may be submitted to the verdict of our people before 1850 has run its last sands, and a just, wise and magnanimous nation would not willingly meet unprepared this momentous question.

Calmly, soberly, and dispassionately, like true and loving children of the Union, reverencing and guarding in filial love our mighty nursing mother; like republicans and like Christians, ready to admit and perform our whole duty to man, let us candidly examine our future relations with Cuba.

It is more than idle to build upon the conservation of the *statu quo*, for even those who affect to preach it must see that it cannot be maintained amid the reeling powers and crushing thrones with which it is entangled, and whenever or however the change comes, it must result in *Cuba annexed or Cuba independent*.

The comparative value to the Union of Cuba as a part of ourselves, or Cuba subject to foreign, if not hostile influences, has a threefold bearing on our interests. It affects us as citizens of individual states—as a nation in the face of other nations—and as a race in relation with the other races of the earth. In weighing, as we ought, each separate consideration by its own merits, it is desirable to avoid perplexing theories, and bring each phase in succession to the test of solid facts and indisputable arithmetic.

#### WILL THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA BENEFIT THE DOMESTIC INTERESTS OF THE UNION?

Cuba seems placed by the finger of a kindly Providence, between the Atlantic and the Mexican seas at the crossing point of all the great lines of our immense coasting trade, to serve as the centre of exchange for a domestic commerce as extensive as our territory, and as free as our institutions. It is only after a careful study of the incredible extent and variety of the products of thirty States, with all their grades of climate, and in the whole circumference of their natural and manufactured wealth, and then only with

the map of North America distinctly before the eye, that the importance of Cuba as a point of reception and distinction can be fairly understood. If her matchless harbors were not locked up by foreign jealousies, and our ships could but find themselves always at home for shelter, water, and refreshment, at this commodious halting place, it would be worth a round purchase sum to our traders, independent of the safe keeping of the Gulf, and the command of her precious staples.

From her central throne she sees our long line of coast break away in diverse interest and productions, which must yet intercommunicate past her doors to come to value. To the northward she glances along the two thousand miles of seaboard and deep harbors of the "Old Thirteen," all round toward her to receive her sugar and coffee, and supply her with bread and clothing, even though under the limits and disadvantages of European restrictions.

Towards the West, beginning with Florida, which is almost within touch, lies another two thousand miles of bay and inlet, bordering the states on the Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico, those magnificent later acquisitions which have doubled the wealth, power, domain of the Union, and whose cotton bales have been more efficacious teachers of decorum to manufacturing Europe, than cannon balls. Opposite, she locks up the arteries of the mighty king of rivers, who embraces in his watery arms an imperial family of sovereignties, before he comes with the tributes of many climates to seek a reservoir for his ten thousand miles of steam navigation.

No one State of the Union is so accessible to all the others as Cuba. Neither does any State command, like her, every direct avenue to our territories on the Pacific. She stands almost midway in the line of transit between the Eastern cities and California, whether we go by the Isthmus of Panama, by lake Nicaragua, by the near but strangely neglected Isthmus of Cortez, or by the the shortest overland route on our own soil, via Corpus Christi and the Paso del Norte. It is the invaluable resting place and point of interchange for all our steamers to the Gulf coast, to the West India Islands, to the various isthmus routes, and to South America. Under all the vexations and expenses of a foreign and unfriendly system, our merchants can so badly dispense with Cuba for a place of rest, refreshment, and exchange, that they submit in silence to many illegal exactions, and conceal from the American public many indignities



to our flag—as in the cases of the Hecla and Childs Harold—rather than forego access to the port of Havana. If Cuba was fully and freely our own we would as soon think of casting New York out of our calculations of commercial wealth, as this splendid and necessary mart of all our coasts. As an outpost, vital to American trade and defence, and as a centre of transit and exchange, Cuba must grow in importance to the whole family of the Confederation, in even measure with the growth of the states on the Pacific, and the rising tide of Oriental business which our free and fortunate stars are about to lead from Asia across the Isthmus. She lies exactly in the track of the golden current, and none of the States are, like her, in a position to watch and defend every inlet and outlet.

In the circle of production, essential to a home supply, always sure, and independent of foreign interference, Cuba can fill nobly the remaining gap, with her coffee, cocoa and tropical fruits. In this, too, she would serve all her sisters of the Union, for she would sell to every one and buy of every one, which is not true of the special product of any other State. She would also add as much as the Union really needs of sugar lands and would make that henceforth a strong and distinct feature in the national balance of interests.

A new sectional interest always implies another mediator in the councils of the Confederation—a proved truth in favor of the permanent equilibrium of the Republic which the opponents of annexation refuse to take fairly into account. The manufacturing East, the wheat and cattle-raising West, the commercial Middle States, the cotton growing South West; the rice and sugar planting South, and, last and latest, the new-born and gigantic mineral power straddling up on the great northern lakes and seaming the continent, down to the far Pacific, with its sudden influence—have each and every one, their independent sectional weight and representation, as well as a diffused reciprocal dependence on each other, and on the Union as a whole. In the perpetually recurring—but under these balance checks never fatal—State opposition, every distinct interest is a distinct guarantee for the general equity of adjustment. We have seen in the slavery discussions how far sectional bitterness can go, when the whole Union is reduced to two parties, with no disinterested and intermediate powers between them, to urge peace and teach conciliation. Yet even in this stress we shall find at last, that the counsels which open the way and the votes that

compel moderation and compromise, will come from almost a third interest.—The States that lay along the line of division, and that are themselves in transition from slave-holding to emancipation, will come to the rescue and forbid extreme measures. Cuba may suffer from the dispute between the free and slave cultivated States; but apart from this she wants to come into the Union, without offence to any and to the absolute profit of every partner in the Confederation. In bringing to the common wealth a class of luxuries which every State largely demands and consumes, and which are not produced in our present limits, she also brings to the Union fresh elements of mediation, harmony and stable equipoise.

The money value of this circulation of natural products would be more conspicuously evident if Cuba could trade with us on family terms, unembarrassed by the heavy and wasteful hindrance of the Spanish tariffs. Official documents show that out of the 20 or 22 millions of dollars of annual exportations into Cuba, fifteen millions are in provisions, fabrics, lumber and materials which one or the other of the United States could better supply than any other country; but through the multitude of taxes and restrictions imposed by European policy not more than a third of it comes from our fields and factories. Our industrial classes lose by this system the stimulus of ten millions a year—sufficient to employ and support forty thousand laborers—while the Cubans only obtain under these exorbitant imposts, about one half as much for their money as they would get of us in a free, fair market.

Provisions for example, such as flour, salted meats, butter, and all the etceteras of American abundance are imported into Cuba to the amount of nine millions of dollars annually, and all are loaded with duties that average 34 per cent, and what with delays, high appraisals, tonnage duties, local exactions, and retail taxes, more than double the just market cost by the time they reach the table of the consumer.—American flour from American ships pay a duty of \$10 50 a barrel to “protect” the inferior article from Spain, and in consequence none but the rich in Cuba can afford to eat good wheat bread, while in open family reciprocity our agriculturists would yearly be called upon to supply a million of barrels of flour to its 1,200,000 inhabitants.

New England is not less concerned in unbinding this trade, for besides the nine millions which should be paid to our farmers, and the two millions in metals, implements and machinery, which

of right should float to her from down the Ohio and Mississippi. Cuba annually requires cotton and woolen fabrics and ready made furniture and apparel to the invoice value of three millions more, all of which the Yankee looms and mechanics should create. Fifteen millions are therefore imported into Cuba which our citizens in the mining, manufacturing, and agricultural States should supply, and which the ships of the commercial sections should convey, and this mass of needful food, raiment, furniture, and implements for house and land, when broken up in detail and overwhelmed at each step with fresh impositions, do not cost the Cubans less than thirty millions of dollars.

By reason of this system of preventions our shipping interest can only employ 476,000 tons in a year in this trade—for which it pays \$1 50 a ton duty to Spain, while it would find advantageous service at once for a million of tons if the ports of the island were free to our country. This brief outline of the domestic and pecuniary inducements to annexation are based on official data and it is kept within the mark for the convenience of using round numbers; but from it we can deduce whether the States would gain or lose by the accession of Cuba."

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## Cuba: the key of the Mexican Gulf:

WITH REFERENCE TO THE COAST TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

CUBA—the pearl of the American Islands, and the key of the Mexican Gulf—has been well studied by diplomatists as a rich province to be won, and by soldiers as an outpost of military guard and defence; but her position and value, as a mart of exchange for the whole Union, and a pivot of a coast trade such as the world never saw, has not received due investigation and publicity from our American press and statesmen. The central position of Cuba in the great routes of trade—opened, and to be opened, by American capital and enterprise—cannot fail to strike the most careless eye that rests on the map of North America.

It is not in a military point of view alone that Cuba locks up, in a closed ring, the whole sweep of the Mexican Gulf. If her ports were free, she would be the natural centre of reception and distribution for all the rich products of that two thousand miles of coast. Not only would

the light craft of the shallow harbors of Mexico and our Gulf States, bring their precious ores, their cochineal, their cotton, and their valuable products, to meet the wares and traders of the Atlantic coast, and the heavier shipping from the great cities of Europe and the North, but the valley of the Mississippi would find there a most convenient and desirable warehouse for her varied commodities. The Atlantic and the Gulf coasts meet opposite the magnificent harbors on the north side of the Island, while it is in easy communication with all the other West India Islands, and with Central America.) Cuba also commands all the short routes to the Pacific—those routes through which a revolutionized commerce is preparing to pour a golden tide upon our shores. At this moment the Panama route bears down all its rivals; but Lake Nicaragua, and the Isthmus of Cortes, have also their peculiar advantages, in cutting off a goodly fraction of the distance to California, for the trade and emigration of the "Old Thirteen."

By whatever path the emigrant endeavors to shorten his land travel to the Pacific, Cuba would be the chosen halting ground, if it could by treaty, independence, or annexation, throw down its hedge of hindrances and restrictions, and open its noble havens freely to sail and steam. It is the grand point of intersection for all the most important lines of trade and travel on this continent; and to inhospitably bar her gates with a chain of duties and formalities, puts serious delays and expenses in the way of a rapid and profitable exchange of benefits between opposite sections of the Union, and between the Union and her neighbours. Absolutely disentangled from these checks, and, above all, in full and perfect union with the diverse, yet mutually dependent interests of the confederated States, Cuba, with her precious and peculiar staples, would buy or sell more largely, and with a greater number of States than any one of her sisters; in addition to her serving them all as an agent of transit and centre of interchange.

Lines of steamers and sailing vessels would doubtless be established from all our leading sea-ports, from Havana to Matanzas, the year they could be assured of freedom, security, and permanency, under our flag, since, under many vexations and uncertainties, we now employ in the Cuban trade a large tonnage. The custom houses of Cuba report the clearance of not far from one thousand American vessels in a year—from the summer of 1848, to the summer of 1849—and the table of

imports and exports prove that this handsome mercantile fleet would be doubled, if purchase and supply were relieved from the multifarious trammels of the Spanish tariff. The Cubans import \$20,000,000 a year of such commodities as the United States produce, and could sell on better terms than the Island can buy of distant Europe, if they were permitted to compete in open market, and these commodities would be conveyed to her in our own ships.

Of the \$60,000,000 of annual imports and exports of this fertile and extensive Island, three-fourths ought, and would be managed by our merchant marine, if it were embraced by our government.

The shipping interest is, however, but one item of the disfavours and exclusions endured by the States, under the sternly restrictive colonial system of Spain, and as it may suddenly cast before our citizens to decide whether Cuba shall be incorporated in the Union, it will not be amiss to enter into some computations.

In 1846, a fraction more than one-fourth of the entire imports of Cuba were from the United States, and if the same ratio holds good, as is probable, we send to Cuba the current year about \$8,000,000 in American productions. Meanwhile something more than \$10,000,000 of similar articles of commerce are brought in from Europe, to the heavy disadvantage of the Cubans, by a stringent system of protection for Spanish products. To specify:—Flour from Spain pays a duty of only \$2 50 the barrel, but from this country, and in American ships, it pays \$10 50. Thus to compel the Cubans to eat the inferior Spanish flour, injured by a sea voyage of 4,000 miles, this enormous tax is laid on an essential article of daily use, though, for the sake of revenue, \$2 50 is also laid on the article from the mother country. These duties, freight, and other expenses, raise the cost to the consumer to \$18 or \$20 a barrel, and limit, of necessity, the luxury of good bread to the wealthier classes. Set aside these impediments, and instead of the 300,000 barrels now entered, and chiefly from Spain, [according to *La Verdad*,] 1,500,000 barrels would be annually demanded by the 1,200,000 inhabitants of Cuba. The climate and soil of Cuba is not adapted to the profitable cultivation of the kinds of provisions which the habits of the day call for; but she produces exactly what will most acceptably pay for them where they are best, nearest, and most abundant—in the United States. If Cuba wants flour, fish, cured meats, and other provisions to the amount of \$10,000,000, which

she could, in unshackled trade, buy of us better than anywhere else; if she requires in articles for house and field, in fabrics of raiment, necessity or luxury, to the amount of \$10,000,000 more, so, too, do the United States import 150,000,000 lbs. of coffee, at \$8,000,000, and sugar to the amount of \$9,000,000, which, under the impetus of freedom, and the encouragement of a profitable reciprocity, Cuba could very well supply. It must be borne in mind, that a vast amount of rich coffee and sugar land lies waste and untouched on that Island, which would bloom into a garden, under the genial breath of liberal institutions, as her own staticians estimate but one-ninth of the soil enclosed.

The Upper Mississippi and the Ohio States are the chief losers by the flour exclusion; for Cuba, fronting, as she does, the outlet of the mighty valley, is very accessible to that trade; but all the grain States share in the loss, for they all buy sugar and coffee, and could all undersell Europe in the ports of Cuba. The mineral region is also a larger loser than at the first glance would be thought possible. The staples of Cuba are raised at a considerable expenditure of implements and machinery, in which iron and copper hold a conspicuous share. That class of imports, nearly all of which are manufactured in this country, but are discouraged from seeking a market in Cuba, by an average impost of 35 per cent, are brought in to the amount of \$2,000,000 annually, and with a steady increase of demand. This should, of right, almost entirely be paid to the forges and workshops of Pennsylvania, and the States west of her, who construct the articles in question, such as ploughs, hoes, spades, boilers, and all the eteteras of southern husbandry, and sell them in all the markets in our Gulf and Atlantic States, from 80 to 200 per cent less than the overtariffed Cuban pays for the like. Consider the effect of these exorbitant charges on provisions and implements on the net receipts of production.

Neither does the clothing, furniture, and conveyances of the producer escape those excessive contributions, and again equally to the disadvantage of American industry, carts, carriages, and furniture, pay about 100 per cent; yet, on account of bulk and distance, Spain leaves to us the principal supply, even under this liberal protection. The Eastern and Middle States send about \$1,000,000 a year—at a rough estimate, for there is no reliable date at hand—of those conveniences; but still the Island is scantily supplied. Cotton and woollen goods range

from 27 to 33 per cent duty by the letter of the tariff; but under their system of re-appraisal they pay more, and the official returns show upwards of \$3,000,000 in description of goods manufactured in the New England States, and sold in our retail markets, all over the Union, at from 30 to 100 per cent less than in Cuba, whose producers in this way lose one-third or one-half the benefits of their income. A careful revision of the charges on imports corresponding to our list of American fabrics and productions, with the invoice prices, and the usual rates paid by the consumer, will convince the simplest understanding that is willing to be candid, that \$20,000,000 of the \$30,000,000, (keeping to round and approximate numbers) of annual imports into Cuba, ought, if the interests and convenience of the direct producers and purchasers were consulted, to come to the industrial classes of the Union. Not only would the fostering dew of \$20,000,000 support in comfort many thousand families now languishing on our shores, in search of homes and employment, but it would bring to the tables of all our people the delicate fruits of the torrid zone, in which Cuba abounds, at prices far below anything we have ever known. The rapid steam intercommunication between sister States, and the splendid geographical position of the "Key of the Gulf," would bring Havana as near St Louis and New York, as they are to each other, or to New Orleans, and in more prompt interchange with all the cities of the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, than those coasts can be with each other.

Relieved from the iron net of domestic repression, under which Cuba now suffocates, and fairly launched into free traffic with the Northern States, her citizens would send their children here by hundreds, for education, and come themselves by thousands, to enjoy the bracing air of a higher latitude, while in return thousands from the North would hasten there in winter, to enjoy her perpetual spring and ceaseless round of fruits and flowers, which are fairest and brightest in Cuba when our fields are buried under chilling robes of frost and snow. This facility of changing climate, and living always in the smiles of summer, will be felt in the liberal patronage of her packet lines; and when we add to this the central position of the Island with regard to mail and business lines from California and the Pacific, from Central and South America, and from the British, French, and Danish West Indies, its importance to our steam marine is easily understood. As an open,

safe, and reliable haven of rest, aid, and supply, beyond any fear of foreign hostility or interference, standing midway as she does on the path from the Atlantic to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by the way of either Isthmus, and most particularly by the Isthmus of Cortes the shortest though most overlooked of all of them, and commanding the ingress and egress to the Gulf, and all the coast of Mexico, the control of this Island is of immense, of incomputable importance to the dignity and independence of our coast commerce. It even stands interferingly in the way between the Atlantic ports and the Gulf terminus of the short land route to California, on our own soil, now in course of survey by the United States engineers, and which a pioneer merchant train of 80 waggoners, is now traversing under General W. L. Cazneau, with a view to penetrate to the markets of New Mexico and the unvisited Centralia between Texas and California, by the new and straight line from Corpus Christi and the Paso del Norte. It is the priceless jewel that clasps into one magnificent, unbroken chain, the vast circle of our Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic trade. We only require this one link to belt 5,000 miles of sea-board in close and continuous mart and commercial unity, presenting, on every side, a well connected defence against the pretensions of rival or enemy. Whenever the trembling, restless Seal of the Gulf drops from the nerveless finger of Spain, there will be some envy in Europe, but little open resistance made to its passing into the grasp of our Eagle; and if he assumes the charge, Europe will retire from this continent, and thenceforth on all our coasts we will ask nothing but our steam marine, and the splendor of our flag to command the respect of the world for our commerce. C. M.

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### The Southern States, Cuba, AND "THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

Liberty to Cuba is the principal object to which we consecrate our efforts; and though if we conceive our country free from the yoke of Spain, the best for her would be to annex herself to the American Union, and the latter would gain by annexation as much as the former; nevertheless, we shall not obstinately insist on obtaining both aims at once. Liberty alone for Cuba would suffice us for the present, and for annexation, we would consider that afterwards.



Yet, as the question of annexation is now the object of serious consideration with the thinking public, and is of vital importance to all, we had thought proper to follow up the discussion of that subject with the attention it so fully deserves; but just when we were about doing so in answering an article of a correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* against Annexation, published on the 22nd of last September, a pamphlet comes to our hands, written by our friend "P. A.", under the title: "The Annexation of Cuba to the United States of America, or some Observations on that highly important question." This pamphlet anticipates to a certain extent our intentions, and contains, besides, some general ideas on the same subject, which are illustrated by reliable facts relative to Cuba, all of which is of the highest interest just at present.

In this view, we have determined on inserting in our periodical the most prominent parts of the pamphlet, accompanying the same with some short comments of our own which it has suggested, but reserving to ourselves very shortly to enter upon an argumentative discussion of the leading points of the astounding lucubrations with which the correspondent of the *Journal* regales its readers.

He says in his first paragraph:—

"It is true that the United States are bound by treaty not to take possession of Cuba, yet hitherto, in the history of the world, treaty stipulations have formed no obstacle to acquisitions of territory by one power from another; nor need we expect that our country will form an exception to the practice of nations. I regard, then, our treaty obligations as likely to interpose but a slight barrier to the annexation of Cuba; I shall therefore consider it as a very possible contingency, and to be met as a practical question."

As our amiable opponent Mr. "A. S." (for those are the initials he uses in this warfare,) openly concedes that existing treaties would form but a slight obstacle to the accomplishment of Annexation, we will leave him with great pleasure in this opinion, as the same coincides exactly with our own ideas on the subject.

We also accord with him, although not altogether to the full scope of his asseverations, when he tells us "if the Island of Cuba is annexed, then its rich commerce will be little more than the property of its commercial neighbors of the North," and that its great marts would be supplied from the manufacturing establishments of the North;" and farther, "that consequently the mercantile classes of the North desire the acquisition of Cuba."

The only thing in which we with good reason do dissent in our honest opinions from these views, although we readily concede that great advantages will accrue to the commerce of the States of the North as the result of Annexation, is, that these would not be so sweeping and so absorbing of all other interests as Mr. "A. S.," supposes. However, not to embroil the subject with details proving the contrary, we are willing, for the present, even to concede his whole allegation. But we ask: Would it be wisdom to renounce a business that insures us a return of four per cent, for the sole reason that our business friend interested on the other side would thereby gain twelve per cent? Besides, we believe if the matter is examined with greater circumspection and in good faith, it will be found that he gains twelve per cent in the end, who had made his calculations only for four.

So far, then, Mr. "A. S." is not only in perfect agreement with us and our ideas, but he even advocates Annexation.

But the point, where we begin to disagree shaking hands with him and turning into an opposite road, is, when we come to his asseveration that "the masters of slaves in Louisiana and Texas will be ruined, for the progress in the cultivation of the sugar-cane in Cuba, when annexed, will make the sugar of those States disappear from the markets. And we contradict these views by the reasonings which our friend "P. A." [the author of the pamphlet we insert here by extracts,] presents on that score in an opposite direction, and by which it appears that Cuba presents an ample field not only for the investment of these industrial capitals, but for much larger ones, and which there would produce three hundred per cent of the return they produce here now, through the incomparable excellence of the soil, climate, &c. there; and besides the lands in Texas and elsewhere may be more adequately and advantageously applied to more congenial pursuits of agriculture.

On the other hand, we will add, if the annexation of Cuba be accomplished, the importation of slaves has to cease there and every where else, for the obvious reasons we have already stated repeatedly; and in this case will also have to diminish the cultivation of sugar-cane in the island of Porto Rico and in Brazil, and consequently that product must yield greater returns, just as much as the slaves and landed property; all of which will redound in benefitting us all universally rather than working an injury to any one.

To believe that the price of cotton would fall, is supposing the natural order of things to become inverted; for if an increase takes place in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, so naturally will be the result—many arms now engaged in the produce of cotton, will be abstracted into the more advantageous pursuits and diminish the crops of cotton, which of course cannot be a reason for a further depreciation of that product in the markets of the world.

“Annexation, continues our opponent Mr. “A. S.” will be even more disastrous to the slaves, than to the masters,” supposing of course on this side of the argument a diminution of the yearly return of labor and capital as an admitted and inevitable result; but such a supposition is preposterous in the extreme, and can by no means be admitted, if we remember what “P. A.” says in that respect in his pamphlet, and if we take in consideration our own arguments proving the contrary. And as Mr. “A. S.” in the question appeals to the ease of humanity, we entreat him not to forget the unhappy inhabitants of Cuba, who suffer more than the slaves of the Southern States; not to forget those thousands of wretches of Africa, who every year are torn from their land of nativity, and their kindred, in order to be inhumanely huddled together and transhipped like as many bundles of merchandise into the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, and to Brasil, there to perish in perpetual servitude.—all which evils will cease entirely the moment annexation is consummated.

The precise limits of our Journal and accumulation of material on our hand just at this moment, force us to adjourn our observations, which the article of the correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* suggested, to one of our next Numbers.

[From the Pamphlet.]

In fact, since the Anglo-Americans exhibited to the world the first example of a people, who from the depressed state of an European colony, rose by themselves to the elevated station of an independent nation; since that day the absolute separation and political independence of the two hemispheres were decreed, and it could be asserted that, at a period not very distant, the different portions of America, then subject to the laws of Europe, would form a single body, and all joined together, would march under the glorious banner, which first checked and subdued the pride of kings in this portion of the seas.

Time has already confirmed this truth, which the most sagacious men could

scarcely foresee. Not long since all America was agitated and revolutionized, as were the United States; the very same island or Cuba was on the point of following the footsteps of her sisters of the Continent, and to draw Porto Rico with her; and if she is still a slave, it is not the fault of the Cubans, who at all times have shown their inclination to a Republic; but the Government of Washington, who incomprehensibly acting contrary to their principles, (1) opposed in 1826 the invasion of that Island by the combined forces of Mexico and Columbia, properly concerted with the Cuban patriots, at a time when both Republics were openly at war with Spain, and no nation could oppose them, without doing violence to neutrality and international laws, and treaties acknowledged and sanctioned by all nations.

The principle of annexation or extension of territory, as some wish to call it, is not a party principle, or a new platform raised to seek from thence for power. The incorporation of new States, and the rapid increase of the Confederacy, is the natural, spontaneous, irresistible consequence of its manhood, of the attracting power of its institutions; and if any body is responsible for this tendency, doubtless the same American Nation is, or to say better, that chosen portion of selected men are, who, being prepared by the hand of Providence in 1776, were the authors of the new era of the liberty of nations.

Washington, Hancock, Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin were the great originators of the principle of annexation, as they were of the American Independence, with all its virtues; and when the great Father of the Republic advised his people to be on their guard against the spirit of conquest, and not to interfere in the affairs of other nations, it was because he foresaw from that very time, in his Republican spirit and patriotic dreams, that a period should arrive when all America would seek for consolation in the arms of the Confederacy, and he was unwilling that an impulsion, or a premature action on the part of the same nation, should render fruitless the hopes of humanity. (2)

(1) Mr. Clay's notes to the Deputies of Columbia and Mexico, and the instructions given to the Commissioner of the United States for representing this Government in the great American Congress of Panama in the year 1826 (in which Mr. Adams was the acting President), and the extraordinary Message of Mr. Adams to the Congress, explain it at contradiction which has stained the history of America with a disgraceful stigma.—(EE. of “*La Verdad*.”)

(2) If proofs of this truth were wanting, the Federal Constitution of 1789 may be consulted, which states what follows: “Should (and wish to be annexed to the Confederacy, it should be immediately admitted into it; but any other Colony shall need the suffrage of nine States to pass.”

If Washington were living, if Jackson could handle again that sword so fatal to the enemies of his country, they would be the chief annexationists, and the oppressed people of Cuba should not see themselves abandoned to their own resources, and to the fury and rigor of their executioners. Those who fought so much, with so much valor, and so much glory for the liberty and honor of their country, would not hesitate a moment between stretching a helping hand to the oppressed sons of Cuba, and maintaining an *unjust* and *false regard* for the kings of Europe.

Some pretended republicans, some hypocrites will not be wanting now, who, affecting a deep conviction, will cover their responsibility and be unwilling to interfere, saying: let us preserve ourselves neutral; let us comply with social morality, and with the laws and with the treaties which bind us to Spain; and let us not expose ourselves to be blamed with the violation of the laws and rights of nations.

To those who think or express themselves so, it will be sufficient to answer, that although it is certain that international agreements exist, which require the regard of one Government towards another, it is also *certain, that there is a right anterior to all agreement, which annuls and invalidates all those compacts when they are contrary to the liberty and the well-being of the citizen; that in the free exercise of this right, the people arm themselves to upset bad governments, and are sure to meet with the sympathy and assistance of other people not corrupted by slavery, or free from the chains of despotism. The government which in any manner opposes or impedes the free use of this right, and attacks or succeeds in checking the sympathies inspired in other people by its first impulses, will be considered as an unjust and oppressive government;* and I trust that that of the United States shall not entitle itself to this appellation, in the same way that I am sure that the Americans will not suffer themselves to be converted into Cossacks or Janissaries of America. Besides, who has said, and whence has the principle been derived, that not to oppose, or to help an enslaved people to conquer for their liberty, is violating morality and treaties, especially in Republics, where individual and collective liberty are the basis of the institutions? What morality and what treaties are those which are violated in the name of the political belief of a people, and of a principle of justice, already acknowledged by all the world, and

which is being adopted now-a-days by all the nations of the earth? Treaties ought never to be contrary to morality and justice, the basis of which is the enjoyment of liberty; and if they are contrary to morality and justice, it is proper that they be annulled or altered, or supplied by others more reasonable, and more conducive to the end for which they have been made.

If treaties of amity and alliance exist between the Governments of Spain and the United States, which require either the neutrality or the support of the respective Governments, there are also mutual relations and rights between the Americans and Cubans, which invite them to unite on so important an occasion; and I do not believe that the latter ought to be sacrificed to the former. What then? Is it that in the eyes of the administration, and of some members of the Whig party, the right of Spain to dominate, to tyrannize over and oppress the Cubans, is superior to that of the latter to destroy and get rid of the oppressive power by the means dictated by reason and experience? Is the absolute Queen of Spain, in virtue of the fact that she is Queen and absolute, more entitled to the consideration and regard of the Government of Washington than the 500,000 Cubans who live near the gates of the Union, chained, oppressed, and in expectation that these will be opened to them to enable them to escape the fate of St. Domingo and Jamaica, ruined by the policy and the follies of Europe?

To the social interests, to the sympathies and moral bonds which connect the people of Cuba with the people of the United States in the question of annexation, it is necessary to add the material and political interests of the Union, of Cuba, and of all America, concerned in dissolving those bonds, which for three centuries have subjected her to the caprices and fatal influences of Europe.

It is known that the United States, especially, are decidedly interested in the emancipation of all the colonies of America; for the circumstance that Cuba is situated between the two continents, and at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, as if to offer a passage and defence to its people, renders its emancipation indispensable, and imposes upon the United States the necessity of using their utmost efforts to take possession of that station before England lays hold of it for herself, or Spain loses it for all.

Cuba supports at present on the most fertile soil of the earth, about 1,200,000 inhabitants, among whom 500,000 are white.

and the other 700,000 of color. (3) Its climate is one of the most salubrious; its produce cannot be rivalled in any market, and notwithstanding its small population, and that only the fifth part of its extensive territory is cultivated, the cyphers of its trade rose the last economical year to very near 60,000,000 of dollars.

In Cuba two crops of some produce are usually made in the year; there is no snow, there are no frosts destructive of plantations; here are no epidemic diseases which afflict the inhabitants of cities or the country, and were it not for the painful presence of a Colonial Government, the most insolent and despotic that has ever existed in a civilized nation, one might say that Cuba is the garden, or the Paradise of America. But what will give an approximate idea of the productive powers, and the effective value of the Island of Cuba, is to know, that those 500,000 enslaved and humbled colonists, destitute of property and of guaranties, who have no participation in the Government, who are deprived of all representation in the metropolis, against whom the most oppressive laws are unceasingly made, and from whom the most vexatious imposts are extorted, pay yearly contributions amounting to \$18,074,491. (4)

With this people, as much favored by nature as injured and ill-treated by fortune, the American Union maintain now-a-days

a trade amounting to \$18,000,000 a year and upwards, which employs immense capital and many thousand American men and vessels. Her ports are the natural resort of the intercourse and trade of the North and South; of our relations springing from the coasts of the Pacific, and from Asia; and of our numerous merchant vessels or men of war, which plough the Gulf of Mexico. But what is all this, when we consider that should Cuba enter into the Confederacy, if her fetters were for ever broken and the obstacles removed which now cramp the industry and commerce of that territory, thousands of American and European emigrants with their capital and their industry, would yearly flock to Cuba, and making her vast and fertile lands immediately productive, they would raise the trade, the wants, and the importance of that country in every respect, to a degree difficult to be ascertained, but capable of astonishing every thinking mind?

Cuba being annexed to the Union, her ports being opened to all the world, and those privileges and fiscal laws abolished which compel the Cubans to procure assortments from Europe, at extraordinary prices, of the same article which could be obtained cheaper and of better quality in our ports: the North would send to her its manufactures, wood and grain; the West its cattle; and the South should, above all, find a very large field for its speculations, and the only sure means of checking the pretensions and aggressions of the North, of which the former complains.

The worn out lands of North and South Carolina, and of Virginia, which produce with difficulty, by dint of labour,

(3) Although the last Official census, made at the end of the year 1847, does not give to the Island of Cuba more than 898,752 inhabitants, those who know well the country, and are acquainted with the motives and the mean policy with which in Cuba even the best established facts are disguised, make its actual population amount to 1,200,000 individuals, classified in this way: whites, 500,000; free colored people, 150,000; slaves, 550,000.

To prove the incorrectness and unfaithfulness of the census of 1847, it will be sufficient to compare it with that of 1841, made by order of the Government, and by its very agents; in which interval of five years there have not been in Cuba either wars or epidemics to diminish the population; but on the contrary, the latter, besides its natural increase, has received a reinforcement of 50,000 African slaves, who, in spite of England, to the profit and honor of the Spanish authorities, have in the same period reached and landed on those shores.

Census of 1841.—Whites, 418,291; free colored people, 152,838; slaves, 436,463. Total, 1,007,623.

Census of 1847.—Whites, 425,770; free colored people, 159,223; slaves, 323,759. Total, 898,752.

Increase in five years: whites, 7,479; free colored people, 6,385. Diminution in the same five years: of slaves, 112,736. Total diminution of the population, 105,257.

And what has become of these 112,736 slaves deficient in the census of 1847, and of the other 50,000 who reached Cuba in the same year, when the white population is supposed to have increased by 7,479 individuals, and that of the free colored people by 6,385?—Is this intended to convey the idea that those wretches perished in the torments and gibbets used by O'Donnell, in the year 1844? Every body knows that that Chief scarcely sacrificed 8000 slaves and freemen on pretence of saving the Island, but only for the purpose of being honored and admired by his Government.

The object of the census of 1847 is to make people believe that the slave-trade has ceased in the Island of Cuba, when the Spanish Government protects it on the one hand, and the mother of Isabel II fosters it on the other, investing an immense capital in the same.

(4) Here are the amount of the Cuban taxes, as published in another writing of this kind some months ago:

GENERAL TAXES.	
Proceeds of the Marine Income in 1846, according to the "Balanza General" of the Commerce of the Island of Cuba, in 1847, - - - - -	\$6,232,967 0
Ditto of Land Income, according to the same "Balanza," - - - - -	4,907,812 0
Lottery rents, according to the General Account formed for the Budget of 1846, - - - - -	761,000 0
Post-office rents, according to a communication presented to the Administration of Havana in 1841, - - - - -	997,341 0
Tithe rents, - - - - -	416,000 0
Eventual rents, - - - - -	250,000 0
Stamp paper, according to the data produced by Mr. Queipo, in his "Informe Fiscal," - - - - -	260,000 0
Costs of suits, without including the preceding item, and according to a calculation made in the "Observador de Ultramar" (a newspaper) of the 28th of August, 1844, - - - - -	2,740,000 0
Sum - - - - -	\$16,565,120 0
PARTIAL TAXES.	
Municipal taxes, - - - - -	919,121 0
Taxes for the "Junta de Fomento," - - - - -	380,600 0
Sundry taxes and duties, as passports, permits, &c. &c. - - - - -	209,650 0
Total, - - - - -	\$18,074,491 0



would become free from the burthen of their slaves, the latter being placed on the fertile plains and productive fields of Cuba, and their masters would be satisfied on recovering their past importance and wealth. Even the agriculturists of Louisiana would be the first to become sensible of, and improve their advantages.

It is well known here with what difficulty sugar plantations are supported, and to how many disasters their owners are exposed at every moment. The cane is planted either every year or every two years; it grows only to the height of 4 or 5 feet; it does not contain a great quantity of saccharine substance (5), and it is necessary to lay it in and work it in the space of five or six weeks, to avoid inundations and snows, which would deprive the owner of his crop if he were surprised by them.

But in Cuba the canes last for twenty-five years and upwards, without any necessity of being re-planted again, and grow to the prodigious height of 9 to 12 and 15 feet or more. Their juice is so sweet that it becomes chrystalized in the rays of the sun (6); crops are certain on account of the stability and mildness of the seasons; and the crop is made, according to the wish of the owner, in the space of four or six months.

Difference so great in the qualities of the land and in those of the climate, in the production and cultivation of the cane, give to Cuba an immense superiority over the state of Louisiana, with respect to the elaboration and price of sugar; but this circumstance, instead of being an obstacle to the annexation, should be an additional motive urging to it.

All forced industry, as that of sugar in Louisiana, is, in fact, an evil to the very same community which maintains it, because it is usually fostered by restrictions and charges always burthensome to the people. The incorporation of Cuba would free the Americans in general from the heavy impost of about 40 per cent with which the sugar of Cuba is burthened when it enters the United States, and, advantageously for both parties, would leave to each soil the industry more fit for it, and open a new field to speculation and trade.

By virtue of this change, so much desired by all intelligent men, the immense capital, the exquisite improvements, the

ingenious machinery, the bold spirit of enterprise, and much slave labor, which are at present employed on the two shores of the Mississippi in the production of some 150,000 to 200,000 hogsheds of sugar a year, would then pass over into Cuba and there at least triple their productiveness; leaving the beautiful and fertile shores of that great river to other more appropriate and, at the same time, to their inhabitants, more useful modes of cultivation. This change would be effected gradually, peacefully, without extortions being practised against any one; and, by the time of its complete establishment, will have raised the commerce and political importance of the South and West to that greatness which lies in store for them in the lap of futurity; it will have saved from certain ruin 1,200,000 inhabitants, civilized and industrious beings, and by indissoluble bonds have united two neighbouring territories which not so very long ago acknowledged the same system of laws, and in which one and the same language was spoken.

When, from the examination of material interests that demand annexation, we turn to look upon those which present themselves to our consideration on the score of policy and morality, we find that there is nothing which does not argue in favor of the immediate realization of that idea; and even the abolitionists themselves, who have been most decided in their opposition to the project of annexation, ought to favor it, if there is any truth in their assertion that they are so active merely from a desire (laudable in every way) of alleviating and improving the condition of the negro race.

The history of slavery teaches us that its effectual abolition has two very marked periods, which we must observe: the period of the suppression of the importation of negroes; and, afterwards, the real and effective emancipation of the slaves. If we wish Cuba to submit to the former, and thus qualify herself to enter upon the latter, it is necessary to take her away from Spain; for as long as she is subjected to that government, the importation of negroes will be favored and even stimulated, as the only means of keeping the native inhabitants at bay and of preserving the possession of that valuable colony (7).

(5) Both things are natural; as, for the fear of winter, canes must be cut before they have grown up or come to maturity.—[EE. of "La Verdad."]

(6) The cause of this is, that canes are cut when they are quite ripe. As there is no fear of winter frosts in Cuba, they only cut the quantity of canes that can be ground on the same day.—[EE. of "La Verdad."]

(7) During that part of the present year which is now passed, 6,000 Africans have been dragged to the shores of Cuba, were sold publicly in open markets, and netted to Señor de Almey the snug little sum of \$200,000; which are shared by His Excellency with the ministers of Queen Isabel and which enabled him to sustain himself in favor to Spain, and hold the absolute command of the island. For each negro imported into Cuba, His Excellency receives the sum of \$51.

If unfortunately, what we however will be very slow in presuming, the American people should refuse aiding the people of Cuba, then Cuba will in a short time present the same picture with Jamaica, and the United States will not only have lost a precious opportunity of assuring themselves of that important military position, and of enlarging its present relations with that island, which already are so productive to the Union; but therefore they will have to do there no longer with ricketty weak old Spain, but with powerful and adroit England, which for a long time has been spying a proper opportunity of appropriating the island of Cuba, with hardly any other view but of keeping at bay the United States, making herself the mistress of the Gulf of Mexico, and consequently the arbitress over a large part of the American commerce, and of all the individual States lying West of Florida on the sea shore, as well as the whole valley of the mighty Mississippi, of which Cuba in a military view, must be considered as an essential advanced outpost. (3)

Let no one say, that this will never happen, as the United States have declared as a part of their public policy, that they will prevent Cuba from falling into the hands of any other power but Spain. As soon as England shall judge that the long expected day at last has arrived of seizing upon Cuba, she will do it in a moment, and not give time to either Americans nor any other nation to meet her on the field of competition; and having possessed herself of the richest of the Antilles, it is an illusion to believe, that any other nation could dislodge her, and drive her out of those sea-ports. The whole intended coast of Cuba would immediately be transformed into one uninterrupted battery all round, which would at all times menace and endanger the commerce and shipping, nay, even the very coasts of the American Union. To wage war from Europe traversing the Atlantic, is not the same thing with carrying it on from Cuba, and the pride and maritime insolence of Great Britain, so many times humiliated in these seas, would again tower high, and be as insulting as in former times.

[S] Quite the same are the intentions of England, and with the same object, respecting Nicaragua and Yucatan; and though her policy is slow, it is firm and constant, and experience has proved that she seldom misses the mark.— [EE. of "La Verdad.]"

The late occurrences in the Island of Cuba and the course public opinion and popular sympathy have taken, have raised the question of its freedom to such a characteristic importance that it certainly has become entitled almost to be the exclusive topic of general discussion. The people, the press, political and diplomatic circles not alone in this country and in the other countries of America, but even in Europe, have demonstrated that importance in their discussions of it, and with no slight exhibition of interest; and certainly not as a political problem that might present itself, but as a ready question, which will demand its solution at an early day. And what is more; its solution is already determined by men that do reflect with impartiality and without prejudice, and it only wants the sanction of the *faits accomplis*. We have the best reasons for believing, that this question will be one of the highest importance and interest in the congress of this Union, which is shortly to assemble, not alone on account of its intrinsic gravity and the urgency of its nature, but on account of its closely interwoven relations with the political and material interests of this great Confederation.

In these circumstances we consider it of the utmost utility to collect every thing that tends to illustrate this question under its principal aspects, and particularly in its complication with the interest of the Southern States, through which it necessarily presents itself as a stumbling block in the unobstructed march of the Union.

And as a convenient means of attaining the object we indicate, we have resolved upon compiling and digesting into a more condensed shape some of the original articles which we from time to time have been publishing on this subject in the columns of *La Verdad*, not excluding matter that has appeared over the signatures of correspondents, who have favored us with their observations. All that we are going to insert in this compilation will turn on the question to which we refer, considering the same under various aspects and elucidating it as succinctly as the nature of the matter we treat of, in such a class of writings will admit, and we

will draw the consequences which naturally and necessarily are involved in it in respect to the United States, as well in particular for the whole American continent, in whatever sense we may be justified in looking upon it.

In whatever point of light we consider the general bearings of the political position of the island of Cuba, we cannot harbor any doubt as to the magnitude of its importance, whether we direct our attention to the dangers and precipices which her actual coalition thrusts into the path of this country as well as of other countries of the New World, or to the immeasurable benefits that would be conferred on all by any favorable turn in the domestic affairs of the last of Spanish colonies in this hemisphere.

We beg leave here to repeat what on many previous occasions we have stated on this subject. The political emancipation of Cuba from Spain, and consequently her annexation to the United States, is the surest means of a conciliation of its various antagonistic interests and parties. By it the even balance of Federal representation will be restored and the South will not be overwhelmed by the preponderance of the North; the owners of slaves in the Southern States will have a complete guarantee for the security of their property, and the enjoyment of their privileges as they actually exist, until the same can be brought to a termination by a convenient and gradual abolition of slavery; the enemies of slavery and abolitionists will see the perils of Cuba, of Porto Rico, and by a necessary consequence also those of Brazil, closed at once and for ever against that infamous trade in human flesh which now-always has its chief support and public maintenance in the colonial government of those islands; and finally, beyond these advantages, which will be enjoyed in common with the abolitionists, new and vast fields of teeming luxuriant and virgin soil will be thrown open to the enterprise of hundreds of thousands of strong arm, free men, with a safe prospect of realising large fortunes.

And moreover no small share of those immeasurable benefits will be appropriated by the great West, whether Cuba

become independent or annexed; for by this means the West will be secured of the free and unimpeded navigation of the Gulf of Mexico, into which its immense productions will have to be distributed; the key to which, now in the hands of imbecile Spain, might one day pass into the keeping of hands more dangerous in many respects, than the great mass of the people seems generally to have a conception.

The articles of which this compilation is going to consist, will exhibit at the same time the despotic system against which Cuba is struggling, in a clear and precise manner; the cruelty with which her inhabitants are oppressed; the scandalous extortions and official robberies which the government and its helps daily commit with perfect impunity; the inquisitorial censorship of the press; the iniquitous scheme of inundating the island with an overwhelming force of barbarous Africans, destitute of every moral principle, and enemies one to the other, not alone for the purpose of dividing and dominating over us without any risk, but also for the purpose of enriching the agents and satellites of the metropolitan government, and of giving alms to the insatiable avarice of Donna Christina de Bourbon de Manos, Duchess of Rincaras, and august mother of her catholic majesty, Donna Isabel II. The compilation shall also exhibit for the first time, how literally true it is that Cuba is delivered by the home government to the secret arm of its rascals and Emirs without any farther condition and proviso than that the annual rent of \$20,000,000 be punctually paid into the home treasury, whatever be the means resorted to for their collection, and which even may be increased by extraordinary subsidies, as is the case just now, in order to cover the debts which the metropolitan imbecile cabinet continually contracts for purposes of dissipation and luxury.

We will also speak specifically as it may be, of the immorality with which international treaties are broken, by which Cuba (always the victim) is exposed to the suicidal consequences of the atrocious policy of government; nor will we forget drawing a picture to life of its senseless and scandalous abuse



of power, its imbecile stubbornness, its public outrages and extortions, and political murders, &c., which are the necessary consequence of her Captains General being invested with illimited powers, or to express it more concisely, of their being the absolute, irresponsible masters of those unfortunate islands.

And if the hopes of some persons, be they candid or perverse from self-interest, had yet the slightest appearance of a solid foundation, what could that prove but the strength of their resignation? But what can we hope from Spain? Let us hear *La Cronica* of New York, the recognised organ of the colonial government of Cuba, and sustained by feeding on the money that properly belongs to the treasury of that island, and in matters of Spanish colonial policy, the mouth-piece of the powers in the metropolis. That paper in No. 10 of the 28th of November, inserts an article of its correspondent residing at the metropolitan court, which advances among other things the following:

“The political innovations that some persons desire for them, [the Spanish-American colonies,] far from being of any utility to the colonies, would serve only to excite a war fatal to the colonies and the metropolis; far from a political struggle of a short or long period, there would arise a fierce contest of extermination between races.”

In these few lines, whoever be their author, an authentic expression is involved of the true intentions, and the fixed will of the cabinet of Madrid.

From it we may clearly and without fear of counter-proof deduce the following necessary conclusions:

1. That the government of Spain will never make the slightest most trivial concessions of its despotism, in favor of political rights of our island.

2. That in adducing as the only motive for the same, the difference which exists there of races, it is evident, that it will persevere with inflexible determination in its policy of maintaining and fomenting this unhappy division, as the best foundation and justification of its tyranny.

3. That consequently [setting aside all other considerations,] it will do its

utmost for the purpose of importing into Cuba as many African slaves as possible, the very antipodes to an immigration of a white population, and maintain a traffic that is sure to enrich those in power in the shortest period.

Thus we have then got an authentic confirmation of our own convictions, which we have repeatedly set forth in different numbers of *La Verdad*. And with this political programme before us, we ask now:

What are the Cubans to do, oppressed as they are in a brutal despotic manner by the government of the metropolis, when the latter denies them every possibility of political innovations?

What shall the enemies of that infamous trade in human flesh do, when every thing assures us that Spain, if for nothing else but the preservation of its hold on the island, has resolved on not alone maintaining the number of the wretched victims of its policy and avarice at every cost, but to increase the same?

What ought to be done by the men who direct the affairs and destinies of this continent, and particularly of this glorious republic, when—instead of the perils which threaten their best interests, physical as well as moral, on the part of the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico as slave-holding colonies decreasing,—the door is closed against every liberal reform which would impede the propagation of the evils that under the present system sprout luxuriantly on all sides, and threaten to spread their contaminating influence over the continent, as has been the case many times before?

We are on the eve of the opening of the winter session of Congress; a great number of that legislative body who will there assemble are illustrious and profound statesmen, and suffice it for us to indicate to them the importance and urgency of a question, that will no doubt receive the definite and beneficent solution which we hope for,—a complete triumph of the holy cause of liberty in all America.

## The Southern States, Cuba,

AND "THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

In continuation of my remarks on the communication of the "Journal of Commerce," published the 12th September last past, I will pass over or touch lightly all those points in which principles of political truth are not involved, as for instance, the *degrees* of Cuban loyalty, to which the writer seriously pretends to call the attention of readers, and for my part I will be satisfied with pointing out how great were *those* of the people of South America, when tested by the Revolution, in which, all united like brothers, they rose to shake off the yoke of their metropolis, and at the same time the troops, abandoning the side of despotism, flocked to the banners of liberty. It will not be amiss also transiently to note the last facts which took place at Puerto-Principe, Trinidad, Cienfuegos, Matanzas, and other points in Cuba, in which the troops were implicated with the people; certain and indisputable facts, in vain attempted to be distorted by the government, and its agents and creatures in Cuba and the United States, because the veil falls in presence of reality.

Another point is the *abstract* question, (for so the Journal is pleased to classify it,) whether "the people of Cuba are oppressed, or whether they wish for an independent republican, or monarchical government? or whether, to secure their property, the Cubans solicit the protection of a foreign power?" The author of the communication says, in order to get out of the difficulty without disgrace, "I waver all this;" and I very gladly follow the same system, leaving to the American school-boys the examination and decision of the question; because it appears absurd for reasonable men to waste their time on the topic which appears an abstract question only to Mr. "A. S."

I will confine myself for a little while to the *but*, with which he proceeds. "But," says he, "I dare deny even the probability, that the principal men in the Island, the rich, men of influential family, approve or support movements like that which has been suppressed in this city by the interference of the Government."

Nothing manifests better the hypocrisy of the *Journal* than the preceding asseveration, whereby it pretends to believe what it certainly knows to be totally false. There is nothing so ungenerous neither, as to provoke and insult, when the offender is sure that the adversaries, whose hands and feet are bound, are thereby de-

prived of the opportunity of making a full answer.

The *Journal* knows very well, that since the first conspiracy sprang up in Cuba, every day new victims are sacrificed on the altar of despotism; it knows also very well, that many have lost their lives for their country, either on the scaffold, or by poison, or by rigorous imprisonment, and by ill-treatment, or by the moral suffering of a virtuous and delicate soul unable to stand calumny, and the torment of seeing one's children threatened with ruin and misery.

The *Journal* well knows that many have been fined, persecuted, condemned to banishment, or to an infamous transportation, or to death; we repeat, the *Journal* knows these things very well, for all or the greatest part of the names of these victims have been published by the Cuban press, and by the press of the United States. And will the conscientious author of the communication, or the editors of the *Journal* dare to deny, that the greater part of these sufferers belong to the best, rich, influential, enlightened class, and that in their number are to be found even men celebrated for their knowledge and virtues? Let the *Journal* answer; but let it answer fairly, let it answer conscientiously, laying aside the *cloak of justice*, which it assumes, however ill-suited to it. And let it not plead in its justification, ignorance of the facts, because they are public; because many are as old as the preceding generation, and because such an ignorance does not entitle it to assert what it does not know, and to deny even the probability in matters of great importance, injuring thereby the vital interests of a people. "These men" proceeds the *Journal*, speaking of the rich, the noblemen, &c., "have much to lose, and nothing to gain. The *excellent* patriots, as well as the defenders of the oppressed, might be passive, we hope, since the rich becomes powerful there, the man related to families of rank *indirectly* influential! He has no offices as the nobility; but the greatest part of them are tame, easily contented and docile, (it appears to me I am hearing a certain creature, whom you have mentioned, and against whom I have been much cautioned,) they are much satisfied with their titles, and with the importance which they procure, differently from the new Colonel from the West."

Behold the pure essence of selfishness, mixed with the most refined malice of hypocrisy! What principles, what logic, and what objects! Then "because the rich becomes powerful, because the man of rank becomes *indirectly* influential, and because

the titled men are contented with the importance which their titles procure, the *excellent patriot* must be passive, and give up to slavery, to deceitful oppression, to physical and moral distress, the other 99 portions of his countrymen. Such a doctrine and such sentiments disseminated in Russia by the *Journal*, would raise it to the greatest credit with the Autocrat Nicholas.

But that periodical is not yet satisfied with this, and goes further in its ardor against the Cubans who strive to shake off the opprobrious yoke of their servitude; and this ardor joined to its zeal for the *liberal* institutions of Spain which prevail in Cuba, carry him away so, that it doubts of the right of the people to rebel against the tyrant, because, says the *Journal* in the fullness of its wisdom, "the Government has not broken its compact." So that according to this new doctrine, the slave is not entitled to procure his emancipation, while the master does not increase or multiply his rigours.

What principles, what philosophy, and what logic, we repeat!

"Education is the basis of Liberty," says the author of the communication, "A. S.", and he says an eternal truth; although that does not enable the people to become free, and liberate themselves. But it lays down the principle as absolute, in order to draw therefrom, by its ingenuity, the false inference that "the people must be educated before they obtain liberty." According to this principle oppressed nations would never, or very late, emancipate themselves; because it is clear that the oppressors will exert themselves to keep from the people this element of liberty, indispensable, according to the supposition of the *Journal*. Let the author of the communication have the goodness to say to us,—when he thinks we may obtain liberty in Cuba, if we continue to live under the discipline of tyrannical Spain, when we are so little advanced now, after three centuries and a half tuition, that he does not find us fit for Liberty: It is not out of the purpose here to mention the *very wise* direction of a father who prohibited his son "from entering into the water before he knew how to swim."

And with respect to what relates to other various points of the article of "A. S." as for instance the backward condition of the American people who became free from the yoke of Spain, and other general observations, I beg leave to introduce an extract from the *Rock River Jeffersonian* of the 31st October ultimo, which is very *apropos*, and suitable to the occasion, it is the following:—

ROCK RIVER JEFFERSONIAN, OCTOBER 31st 1810. THE PRINCIPLES AND ACTS.

The recent attempt of Cuba to take her place as an independent State, has brought forth from the "Constitutionnel" of Paris, the assertion that "we are bound by the treaty entered into in 1825, between France, England, and the *United States*, to guarantee to Spain the possession of that Island, and to secure to the nations signing, the perpetual neutrality of that important colony." Here we see plainly the alliance formed with *monarchical powers*, for the suppression of liberal institutions, by the Whig Cabinets of Adams and Clay—the essence of the great fundamental doctrines of the Whig platform.

Nor was this all. In the year 1825, was held at Panama, the great American Congress, and in which Mr. Adams was so much interested for our government, or more properly speaking, the Whig views to be represented. In the Congress, the invasion of Cuba and Porto Rico was resolved upon, by the combined forces of Mexico and Columbia, and was given up on account of the opposition made to it by the *United States Government*, through their Minister at Columbia, and the notes of Mr. Clay to the representatives of the United States at European Courts. . . . Mr. Adams himself says in his message, "the condition of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico is of deeper import, and more immediate bearing upon the present interests and future prospects of our Union." The correspondence herewith transmitted, will show how earnestly it has engaged the attention of this government. The invasion of both those Islands by the United forces of Mexico and Columbia, is avowedly among the objects matured by the belligerent states at Panama. The convulsions to which, from the *peculiar compositions of their population*, they would be liable in the event of such an invasion, and the danger therefrom resulting of their falling ultimately *into the hands of some European power* other than Spain, will not a whit of our looking at the consequences to which the Congress of Panama may lead, with indifference. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this topic, or to say more than all our efforts in reference to this interest will be to *preserve the existing state of things.*"

This diplomacy is worthy of Richelieu or Metternich in their primeval days, and never should have been written in the English language, that bloom of freedom. How different from the bold nervous style of his successor. "Come what may, the explanation which France demands can

never be accorded; and no armament, however powerful and imposing, at a distance or on our coast, will, I trust, *deter us from discharging the high duties which we owe to our constituents, our national character, and to the world.*"

But Jackson never had been nursed at kingly courts, nor learned the duplicity of epistolary statesmanship in Gallic tongue from Czars and Emperors—it sounds too much like the shrill report of the backwoodman's rifle, in contrast to the round train fired from the polished muskets of the Gen'l'arms..

Since that period more than 500,000 Africans have been brought from the coast to those Islands alone; and the curse of slavery, the groans of the middle passage, and the horrors of a deadly traffic to so many beings—the sacrifice of human life and property in guarding that charnel-house of foreigners the African coast, are all to be attributed to that paragon of Whigs, the hypocritical sympathiser of the *Amistad* captives, John Quincy Adams, and the broken-bank roulette politician Henry Clay. These are expressions which an examination of the subject will more than warrant, both by the instructions to the American Minister of Columbia, and the tripple alliance to keep human beings under the despotical, soul-destroying government of Spain. Look at the case of Com. Porter, court-martialed and driven from the navy for rescuing his lieutenant from the hoard of a piratical set, and gallantly carrying their fortress, because by the treaty stipulations the consent of France and England should have been had. Compared to such men the treason of Burr is a redeeming virtue, and the designs of Arnold but a return to loyalty. These are the names under whom they would marshal their hosts in this day of liberal feeling, and dare tell to the constituents of this Union, that they are opposed to slavery."

From what precedes, two truths, among many others, evidently appear, which are supported by authentic facts. The first is, that the administration of John Quincy Adams in 1823, followed a policy contrary to the spirit of the institutions of the Republic, and contrary also to the liberal sentiments which animated the founders of the Union, and which were always cherished by the American people. That the manner in which that administration acted was arbitrary and unjust before any Republican and human tribunal, because no treaty was existing, nor could with propriety exist, entitling them to oppose Columbia and Mexico, the independency

and sovereignty of which States or nations were acknowledged by the confederacy, and by several European powers, and which being at open war with Spain, were only providing for their natural defence when attempting to carry their arms to Cuba, a Spanish possession, and consequently the arsenal of their enemy, situated almost on their own coasts—and president Adams acted still more unreasonably when he threatened with a declaration of war those infant and weak Republics, shoots of the great tree planted by Washington, if they did not give up the undertaking to redeem from slavery Cuba and Portorico, their sisters; a noble and great undertaking, which if crowned with success, would have occasioned not only the complete emancipation of all the American populations afflicted with the Spanish oppression, but the exemption of these which were already emancipated from the continual vigilance of Cuba, to be considered as their step-father. Cuba, as a Spanish colony, may be compared to a vulture lying in wait, furnished with all the means of worrying and disgracing all these young nations. The Spanish emissaries harboured in Cuba have animated the metropolitan party in the ancient colonies; hence the seeds of discord have been cast and scattered among those people; fire-brands kindled in Cuba have been used to occasion conflagrations in those countries; from Cuba, in fine, the gold and silver were drawn to foment civil war, and to cause floods of blood to be shed during a generation, by arraying brothers against brothers in mortal strife. Facts, indisputable facts, are the proof of all this. From Cuba, expeditions were made by the Spanish government: spies and emissaries, happily some times caught and punished, have been sent; from Cuba plans of invasion formed in Madrid were attempted to be executed; from the very treasury of Cuba large sums of money were extracted by order of the intriguing, covetous, and [according to public report.] very extensive dealer in human flesh, Christina De Bourbon, with the intent of reconquering old possessions.

All these evils, and many more which it is impossible to enumerate, should not have been sustained, had not the Spanish dominion over Cuba and Portorico existed; for had Spain been deprived of that support,—Spain, so deficient in resources, and above all in marine strength, that the Columbian and Argentine cruisers used to capture Spanish ships, sometimes under the Morro, sometimes before Cadiz itself, —Spain, I say, would have renounced all hope of recovering its power in America,



and would have entered into fair treaties with the people who had become independent; by which all the latter, as well as Cuba and Portorico, free from fear from abroad, would have devoted themselves to their domestic concerns, and rapidly advanced to consolidation and prosperity, and should now be powerful and enlightened, and what is also desirable, exempt from the insults of unfair American periodical writers.

The second truth, no less palpable than the former, although detached from the extract inserted above, is that Cuba and Porto Rico being independent or incorporated with Columbia, or annexed to the United States, or wrested by some foreign nation, [an event so difficult and remote, that we admit it only as a supposition to be discussed,] whatever the destiny of these islands might be, if they were detached from Spain, the negro trade would immediately cease in them; which event should have taken place twenty two years ago and upwards, and more than 500,000 unfortunate negroes who since that time have been imported into both colonies, would not have been snatched from their country and condemned to a perpetual and hard slavery. But what is the case now? Altogether different: for the negro trade with its pernicious and lamentable consequences is increasing there, because, as we have repeated several times, and proved to demonstration by arguments and positive facts, the Spanish Government is interested therein; because, as it is notorious to all by public report and belief, in England, Cuba and Spain, among the concerned in the infamous negro trade are reckoned some of the chief persons of the sacred royal family of Bourbon, and because that trade is legalized by the Government of Cuba, on the only condition that the owners of the vessels importing the cargoes shall assert that the slaves proceed from Brasil.

Now let us recapitulate what we have stated above. The injustice committed by the Administration of 1826, against all the countries emancipated from Spain in America, and against Cuba and Porto Rico, appears to me not only palpable, but also the inexhaustible source of the evils which I have mentioned; and these must continue unless the only remedy be adopted whereby they may be cured. And let not, in vindication of an act so cruel, the subterfuge be resorted to, that it was authorized by the "right of one's own preservation," a right operating more in favor of Mexico and Columbia than of the United States, unless the *right of the strongest* be preferred. Some admit, I know,

that one's own preservation authorizes an individual to push into the water his companion, if the board on which they seek for safety cannot save them both from shipwreck; but was, perchance, the American Union in such a situation as to be induced to sacrifice, as it did sacrifice, the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and the Republics of the South, and more than 1,000,000 Africans, and the principles of liberty, justice, humanity, by opening a source also of interminable calamities? And what policy is observed by the present administration, now-a-days, when agitated before the Tribunal of the people of the great Washington?

Let us be silent, and listen to the voice of the defenders of humanity in the sacred enclosure of the temple of liberty, erected by the elevated minds of the immortal Washington, Jefferson, and other fathers of the Union.

MARCELO ETNA.

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## Cuba

AND "THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

The engagement which the *Journal of Commerce* has officiously taken upon itself; the false and pernicious doctrines it proclaims in order to uphold its engagement; the audacity with which it presents inexact data and distorts the truth of facts in order to secure the objects it aims at; and, lastly, the hypocrisy of the character in which this paper, that calls itself American, presents itself in the palestra of a free press in this country and in our age—are all things too striking and impressive to be allowed to go abroad without note—are facts too glaring to be concealed from the correct appreciation of a discerning and enlightened public.

To call licentious those who aspire to political freedom, and qualify as disorganization the enterprise of those who rise up for the conquest of their rights; to disfigure with colours of disorder, anarchy and ruin the imposing picture of a liberal and just revolution—are the arms of servile egotism against the progress of enlightenment and the spirit of republicanism.

Invoking respect for the law; recommending a course of moderation and peace; sanctifying the blessings of order and resignation—is the mask and armor with which the enemy of humanity shields himself—the grovelling vice of egotism, which is more contemptible than any other passion that lurks in the heart of man.

And these are exactly the armor, the shield and the mask which this model-paper, apostle and preacher of Christian charities, this *Journal of Commerce* has assumed in a struggle which it defends tooth and nail, against the true interests of the republic, of the American continent, and of oppressed humanity.

What is it to that journal, though the industrial classes of Cuba knead their bread with their tears? What imports it to that journal that the people of these United States pay double the price for many articles of first necessity, as sugar, tobacco, and others? What does it care though every soul breathing in Cuba is, on an average, weighed down by the enormous contribution of nearly forty dollars annually? Does it take any interest in the fact that the farmers of these United States do not sell at better prices and cannot multiply manifold the amount of their exports in flour and grain, on account of the exorbitant duties levied on their productions in the Island of Cuba? Is it aggrieved by the fact that the people of Cuba have to pay double the price that they ought to pay for every article imported there from these United States, and that the industrial classes of this country are thus deprived of a good market for the fruit of their toil, and to augment their exportation? Why should that journal complain because the merchant marine of the United States now-a-days employed in the Havana trade, small as it is, has every year to contribute to the government of Spain the enormous sum of nearly \$400,000 in tonnage, and that the number of vessels and men who at present find employment in that occupation does not double, as it certainly would do were the enormous charges and scandalous restrictions to disappear, with which that government grinds to the dust the commerce of the United States with Cuba?

And lastly, in order to compress the whole, and not to tire our patience by heaping questions,—what interest does that journal take in the fact that a million of our fellow-men incessantly and without respite are trodden down with every sort of vexation, and that the torrent which threatens to overwhelm thousands of individuals and families in one common lot of misery and despair, is daily, is hourly swelling and augmenting? None—none whatever. All this is nothing, is a mere bagatelle to that egotist journal. According to the views of men of this class, the slightest possible risk, the smallest probability threatening to interfere with any one of their present enjoyments—the highest interests of humanity, all, all

must be sacrificed. “As a colony of Spain,” they say, “she answers all our purposes in respect to trade, without the trouble of defending her; and it is for our interest that she should remain as she is.” How far away from every great and generous sentiment, how ignorant of the true interests of his own country which he feigns to defend, must that man be, who can give expression to such thoughts, to such views! And these are the truly noble sentiments, these are the exact and just views which the benighted *Journal of Commerce* has been propounding to its readers in one of its editorials, when it began to lend itself against any movement in the Island of Cuba! It is a matter of extreme regret to be obliged to hold up to merited contempt such failings as these; but it is necessarily done, for the just cause of a whole people cannot be permitted to become the football of every addle-brain or malicious hypocrite who may take a notion to kick it about in his displeasure.

What, then, does the *Journal of Commerce* leave to be done by Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, and by *La Crónica*, the worthy organ of the government, and the Minister of Her Catholic Majesty of all the Spains and Indies?

The cause of Cuba is a matter that lies near to our heart, and one in which many thousands of oppressed families take the most lively interest; it involves considerations of the highest moment, and well deserves the defence all its true friends are able to sustain; and I know I do not stand alone, when I consider it my duty to enter the lists with any one who attacks it, whether from ignorance, or from malevolence, or any other selfish motive. It is this, also, which impels me to-day to occupy myself exclusively with the *Journal of Commerce*, whose tortuous conduct and systematic attacks on the cause of the Island, I have been watching closely, with keen apprehension, for many months past.

The articles which we find recently inserted in that paper as communications, are full of errors, and on a par with the gross insincerity of the writer, notwithstanding his show of purity of mind, and the *ex-cathedra* tone to which he endeavours to rise. Let us to-day establish one example alone: we allude to the Intendant of Havana. What man, pretending to any acquaintance at all with the current affairs of the Island, which the writer of said communication to the *Journal* arrogates so much of to himself, can or ought to be so ignorant of the true cause which has for so many years maintained Señor Pinillos in that post, and which the

*Journal*, at least, ought to have better known, if it is not altogether dead to any unquestionable proofs<sup>9</sup> advanced in *La Verdad*. It is well known, and published in the streets as an authentic fact, that Señor Pinillos is retained in his office "because he understands better and more thoroughly than any other person how to milk that cow of Cuba,"—reason enough for the merchants of England, in their negotiations for the loan they made to Spain, to stipulate that Señor Pinillos should not be removed from his charge as Intendente.

Why does the writer of these communications, when he labors so hard in proving to us that the government of Spain employs indiscriminately natives of America and of Europe, not also cite the example of Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, who was born in America; and General Quesada, born in Havana, whom the peninsular Spaniards dragged through the streets of Madrid on account of his abject servility? Have we not also here examples of serviceable democrats, without whom the whigs cannot do, who are not turned out of office?

The allusion made to the Committee of Improvements [*Junta de Fomento*] is absurd; and the *Journal* or its correspondent knows very little of the affairs of Cuba, or care very little for obtaining correct information, when they affirm that that corporation favors and advances emigration of white persons. There is not one native of Cuba who does not know that some members of that *Junta* are interested and hold large shares in the expeditions which are every year dispatched to Africa in search of slaves, and that the others are either cowed down by the preponderant influence of these same individuals, the owners preparing these expeditions, or at least are compelled to a collusion in the same. And it is also within the knowledge of every Cuban, that said *Junta*, by all means in its power, and through its transcendent influence, has rendered nugatory the immigration of white persons; while at the same time it strives to keep up appearances, as if it sought to advance and protect the same. Nor is there one Cuban who does not know that the source of all the pecuniary wealth of that corporation actually is the people of Cuba, and that this wealth is by bargain and sale secretly farmed out according to the capricious pleasure and interested views of the Captain General, and those of the members of that same *Junta*, without any other consideration whatever.

MARCELO ETNA.

## Cuba,

AND THE "JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

Fulfilling my promise of answering the observations, which in some numbers of the "Journal of Commerce" have been published in respect to the statistics of things in the island of Cuba, I begin by setting forth anew that part of the communication to which I intend confining myself in the course of this article, and which appeared in the "Journal" of the 12th instant, adding to the same in continuation the census of the year 1774 up to 1841, which I copy from a pamphlet published by Don José Antonio Saco, in the year 1845, by the title of "The suppression of the trade in African slaves in the Island of Cuba."—The part of the communication I refer to, reads as follows:

[For the *Journal of Commerce*.]

### CUBA.

"The last census taken was in 1840.—The whole population was therein stated to be about 1,024,000, (\*) and nearly divided between the whites and colored. But this was notoriously incorrect. For instance, the city of "Principe," formerly the judicial capital of the Island, was put down at less than 30,000, whilst the previous census of 1827, made it 49,000. The writer appealed to a *very* well informed citizen of the place at the time, and was assured that the population had slightly increased. This fact is given to justify the assertion that the census of 1840 was miserably defective, as well as to justify his then estimate upon data since mislaid, that the total number of white inhabitants was 600,000; free blacks, 150,000; and slaves, 450,000. The increase has since been more among the whites than among the blacks; for whatever truth may attach to the reports of the renewal of the slave trade under the present Captain General, it is certain that it was done upon a limited scale in 1840-45, and that the encouragement and *aid* offered by the government and the "Junta de Fomento," [a sort of Board of Improvement and Public Works] to the immigrant whites from Spain, the Canaries, and other islands, have added quite a respectable number to its labouring

(\*) What the writer of the communication says himself in one of the subsequent passages induces us to infer that there must be some inexactness in the printing, and that it ought to read 1,240,000. But whether we read that number or as it is printed 1,024,000 there is always a gross mistake chargeable either to the "Journal" or its correspondent; because neither the one nor the other cyphering is correct. Not to be too hard on the "Journal" we will refer to the more favorable number 1,240,000, as that appears to have been the true intention of the author, and not the other.



white population. It may not be out of the way to estimate the present population of the Island at 1,300,000; of these nearly, if not quite 300,000 reside in Havana, which is only 60,000 beyond the estimate of 1840; and the vast increase of the suburbs of that city [the part within the walls has long since been covered with buildings,] within the last ten years will fully justify this estimate."

## CENSUS OF CUBA.

Years.	White.	Slaves.	Colored free.	Total of Colored.	Grand Total.
1774.	93,410	44,333	70,817	75,180	17,620
1792.	133,550	84,200	54,152	138,742	272,301
1817.	239,830	185,145	114,068	313,203	553,033
1827.	311,051	283,942	106,494	308,436	7,144,9
1841.	418,291	436,485	152,854	589,333	1,007,624
1845.	425,757	323,079	149,225	473,005	896,752

Señor Saco is generally considered one of the most respectable authorities in matters concerning Cuba; but neither in the foregoing extract nor in any other of his writings, nor in those of other writers of no less weight than his, is there a census to be found that represents the total population to be 1,240,000, according to the reading of the "Journal;" nor is there one, who allows Cuba a population of 600,000 white inhabitants, and 600,000 colored persons, as the same periodical wants to make us believe; and finally, there is certainly no census published in 1840 in existence.

I incline to the belief that the error committed by the writer of the communication, in supposing that the white population of Cuba amounts to the number of 600,000, was caused by the estimate you, Messrs. Editors, some time ago set forth, of the number of *free* inhabitants, whom you showed to be ground to the dust by an annual contribution amounting to thirty dollars per head.

I do not want to wrangle with the venerable correspondent for his having erroneously cited a census of 1840, which does not exist, instead of the census of 1841, which is its true date; but when I have to read that there really exists any statistical publication of Cuba, in which the population is set down at either 1,240,000 or 1,024,000, I can pronounce on the same nothing else than that the assertion is an act of heedlessness or of sheer ignorance. Concerning the incorrectness in said census as the correspondent alleges, I do not vouch for the exactitude of that document; but as the census published in 1846 is obnoxious, I am inclined to believe, that the sapient correspondent has shot a hole into the moon. Such must of necessity be the short-comings of a man, who either does not understand the business which he undertakes, or is blinded by passions.

In respect to the importation of Africans, which he presumes as having been very trifling in the years from 1840 to 1845, the business then being practised as smuggling, (\*\*\*) we cannot ourselves produce the exact number of them imported, nor will we insist in asserting or proving that the smuggling in of them was carried on, on a large scale; the confession made by the correspondent sufficing us and answering all our present purposes. Nevertheless, in order to enable the public to judge these matters correctly in general, and to foot up an estimate approximating as much as possible to truth, we will observe that the proportion of the male slave population in the year 1827, was to the female sex as 207,954 to 113,320. This is the proportion between the two sexes of the slave population in the island of Cuba, ever known as nearly approaching to *par*; for before the year 1820, in which the slave trade with Africa was declared illegal, there very rarely arrived in a cargo of 500 Africans more than from 40 to 50 females; and we are borne out by the facts, that before that date there were 50 male slaves for every female, and that before the English cruisers began pursuing with care and assiduity the whole maritime slave traffic, the convenience of importing a greater number of African females was never thought of in Cuba. Giving full weight to this enormous disproportion between the two sexes of the slave population, and considering the many other draw-backs and inconveniences which the condition of slavery throws into the way of a thriving domestic slave procreation, and that in order to sustain the same equality of number for the slave population, [not to speak of an increase of it], if it is not admitted that they must have been smuggled in from Africa, whence then in all conscience did all the negroes come, who have progressively swelled the number of slaves as it is observed in Cuba? In a pamphlet, which you, gentlemen, published "*on Annexation*," you very reasonably calculated, that in order to maintain any certain number of slaves stationary, so that the same do not decrease, it is necessary at the lowest estimation, to import at least five per cent annually of that number to make up the losses by deaths continually occurring.

Applying this mode of calculation to the number of nearly 300,000 slaves, which existed in Cuba in the year 1827, and noting that we now count as many as 450,000,

(\*\*\*) Now-a-days it is a lawful traffic, at least, if so permitted, as long as an exportation can be made to appear as coming from Brazil. That is the way they have legitimated it; the trade is public, and many cargoes have been sold before the eyes of all the world.

it is clear that in the course of less than one generation, no less than 300,000 other Africans must have been imported, merely to replace the annual deficiency as it accrued. This of course lies beyond the ken of that venerable correspondent, and of the most Christian *Journal*, in the generous observations they indulge in, when expatiating on the excruciating sufferings with which a whole million of our fellow-men are trodden down without remorse and without respite.

In answer to what the same correspondent attributes to the beneficent influence of the mis-called Junta de Fomento, [Board for Public Improvement], in the matter of the colonization of a white population in Cuba, let us compare what were the propositions made by Señor Goicuría; which were those of Señor Zulueta; and which ultimately were more preferred and acted upon by that celebrated corporation

Of the propositions of Señor Goicuría, the report speaks sufficiently at large, which was drawn up by the Commission appointed by the corporation of Havana for the purpose of having them examined and reported on; and it appears to be very much to the point (for the greater satisfaction of your readers as well as for that of the *Journal* and its correspondents,) here to transcribe a few of the paragraphs of that report. We select the following:

"In effect, what is it, what Goicuría proposes? He asks permission to bring over to the island German and Scotch Catholics, and with them to found a colony community, assigning them waste lands, and establishing them according to certain conditions previously accepted by them. In this there is nothing that is not lawful, not useful; a distribution of lands is certainly permitted, according to the different kinds of contracts which are recognised by our laws. The introduction of foreign Catholics, proceeding from friendly nations is also permitted by the Royal Statute of 1817, an eternal monument of the enlightened policy of Ferdinand VII, and there is not a single objection to be raised to the conditions Señor Goicuría proposes to make with the immigrants, as long as the same may be freely acceded to by them. The project surely deserves the approbation of the government, and also the gratitude of his fellow-citizens."

"Señor Goicuría pretends to no exclusive privilege, which could in any way be obnoxious to the country; he proposes no grievous conditions to be acceded to by any one, and in these circumstances there exist, not only no inexpediency against the

admission of his enterprise, but he ought by all means to be encouraged and assisted in its execution. The only thing he asks is, that the Royal *Junta de Fomento*, grant him a bonus of 125 dollars for each white European colonist, he conceding them a postponement of payment as soon as in any year the number of colonists exceeds 500."

"From what we indicated above, it will be readily perceived that we never have been in favor of investing the public funds in the transportation of any species of colonists whatever; but as this opinion is by no means generally admitted; and as we have before us the example of different contracts that have been concluded for the effecting an immigration of colonists, we cannot suppress our opinion, that of all contracts of that description which ever came to our knowledge, none unites so many advantages as that now presented by Señor Goicuría."

"And if your Excellency compare this with the contract recently permitted for the importation of Asiatics in this island, you will at a glance observe, that there is an enormous disproportion between a German or Biscayan or Scotch colonist on the one hand, and an Asiatic on the other. The former are men of excellent make, strong, robust, civilized, accustomed to work, brought up to good morals and to religion; while, on the other hand, the latter is a creature of a different class, weak, inefficient, without education, and wanting in all training to useful labor.

"We cannot understand how these inequalities can have been overlooked: as, in our actual state, and for the objects the government and our pre-eminent men propose to themselves, ten European colonists introduced into the island of Cuba are worth more, and more to be appreciated, than a hundred Asiatics.

"Moreover, there is also a great disproportion in the bonus; the Royal Junta pays one hundred and seventy dollars for an Asiatic who, probably, is worth nothing; and Goicuría asks only one hundred and twenty-five dollars for a European, robust and accustomed to work.

We have noted with surprise, that in the report of the Commission of the Royal Junta, the solicitude of Señor Goicuría is made the object of attack, and the allegation is maintained that the project of importing Asiatics was preferable:—we say with surprise, because we cannot conceive what motives could have influenced such a determination.

"We repeat, that if we do admit the view that colonists ought to be introduced, there is none of the projects heretofore

broached, so economic and promising so many advantages as that of Señor Goicurria; that his plan comprises a trial to combine a farming population, and the division of labor for the elaboration of sugar, as is practised in Andalucía, and, we might add, in France and in the Philippine Islands: and if it were for nothing else than for lending protection to those trial projects, it would not be inopportune to invest in it some sums of money, which the country is sure to receive back after producing a large and profitable return.

"The opinion of the subscribers, therefore, reduces itself to this; that Your Excellency be pleased to inform Her Majesty that the project of Señor Goicurria is useful and advantageous to the Royal service and is for the public good of the country in its actual state; and that there are few if any objects in which some of the sums of money which her Royal munificence grants for the advance of public improvements in the island could be so usefully invested, as in the protection of this projected plan of establishing European colonies among us, in order to establish farming communities in which a trial may be made to divide labor, and to employ white persons in the elaboration of sugar.

"With these modifications, we believe Your Excellency would bestow a blessing on the country by not only voting in favor of the project, but also by recommending it efficiently to the kind consideration of His Excellency the President Governor and Captain-General, and to the Royal munificence of our most excellent Queen; and if this Report meets the approbation of Your Excellency, that you will sign the same; and by a certified copy, and the transmission of our minutes, you will answer to the official communication of His Excellency the President superior Civil Governor, of the 31 day of last July. But Your Excellency will resolve on the best course to pursue. — Havana," &c.

This opinion, then, was given on the project of Señor Goicurria, by a commission chosen by the Municipal Corporation of Havana, and composed of individuals of exalted illustration and rectitude. But of what avail was this report? None at all: an empty formula was gone through, nothing more. The irrefragable reasons submitted by the commission, the manifest advantages the plan of Goicurria presented, were all overlooked; and the Royal Junta determined upon concluding the treaty with Señor Zulueta, in order to overwhelm us with barbarous Malays, instead of giving us the assistance of civilized Europeans.

However, we very well perceive what

their true motives have been in conceding the preference to the plan of colonising with Asiatics; but in order to explain this, it will be convenient to resolve a question, which is: What is the *Real Junta de Fomento* (Royal Board of Public Improvements)?

In the first place, the *Real Junta de Fomento* is formed of individuals selected by the government and subject to its omnipotent influence, which is equally acknowledged by every member of every other Board or Corporation throughout Cuba, which are all bound by it. They are all men who get their appointments to seats in these mock Boards, for the sole purpose of sanctioning by their votes whatever the supreme power may please to dictate.

On the other hand, if any freedom of opinion and of disposing of affairs is conceded to the members of the Board of Public Improvement, they certainly do not employ the same in benefitting the community at large,—who does not elect them, can exact no accountability from them, reposes no confidence whatever in them, and who stand to the Royal Board in no other relation of interest than the passive one of filling their individual pockets with the enormous contributions which are continually levied to supply funds for that Board. Let any one take the trouble of comparing the nominations of the members of the Royal Board, with the lists of those interested in the slave-expeditions to Africa, or in public contracts and private enterprises, and he will discover in them their identical names. In short, to compress the whole into a nut shell, when the Board of Public Improvement does not find itself compelled to proceed according to the express will of the government,—they are, as a general thing, sure to do so for the individual benefit of its several members.

If there is any one who doubts these realities, let us ask him—Why is it that colonising barbarous Asiatics and Yucatan Indians is preferred to the plan of a colonisation by civilized Europeans? The former is preferred—firstly, because it is the interest of the government to maintain, nay, even to increase the confusion of races in Cuba, and the diversity of existing political and social interests; acting upon the Machiavellian principle, which inculcates the doctrine, "*Divide et impera.*" [Divide and be master.] Secondly, because it is also the individual interest of many of the members of the board, [all the while making a show of good faith and protection,] to render nugatory every plan for establishing colonies of white people, in order that

no other remedy may remain but to proceed in the traffic with the African slave, in which they are individually interested as ship-owners, stock-owners, or as agents of a certain august lady *empresaria* or slave-dealer. And we would further ask them—Why do they divert from their just destination, [we mean real improvements of the country.] those funds which are wrung from the hard-earning and industry of the people of Cuba, and employ no inconsiderable portion of them in favoring an enterprise foreign to its object, as that is of a line of ocean-steamers from Cadiz to the island of Cuba? They do so, most certainly, because among the members of the royal board, or their out-side friends and hangers-on, there are always such as have a goodly sum at stake in that enterprise, either for themselves, or for a certain well-known crowned lady speculator.

And finally, I would ask every one who like the *Journal* endeavors to puff the beneficent efficiency of that corporation: What application is made by the board of the sum of \$380,600 in any way, of any use to the people at large, who every year have to pay the same into the money-chest of the board? Where are those public buildings and establishments, those wonderful improvements, which are dwelt upon with so much authority, and have no other existence but on the tongues of a pack of gubernatorial officials, hangers-on, and office-seekers? Is it because the board grants some small amount to some company for the construction of a railroad: Because it advances for a certain time the use of a small portion of that money, the people vitally interested in such an undertaking has had to contribute for the purpose of forming the capital of that board? Because it employs some Africans detained in the house of detention of runaway slaves, [deposito de Cimarrones,] in repairing badly, [if they even do that much,] some short extent of a public road, or some staggering bridge, or some causeway, as soon as there is either a member in that board or in its affiliations, who has a personal interest in such a work, and therefore obtains it?—Grand works indeed! But who pays for them? Do not the owners of those runaways pay for them, as in order to get them back from the house of detention of such runaways, the master has not only to pay for the recapture of his slave, but also for his maintenance during his detention?—But why tire out the patience of my indulgent readers and my own, by the repetition of such interminable comments on this same subject? It would be conceding to the views of our opponents a weight and an importance which they have not, and

cannot have in the eyes of any one who is only slightly initiated and acquainted with the real essence and spirit of that board, and the sources from which it derives its income. All of which, ought in justice, to be published by the impartial correspondent of the *Journal* or its editors, in order to render their work complete. \* \* \*

MARCELO ETNA.

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### Spain and Cuba.—England and Canada.

The contrast which Spain compared with England exhibits in respect to their colonies becomes every day more glaring, more shocking. It seems the former has proposed to herself a course altogether diametrically opposed to that which the latter discreetly, and with great circumspection has carved out to herself to pursue. Spain, without any other counsel than the suggestions of her indomitable haughtiness, only shortens the term of her dominion over her youthful possessions; England prepares retreating with her sovereignty, losing nothing of her dignity and securing advantages to herself in the very act of separation. Both will very shortly come to the determination of the hold they mean to keep on their colonies, and the results will then tell, whether we are right or wrong in this matter. Meanwhile we will throw a hasty glance over the new points of contrast, that arises between the colonial policy of one and the other mother-country, and which present themselves to our views in the recent occurrences of which our Island of Cuba and Canada have of late been the respective theatres.

In the English colony there is freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, popular assemblies and private re-unions meet and openly discuss the question, whether it is expedient to declare for independence or for annexation, or whether it is preferable that the country should remain in the connexion in which it is at present. The whole press is engaged in the discussion of the question without any restrictions of any kind, and new periodicals are established for the propagation of the most liberal opinions, and to proclaim with a stentorian voice, either independence or annexation as they prefer; and then no scissors is to be feared of a censor clipping any written thought, still less the bowstring of a viceroy threatening to stifle the voice in the throat of a discoursing patriot.

Only a few days ago one of the assem-



blies was publicly held and convoked, and celebrated with the cognisance and full previous knowledge of the metropolitan authorities, in which were publicly and formally proposed and accepted, among others, the following resolutions:—

“*Resolved*—That our present state of colonial dependence cannot be prolonged, but at the price of the sacrifice of our most precious interests, and that this meeting, considering the social, commercial and political difficulties in which Canada is involved, and alive to the weight of the evils which oppress our social existence, believes that the practicable measure capable of improving our condition for ever, consists in the peaceable separation from Great Britain with her consent, and in the annexation of Canada to the United States of America.

*Resolved*—That we promise and bind ourselves, (forgetting past differences,) most cordially to co-operate through the means that may be most expedient to the securing of the objects of our association; and that we invite the whole people of Canada in general to form similar associations with the same spirit of fraternity.

*Resolved*—That this meeting do now adjourn to assemble again on the same day of next week, in the same place, and at the same hour, for the purpose of electing the officers of this association.”

At the popular meeting in which these resolutions were adopted, were assembled about 500 individuals, although the day and the hour were rather inconvenient for the industrial and mercantile classes; and moreover, a circumstance proving our argument—among those assembled were various members of parliament, two councillors to the Queen, and many respectable lawyers. The meeting was convoked, did assemble, and terminated without the slightest interference or opposition on the part of the government; as has been the case in many others for similar purposes, and of a like character.

But on the other hand: what is done in our unhappy country of Cuba!

There, not only every thought and expression that have the appearance of a tincture of liberalism, are condemned;

but the assembly of more than three persons in public places, without the previous licence of the public authorities first obtained, is by law utterly interdicted.

There the existence of an association for any, the most circumscribed purpose, and in any limited number of members whatever, is considered a sufficient cause for the promotion of a criminal proceeding, consequent prosecutions, arrests and condemnations. Not very long ago secret inquisitions were set a foot at Matanzas, into the objects of a purely literary and domestic association; and quite recently, in these latter days, a gymnasium was broken up in the same city by order of government, and the remains of its apparatus were sent to serve as fuel in the public prison.

There free speech is excluded from all meetings of authorised societies, literary, economical or mercantile; even from the public tribunals, public administration, the pulpit, nay, even from the miserable platform of public execution, if in an atom it deviates from the approved style of deceitful and vile adulation, which the government exacts. It is no longer than two months ago, that the feeble-brained but insolent governor of Matanzas, (Falguera,) publicly slapped the face of a young man respectably connected, who dared to defend his rights in the public tribunal before this iniquitous judge, whose mind was preoccupied in favor of the adverse party.

There, if a man were to dare ascend a public platform for the purpose of saying that there is a God and an eternal judgment, he would descend from that tribune with a soldier on each side to lead him to a prison cell in the castle, which he would never leave, except for the purpose of mounting the steps of the scaffold.

There the press does not alone sigh under the gag of an irresponsible censorship, but the ministerial servants charged with this service, practice at the same time the infamous trade of informers, if in their judgment any writing presented to them falls into the category of *subversion of the order of things*; and a poor fellow indeed is then

the author! Señor Olañeta has set us more than one of these examples.

There, by a special law of quite recent promulgation, the press is prohibited from inserting in its columns a single paragraph savoring of an argument of a public measure, while they are limited to copying the deformed news which are published in the official papers: and editors are compelled to comment on them in the sense, and to the satisfaction of the government. The writer of these lines has been publisher and colaborator of several periodicals in Cuba: and he has frequently seen the sketches of laudatory, fulsome articles written in the very habitation of the Governor, and from there sent to the press to be inserted as editorials.

There the government, not satisfied with putting an effective gag into the mouth of every citizen and insinuating its infamous spies into the privacy of the domestic hearth, prohibits under heavy penalties the circulation of every periodical in which the true interests of the people of Cuba are discussed. It is not so very long since the case of the steward of the American bark *Childe Harold* occurred, who was charged with the crime of having there imported our own journal. The government goes farther, it circumscribes the word of the minister of God in a Catholic temple. It is only three years ago, that it ordered all the copies of a certain sermon which was pronounced in the Church of Matanzas by an enlightened and respectable clergyman, to be collected and buried.

There, finally, every noble and spirited sentiment is, in the eyes of the government, an acquisition deserving of punishment; enlightenment a mark of suspicion; patriotism a crime; aspirations to liberty, treason against the state; and political propagandism a crime to be expiated only either on the scaffold or by the martyrdom of exile. Virtues are considered by those precious governors as the worst of vices; and the most abject adulation, and most iniquitous and cowardly denunciation, the best accreditive for honorable distinction. How many crosses and ribbons now sparkle on many breasts, bestowed as the price of the possessor's integrity, in this infamous trade!

But what other effect can all those evils (which in the present sketch we have rather indicated than enlarged on,) produce on any people but constrain them to conspire against their iniquitous oppressors; even though that people should possess the gentleness of a lamb, and all the patience of a Job?

Thus it is that from the year 1823 up to this date conspiracies have followed in rapid succession, as the link of a cable-chain follows its fastening link; and of course the number of their victims has continually been on the increase. The cause of our liberty is already baptized with blood and tears; the prison, the scaffold and foreign lands have already been the accompanying scenery in our political drama; and in some of them even poison has been resorted to, and other means no less infamous.

We could here append a long list of patriots, who, for their love of Cuba, have suffered tortures unto death; but in attempting to do so we would be sure to tear up the yet festering wounds of their grieving families, and would even compromise the security of many other persons in Cuba, as the government there is always on the look out, and on the slightest suspicion is ready to launch out its hounds to hunt up its game, which rarely escapes its clutches. Nevertheless as we have already said, we repeat here again that the names of hundreds of such unfortunate persons have been published by the press in Cuba as well as in this country, and we invite the most liberal and most equitable *Journal of Commerce* to point out among them one single name belonging to that contemptible class, to which (as the "Journal," in its publications, with so much Christian charity asserts,) all Cubans belong, who work so hard for the purpose of shaking off the odious yoke, that oppresses them.

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### **The Expedition against Cuba.**

The pretended expedition against the Island of Cuba has attracted public attention in an extraordinary degree, The press has entered upon the discussion of the enterprise and represented the affairs of Cuba according

to the interests some people have in them, but, in general, in a manner which discloses a great lack of acquaintance with the true condition of that unhappy Island,—with the systematic despotism that ever shadows all branches of the government,—with the galling contributions which oppress its inhabitants,—with the ignominious slavery they suffer, and the tendency of the evil continually to augment, and the improbability of obtaining any relief at the hands of the government,—and with the obstacles that government throws in the way of colonisation by white people; while, on the other hand, it favors the importation of African savages, to be our executioners: all of which has driven the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba, who see that the ruin of their country is inevitable, to make strenuous efforts for applying a remedy, to secure a mode of salvation; so that ever since the year 1823 they have been in continued violent commotion.

These are the reasons why we have resolved to-day to discuss those matters in the columns of "*La Verdad*," and to present to our readers a picture (in miniature, to be sure, but a true picture) of the actual internal state of Cuba, in order to enable them to decide—not whether the Creoles of Cuba are the most corrupt race of this world, as the "*Ledger of Philadelphia*" ungenerously and gratuitously stigmatises them—but whether it is just to call them a nation of imbeciles because they do not rise on their own responsibility and cause themselves to be butchered in vain, instead of seeking for help and guarantees of ultimate success, when they feel themselves trodden down by a foreign army and threatened by government with arming and hunting against them the negro slaves; and that, even, when they themselves are destitute of every thing in the shape of arms.

In respect to the proclamation and measures of the government of the United States relative to this pretended expedition, we repeat, that if it has well-founded reasons for such, it has fulfilled its duty in devising measures to uphold existing treaties of the government, and prevent its neutrality being infringed; but we repeat at the same time, that to this and this alone its ob-

ligations are to be confined, when looking up to the more sacred ones existing between nations and governments; and it has not alone to circumscribe its actions to the more strict construction of its obligations, but it has to go further: it must divest of all harshness of disposition and rule, whatever may conflict with any consideration of public opinion and with the principles professed by the American people.

In the same position, we have said, and, if anything, more manifestly so, stand all statesmen, all men of science, and the whole American press. Is there, indeed, a single citizen of the Union who would not blush for shame, if he were to do an act tending to render despotism in any part of the world more secure? And more: can there be found one of them who would not feel disgraced if he were to commit an act running counter to republican ideas? Impossible: no true follower of Washington can place himself in such a humiliating position.

But we wish not to be considered as asking anything but what is just. If there are any of the opinion that the incorporation of Cuba with the United States is prejudicial to the latter, he is in honor bound to say so, and to speak out with that frankness which characterizes a free people. If there are such as think in good faith, that in the Cubans there is no disposition inclining in favor of Independence; if there are such as are persuaded that there are not sufficient elements in them, and that Spain is too powerful; if, finally, there are any who feel convinced that it would not be the utmost impropriety to deny to the Cubans the justice they possess in endeavouring to accomplish their freedom;—we will approve of their candid professions, and with the same frankness discuss and refute such positions. But we ask from the government, as well as from the press, that a misapplied zeal, disaffection, personal interests, or ignorance of the true state of the matters in question, shall not impel them to any acts that would prejudice the sacred cause of the freedom of nations. Let the government tell us that international law does not permit of such or such an act between this and that nation. Let the press, the organ

of partizans and of public opinion, say that the annexation of Cuba is expedient or inexpedient for the American Union; that government in this or that case must follow such or such a course in consonance with the constitution and laws of the country;—but can it be that among men of the press there should be any pretending that the courageous efforts of the Cubans are criminal; that the sympathies which some show in favor of freedom for Cuba, should be stigmatized as piracy by the same men who, in the same breath, inscribe the same sympathies upon their banners in favor of the self same people, one day for that of France, another for Italy or for Hungary, another for Greece; in short, for any nation that ever struck for liberty! Can the enterprise to liberate a country in America be set down as folly, decried as Quixotic, and ranged among things impracticable, when we have before our eyes the very example of the United States, of Columbia, of Mexico, of Central America, Buenos Ayres, Chili and Peru! Is it just to treat the Cubans as a knot of imbeciles, when in the alternative between oppression ever after, and making fruitless sacrifices by rising destitute of arms, on the one hand; and seeking for the sinews of war and for assistance to make the insurrection on the other, with every probability of final and complete success— they elect the latter course? Can we believe Spain, whose credit stands lower in the scale than that of the most insignificant of the young South American republics, powerful enough to avoid the loss of the colony of Cuba, after we have witnessed the enfranchisement from her grasp of all her vast possessions in this New World? In truth, such views surprise us; because if they do not prove the utmost of malevolence, they certainly prove the weakness of the human heart, the power of passion laboring under one influence or another of interest, or a palpable aberration of the human understanding.

Fortunately only one American periodical. [the "*Ledger of Philadelphia*,"] has added to the weakness an unmerited insult to a whole people. We excuse ourselves from answering its

diatribes, as our silence will be more eloquent for it than words.

"Liberty to Spain, and chains for the colonies," has always been, and still continues to be the sworn motto of all cabinets of every color, of every epoch and every circumstance, at the court of Spain. And therefore many candid inhabitants of Cuba, when lamenting the progress of liberalism which has been effected in the Metropolis, but has resulted only in an increase of our oppression, recollect with regret the time of Calomarde, in which, while beyond the seas there reigned the most illimitated absolutism, we in Cuba wore less heavy chains than those which we now are dragging, while they in Spain have now secured to themselves the blessings of a constitution, and of a representative government.

But let us proceed to proofs. Among thousands which we could adduce in support of our positions, let us mark, first, that which the iniquitous cabinet of Madrid has just perpetrated on us in the new revision on the laws of customs, which, while it relieves the products of foreign countries on their importation into the Peninsula, adds to the charges which already oppress its colonies in America. For the convenience and instruction of such of our readers as have not yet had the good luck of becoming acquainted with this stupendous act of Spanish legislation, we take the trouble of copying it here in its principal points, word for word.

#### REFORMATION OF THE TARIFFS.

##### *A project of Law.*

"Article 1st.—The government will reform the actual tariffs on importations in the kingdom, of dry goods, fruits and merchandises from foreign countries and from our possessions in ultramar, according to the adjoining basis:

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"The duties established at present upon colonial articles, the product of foreign countries, shall be suitably raised.

"Those established upon the articles belonging to the Spanish colonies, shall be raised as follows:



Sugar from Cuba and	
Puerto-Rico, . . .	\$1,00 per qq.
Do. from Asia, . . .	0,25 do.
Coffee from Cuba and	
Puerto-Rico, . . .	2.50 do.
Do. from Asia, . . .	0,70 do.

Besides these overcharges, the prohibition of the introduction of tobacco, which is perhaps at present the richest product of Cuba, is continued in the Peninsula; and finally it is provided, "that the colonial articles after paying duties of importation with respect to the tariff, remain subject to the payment of the same duties of exportation, consumption, and other charges, which under any denomination are collected for the same from the inhabitants of the kingdom."

Absurd as this new provision is, in addition to so many others which from time to time have been concocted for the purpose of draining the vitality of the island of Cuba, in spite of all remonstrances, it will nevertheless not prevent that blessed island from advancing with slow paces; but let such obstructions be removed, and a just and enlightened government be established there, and we shall witness what rapid strides she will make in improvements in all directions.

"The custom-house duty on a barrel of flour imported into Cuba, (says the *Sunday Dispatch*), which is double the original cost of the flour, is alone a sufficient cause to authorise the Cubans to rise in arms."—A just sentiment, and worthy of every freeman! But we can let the "Dispatch" know that this cause, grave as it is, does not stand alone, nor is it by any means the most grievous and best authenticated; for there are many others of yet greater aggravation, and more palpable. This is so true, that neither the representatives of Spain resident in this country, nor those friendly in the colonial government, nor the Spanish periodicals printed in this country (among which there is one, we have been informed, actually in the pay of the Spanish government,) dare deny these causes; but they at most oppose to all reasoning, the "*progress of the wealth of Cuba!*"—as if, for example, a child possessed of a good constitution, should cease develop-

ing or growing, because it may be subjected to fatigue, get whipped every day, and even have its nourishment curtailed. The child will go on developing and growing, in spite of all such drawbacks, by the favor of its happy endowments: but, under such regimen and hostile influences, will never attain those qualifications which nature originally designed it.

Those interested against the political emancipation of Cuba, can adduce no other argument of any weight; not any one act of true justice due to the colony and realized in favor of the island of Cuba.

In what proportions can it be expected, that the march of progress should be among a people hardly counting 600,000 free inhabitants, who are obliged to support all the year through an army of 15,000 soldiers, and another of double that number of officials, among which (civil and military) we can safely venture upon the assertion, that there are not to be found three-score of those numbers to be natives of Cuba; by contributions, direct as well as indirect, which amount, in proportion, to the grievous sum of more than *thirty* dollars a-head every year! What would become of the State of Virginia, with a population equal to that of Cuba, if she were obliged to support the enormous burdens of the latter country? Little less than a fourth-part more of that which is wrung from the number of 600,000 free inhabitants, suffices to sustain all the expenses of the government of these United States, in which are counted more than 20 millions of inhabitants, and which, with little more than half the number of soldiers that we support in Cuba, have more than enough for the protection and garrison of their boundaries and forts.

If this is not so, if any one can allege that we exaggerate, if the slightest doubt arises in respect to the truth of what we have written on the *present social and political condition of the island of Cuba*, let him show himself and disprove our assertions, for assuredly there are now-a-days persons enough interested in that being done, even in the United States.

Can any one deny that, besides flour, there are many other articles of first

necessity for the sustenance of the industrial and poorer classes, which are charged with a duty varying from 50 to 200 p.  $\frac{\text{c}}{\text{s}}$  of the first price of the articles, such as rice, salt fish, Indian meal, live pigs for slaughter, &c. &c. ! And let the tariff laws of the island of Cuba not be thrust before our face, as in a previous number we endeavored elaborately and clearly to disinvolve its specious fallacies, through the means of which, by valuing all merchandise in Cuba at double and triple its original cost, for the purpose of levying the duties, it results that salt fish, for instance, on which we find a charge of 33 p.  $\frac{\text{c}}{\text{s}}$  only in the tariff, when imported in foreign vessels, pays 66 p.  $\frac{\text{c}}{\text{s}}$  ; and the same thing happens with the articles above enumerated, and numerous others of first necessity.

Can it be denied that the greatest part of all goods that may be imported into Cuba, stand, more or less, in the same predicament ?

Can it be denied that when, in the year 1844, a terrible hurricane tore up our fruit-trees, destroyed our plantations, laid waste our fields and demolished our houses and even our forests, and for the first time caused a famine and general misery to be felt in Cuba, our kind mother-country, far from conceding to her afflicted colony the slightest alleviation by reducing the enormous duties on articles of first necessity, haughtily annulled the benevolent dispositions of the Intendente Pinillos, which tended, for a limited time at least, to lessen the exactions enforced on such articles when imported into the island of Cuba ; and that she did it to the ignominy of the authority constituted by herself, to the prejudice of commerce, and to the scandal of humanity ?

Disprove whoever may, whether we do not speak the truth in asserting that the different kinds of fruit in our country, by the various exactions they are made to undergo on exportation, have to pay from 6 to 7 per cent of their value.

Let it be further denied :—

That our farmers have to pay 2½ per cent on sugar, and 10 per cent on their other harvests, when gathered ; the same as all engaged in raising live-

stock, for all the cattle ; exclusive of the charges arising from an exportation, as before indicated.

That the poor man must pay a tax of 1. 25c. upon every fanega of salt (about a hundred weight), which causes the price of that article to be raised to an immoderate sum.

That he pays 6 to 6½ p.  $\frac{\text{c}}{\text{s}}$  of the value of any slave, or any property in town or country, that he may sell ; besides all other charges of Notaries, of registration, of stamped paper, &c. &c.

That there is stamped paper, the use of which is enforced by the government, and sold by it at the price of eight dollars every sheet ; and that it is necessary on solemn oath to prove one's poverty, in order to be admitted to the use of cheaper paper, a sheet of which costs six cents.

That he may not have in his house any company or amusement of any sort, if he does not solicit, obtain and pay for a license (\$2.50), or he must submit to be mulcted for an infraction of the regulations.

That every inhabitant is compelled to ask for a license and pay for the same, even when he wants to go but a single mile from the place of his residence.

That no citizen, however peaceful and respectable he may be, is allowed to walk through the city after ten o'clock in the evening, unless he carry with him a lantern and successively takes the leave of all the watchmen on his way ; the infraction of which law is punished with immediate arrest and a fine of eight dollars.

That he is not permitted to lodge any person in his house for a single night, either native or foreigner, be the same his friend or a member of his family, without giving information of the same, also under the penalty of a like punishment.

That he cannot remove his residence from one house into another, without giving notice previously to the authorities of his intention, under the penalty of a heavy fine.

That some months ago an order was received by the Captain General of the island, prohibiting parents from sending their children to the United States for purposes of education ; and that such parents are now driven to the expedient

of proving ill health or feigning it in their children, in order to obtain passports for them.

That in the whole island of Cuba a most brutal spirit of despotism is strikingly prevalent in all officials of the government, from the Captain General down to the most abject of his hirelings, without even excepting municipal and other local authorities.

But let us now cast our eyes in a different direction :

Can any one deny the existence of the diabolical scheme concocted in the chambers of Alcoy, for perpetuating the importation of African slaves into Cuba, the primordial cause of her present hazardous position : and that in proportion as her thousands of slaves are augmented, the number of enemies to her tranquillity and public peace are multiplied ?

Can anybody deny that in that scheme enter not merely some members of the Royal Family of Spain, but all its dependants, favorites and satellites, including the Captains General of Cuba and their understrappers ; and that that scheme and concerted contrivance passes, with the privilege of feasting on the vitals of the island, from one Pasha to the other ?

Will any one deny that the method and science of enriching themselves has been brought to such a system of perfection by those worthies and their hirelings, that now-a-days they gain as much in one year as others formerly gained in five.

That the gratification of half an ounce in gold, which formerly was received by the Captains General for every sack of charcoal, (the nickname given by those engaged in this infamous traffic to the African slaves brought over,) has risen in our days to the large sum of three doubloons in gold !

That, beginning with the year 1826 up to this day, more than a million of these Africans have been imported as slaves into Cuba, as we fully proved in our paper, and in our former pamphlet entitled : *The advantages of the annexation of Cuba to the United States.*"

That the Colonial Government & Co., not being able to elude the vigilance of the cruisers of the nations engaged in the suppression of this traffic, in order

to continue the same have had to appeal to a forced interpretation of existing treaties, pretending to show that such slaves are imported into Cuba from Brasil ?

Who will deny that persons have lately been in these United States, in this very city of New York, who, proceeding from Havana, have started for Africa by the way of Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of forming part of one or two expeditions that are to be made from thence to the coast of Africa, in quest of negroes ?

That these diabolical machinations are carried on by some members of the Royal Family in concert with the Colonial Government ; and that the Cabinet not only has full knowledge of the same, but does authorise and protect them, or at least pretends not to be aware of them ?

That within these last months various cargoes of African slaves, amounting in number to more than 3000, were imported into the island of Cuba, and there sold almost publicly ; and that in *gratifications* set down for the Captain General at present, Senor Alcoy has received the snug sum of 12,000 doubloons in gold, about 200,000 dollars, rather more than less.

That the Consul General of England has withdrawn from Havana, taking with him, as a living proof of the infraction of existing treaties between his nation and the Spanish, two young negroes recently imported, and purchased by him in the *barracones*, as the slave-market is there called !

And besides all this, who can deny the cruelty and galling despotism with which the sons of Cuba are persecuted, imprisoned, buried in dungeons, banished, sentenced to fortresses, and condemned to death, for calumnies, for imaginary crimes of disloyalty, on no better foundation than flimsy suspicion, or false denunciations by infamous spies ; and all this at a moment when the Spanish press as well as the Spanish authorities, assure us that there exists no more loyal, happy and peaceful people, than that of the island of Cuba ! Happy people, in truth !

Can the imprisonment of the youths Molas and Cuevas be denied, who, when on their departure from New York for

Nuevitas, were by some miscreant informed against with the government of Cuba, that they were bearers of letters from the Editor of the "*Verdad*," which never has been proved, for the simple reason that it was untrue. Those unfortunate youths had however to suffer a long and tedious imprisonment in loathsome dungeons; they were for a long time cut off from all communication from without, and treated with the most barbarous cruelties.

Will any one deny the banishment of four young gentlemen of Matanzas, who, two months ago, were arrested, imprisoned in the Morro castle, and afterwards embarked for Spain, only because they did not assist at a ball in honor of the Queen?

Is there any person who would dare to doubt the scandalous example presented by Señor La Gandara, the Governor of Puerto Principe, in perpetrating the most revolting insult on the character of Mrs. Sedano, one of the most respectable ladies of that city, as well by her rank, acquainted as she is with the most distinguished families there, as by her own virtuous endowments? Governor La Gandara did not mind anything of all that, when he ordered the *wife of a colonist* to be locked in the Refuge, as if she were a convict!

Disprove whoever may, the fact that the jail-keeper Garcia, (alias) Rey, through the bailiffs of the Captain General of Cuba was kidnapped in the midst of a nation so jealous of its national honor, and of the inviolability of its territory.

Can the efforts with which the Spanish despotism of Cuba is striving to make the victim Garcia (or Rey) subserve its iniquitous purposes be denied? Its objects are sufficiently proved by the text of its letters negatory, which have been dispatched to its different consuls in this country?

Can his Honor Judge Defour be contradicted, who in his charge on this matter observed among other truths:

"This case of bankruptcy is drummed up for the purpose of covering political chicanery. It is evident that there is a secret police in this country, instituted by the Spanish Government, to crush the influential families of Cuba

who are endeavoring to achieve their independence."

That in the year 1845, different Regidores and other members of the corporation of Matanzas, were severely chastised for having presumed to present a respectful remonstrance to the Royal Pretorial *Aulencia* at Havana, complaining of the scandalous villainies and insolent excesses committed by the soldiery against some peaceable citizens, who, during a horrible fire which occurred in that city on one of the latter days of the month of June, had come to proffer their services?

Can it be disproved that many persons were sentenced to the fortresses, others sent into perpetual banishments for the sole crime of reading the "*Verdad*," and others even condemned to death, because they were charged of assisting in its publication, among whom there is one who has assisted and will continue to assist in it as long as the protection of the American nation is not rendered nugatory?

That in Matanzas, Cardenas, Guines, Madruga, and other places, the most revolting scenes of torture, gallows, butcheries, and infernal machinations were enacted in the year 1845, under pretence of suppressing a conspiracy among the negroes; the interminable and scandalous details of which we are precluded from giving to-day, although we are authentically and completely informed of a great number of them.

Can it finally be drawn in doubt, that the presumptuous conduct of the Colonial government, being as suspicious as it is clownish in its intrigues, and as tyrannical as it is cowardly, has already precipitated into an untimely grave many a father of a family, whose bearing was always unsullied, and who have since been lamented, and will continue to be lamented by all who knew them, and who, though too late, have even been absolved of all crime by their assassins themselves. Among them there were many who, in their dungeons, from a want of patience, or by the medium of some narcotic, have passed into eternity. Among them there have been such, also, who not being able to bear up against the terrible information that a price was set upon their head as upon that of some criminal, of their houses



having been violated: their families insulted, their property sequestered,—have lost their reason, and have expired in a felicitous delirium, pursued by the shades of their torturers, and repeating their heart-rending cries: "I am innocent!"—How long, oh God of mercy! dost thou stay thy avenging arm to chastise such accumulated criminality?

It is impossible within the limits of one brief article, to draw a complete picture of the awful and horrible political condition of Cuba. We therefore drop our pen tired of sketching such an accumulation of sufferings and of disgraces of our people; leaving to the people of the United States—to the people that descended from Washington—to consider the sufferings of the inhabitants of Cuba, in order to decide whether we are right or wrong in rising against the tyranny that crushes us, and we feel in hope assured of the approving sympathy and support of every liberal minded man.

## "LA VERDAD"

TO "THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE."

We are still waiting for the answer of the *Journal of Commerce*, relative to the explanation which we asked of it when it affirmed that the American Consul to Havana had given to this Government certain intelligence concerning the opinion of the Cuban people with regard to a political change; and now it regales us, in its number of the 19th of October instant, with a facetious letter from a correspondent in Havana, who with the greatest gravity assures it, that "there has been no prohibition of American newspapers here.—*La Verdad*, and one or two such, excepted."

So impudent a statement requires a very indulgent and elastic conscience in its author. Not even *La Crónica* itself, although a salaried organ, as it is affirmed, of the Government of Cuba, and its defender on all occasions, has dared to deny the fact that the Captain General of Cuba prohibited the introduction of the papers of this country in that island: a measure dictated to Señor Roncali by the very simple circumstance that every truly American Republican, Yankee paper, is a shell directed against the Citadel of the colonial Government of Cuba. *La Crónica*

did not deny the prohibition, because that would have been extremely ridiculous, and the greatest proof of the deficiency of reasons for it; but in the necessity of performing its troublesome and difficult task, it did not find any better pretence than to defend the conduct of the Spanish Government on the ground that, in such a case, absolute Governments have [usurp] a right to adopt similar measures, whether they be prohibitions of papers, violations of public correspondence, forcible invasions of the domestic fire-side, personal searches, examinations, &c., provided these measures may give them the clue, which despatches lose in this country whenever they wander. Notwithstanding this, the *Journal of Commerce*, in the effusion of its ardent zeal to support these despatches, usurps *La Crónica* itself, and assures us that "only *La Verdad*, and one or two such papers, have been prohibited." Undoubtedly the meritorious *Journal*, confederated with the metropolitan despotism in Cuba, and with the retrograde party everywhere, has been welcome to the Colony. It will certainly be received there with the honors which it deserves, by the Government and its satellites, to whose wishes it *obsequiously panders*;—honors, indeed, of which nobody will be jealous; glories, to which it is entitled, without being envied at all by free American souls!

With respect to the veracity of the intelligence conveyed by its worthy correspondent, it may derive more correct information from the press of this country, and particularly from that of New Orleans.

We daily examine with the greatest diligence the American papers of all parties, and we solemnly declare that, except the Spanish papers said to be salaried by the Government of Cuba—namely, *La Crónica* of New York, and the *Telegraph* of New Orleans,—we have not lately met with a single paper affirming that there is any exaggeration in the account of the deeds of that Government, or in the picture of the oppression which it exerts over the Cuban people; although, long since, this has systematically been asserted by the very liberal, very christian, and very philanthropic *Journal of Commerce*.

It has been a trifling matter for the conscientious Editors of the *Journal*, to insult a defenceless party striving to redeem their oppressed countrymen from slavery; it has been a trifling matter for these Editors to represent to the public this party as destitute of virtues, of physical and moral capacity; it has been a trifling matter to *honor* the Cuban patriots ready to brave all dangers to obtain this political redemption, with the strange ap-

pellations of *buccaneers and pirates*;—even more was wanting to defend the Government of Cuba,—it was necessary to *insult the whole Cuban people*, by denying their capacity to govern themselves under Republican regulations.

Well then, if this was the only means of defending tyranny in Cuba, the *Journal of Commerce* did not hesitate to buckle on that shield with the same gravity with which a Celtic plebeian put on his neck the iron collar, to show his servile condition.

When shall the Cuban people acquire the capacity required by the *Journal*, under the miserable Government that for three centuries and a-half has been directing the destinies of the unfortunate colony? Let the *Journal* hear it from us—That will take place when, in granting an Amnesty, no odious, mean and dastardly alterations are made in order to deny this benefit to the colonists, as have been made in that which we insert in continuation of this article. (See document A.)—That will be when the Island of Cuba is not governed by a military Chief, armed with all the various powers granted to him by the Royal Order herein also inserted. (See document B.)—That will be when the unhappy Cuban people are considered entitled to be represented in the congress of its metropolis.—That will be when the Cuban colonist is at least entitled to say “this is mine; this is my opinion; this is my will.”

And when can this take place unless we appeal to force, and, instead of complaints and humble remonstrances, we make use of the sword and of bullets?

And how shall we be able to arm ourselves, if that is almost impossible at home, and the confederates of our tyrants persecute us without relenting abroad?

Let the *Journal*, impressed with the characteristic dignity of the American press, and as a worthy member of it, answer us.

Let it answer us without distorting facts, and in the spirit of that good faith which it owes to itself. But whether it answers or not, or whatever its answer may be, we declare to the world that notwithstanding every misrepresentation of that journal relative to the opinion of the Cuban people, there are in Cuba true and ardent patriots,—and that they and we, in spite of foreign or domestic hostility, will exert our utmost efforts in order to obtain our redemption, or perish gloriously in the honorable attempt.

(A.)

“ROYAL DECREE.—In consideration of what has been represented to me by my Council of Ministers, I decree as follows:

Article 1.—An Amnesty, full, general, and without exception, is granted with respect to all political acts anterior to the publication of this Royal decree.

Art. 2.—In order to enjoy this benefit, those who wish to avail themselves of it must appear before the competent authorities within the precise space of one month, to commence from the date of this decree. In the ultramarine provinces, and in foreign countries, the time of appearing shall commence from the publication made by the Spanish authorities, and Legations or Consulates.

Art. 3.—Those who may not have taken the oath of allegiance to my Royal person and to the Constitution of the State, shall take it at the time of appearing before the authorities or Representatives of Spain in foreign countries. Those also shall take it who may have done ostensible acts contrary to the oath which they had previously taken.

Art. 4.—This Amnesty does not embrace common crimes, nor prejudice the rights of third persons.

Art. 5.—The respective authorities or representatives shall dictate the opportune dispositions with respect to the part which belongs to them, for the fulfilment and execution of this decree.

Given at Aranjuez, on the 8th of June, in the year of our Lord 1849. It is signed and sealed by the Royal hand.—The President of the Council of Ministers—the Duke of Valencia.”

Señor Cortina (a senator), asked of the Government some explanation about certain points of the Decree, which offered doubts to his mind; and the Duke of Valencia, President of the Council, answered him thus:—“If there is some doubt, and this arises in the mind of a person so enlightened as Señor Cortina, it is a sufficient motive for the Government to give explanations about the Decree of Amnesty, although in other respects its meaning is clear, precise and explicit; for beginning with the expressions of the preamble, one sees that the Decree is the law, and the Decree says that the Amnesty is general, absolute, full, and without exception. Is there anything more plain and decisive? And notwithstanding that, doubts arose in the mind of Señor Cortina, and perhaps of some other persons. But the Government has declared that *all Spaniards are included in the Amnesty*; and raising his voice, he added: *All Spaniards, without exception.* (General applause.) From this

very day all may leave the land of their exile, and are perfectly free. (Renewed applause.) The intent of the Government would be falsified, if the Decree did not include *all* in the Amnesty, absolutely *all Spaniards*. All are equally comprised in the Decree. (General applause.) Let the Judges, Tribunals, and competent authorities, understand it so. The Amnesty has been granted to all Spaniards—all are worthy of the love of their Queen. (Prolonged applause on the benches and in the tribunes.)—*Gaceta de Madrid*.

After reading the Decree, and the answer of the Duke of Valencia to Señor Cortina, what subject of Isabel the Second would fear lest he might not be included in the Amnesty?

Nevertheless, the colonists are not included therein; because the object of all their conspiracies is to separate the colonies from the metropolis, and those who commit that *sin* are not comprised in the aforementioned Amnesty, as appears from the article which was added thereto when the Decree was published in the ultramarine possessions, which is as follows:

"This Amnesty does not reach those crimes committed with the purpose of separating the ultramarine provinces from their Metropolis; and any one committed directly and positively with this object, shall be tried and sentenced by the tribunals, and through the extraordinary faculties that the Laws of Indies bestow on Governors, Viceroys and Captains General."

(B.)

"MINISTRY OF WAR.—The King our Lord, in whose Royal mind the greatest confidence has been produced by the approved fidelity of Your Excellency, your indefatigable zeal for his Royal service, the judicious and proper measures which, since he honored you with the command of the island, you have taken to preserve his possession, to maintain in tranquillity his faithful inhabitants, to contain within just bounds those who attempt to deviate from the path of honor, and punish those who, forgetful of their duty, dare to commit excesses in violation of our wise laws; and His Majesty being well persuaded that at no time and under no circumstances will the principles of rectitude and love to his Royal person which characterize Your Excellency be enfeebled; and His Majesty desiring to obviate the inconveniences which might result, in extraordinary cases, from a division of command, and from the complications of power and attributions of the respective employes,

for the important end of preserving in this precious island his legitimate Sovereign authority and the public tranquillity through proper means, has resolved, in accordance with the opinion of his Council of Ministers, to give to Your Excellency the fullest authority, bestowing upon you all the powers which by the Royal Ordinances are granted to the Governors of besieged cities. In consequence thereof, His Majesty gives to Your Excellency the most ample and unbounded power, not only to separate from the island persons employed, whatever be their occupation, rank, class or condition, whose permanency therein Your Excellency may deem injurious, or whose conduct, public or private, may alarm you; replacing them with servants faithful to His Majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of Your Excellency; and also to suspend the execution of any order whatsoever, or general provision made concerning any branch of the administration, as Your Excellency may think most suitable to the Royal service: these measures being considered provisional, and Your Excellency to account to His Majesty for his sovereign approbation.

"His Majesty, in bestowing upon Your Excellency this signal testimonial of his Royal esteem, and of the high confidence which he places in your known loyalty, hopes that, corresponding to it in a worthy manner, Your Excellency will use assiduous prudence and circumspection, and at the same time an indefatigable activity and unchanging firmness in the exertion of your authority; and trusts that Your Excellency being constituted, by this same proof of the Royal goodness, in a state of greater responsibility, will redouble your vigilance in taking care that the laws be observed, justice administered, the faithful subjects of His Majesty protected and rewarded, and that, without any regard or dissimulation, the deviations of these be punished, who, forgetful of their obligation and duty to the best and most beneficent Sovereign, transgress the laws, indulge in wrong machinations, and setting at defiance all the provisions emanating from the laws.

"All which I communicate to Your Excellency for your intelligence, satisfaction, and strictest observance—May God protect you for many years.—Madrid, May 26th, 1835.—Aimerich."

And when, in January 1836, the deputies of Cuba addressed to the Government their respectful remonstrances, asking for the melioration of this measure, very far from complying with their demand, the

Government extended the unbounded powers of the Colonial Dictator. [\*]

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### A QUESTION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SPANISH AMNESTY.

A royal decree of her Majesty the Queen of Spain, was published at Madrid, on the 8th of June, 1820, granting the memorable amnesty, general, and without exception, for all political offences committed previous to the publication of said decree.

Many Spanish as well as foreign newspapers, entitled to inspect it in their columns, in order to exhibit and to divulge such a precious and so rare document to the world.

But alas! twenty-four years after the publication of said decree, another one was decreed, declaring that said amnesty would not reach those who committed the crimes of attempting to separate the ultramarine provinces from their metropolis.

It is to be presumed, that this second act of her Majesty, has either been revised or remained unrevoked by the power in general, as well as by the Cortes or House of Representatives in Spain and abroad. In the fact, Madrid has only come to light several months afterwards, giving time near-gone to those who it was intended to reach a death-blow to the Spanish Republic.

And of what political crimes could the natives of Cuba be accused of, other than to attempt to give freedom to their country?

It is well to infer, that the provisions of the royal decree, although granted to all Spaniards and Cubans, as it was expressly declared by the House of Representatives, had in view the laws to be enacted by the Cortes to regulate the natives of the Island of Cuba, the only one who have raised the voice of liberty.

And if so, will a Spaniard, or a Cuban, or a foreigner, or a native, D. Aureo Calderon de la Barca, or any of the papers devoted to the interests of all these or any other country, say the Journal of Commerce, was one of the most liberal organs of the Captain General of the Island of Cuba, who any of the natives had ever felt oppressed?

Was there any individual, who had committed a plain conspiracy, the success of which would have cost many natives who were blind and ignorant, would have committed them to the sea?

Let them answer and give us of it the contrary, or their silence will witness to the world, that what we now infer is but a sad reality.

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### The Amnesty of the Spanish Government in its Colonies.

We are constrained to consider political sins committed in America against the Spanish government, as crimes of the blackest character; as no one ever heard of a pardon having been granted in a single instance. Be that as it may, it is sure that the Spanish government, by its recent decree of a general amnesty, has for a thousandth time proved to the world one truth, which has already passed into a proverb, namely: that Spain in matters of government is incorrigible, and that her long and disastrous experience in America has actually taught her nothing at all.

It is a matter of course, that the newspapers of Madrid did their best in laud-

ing to the skies the wisdom and generosity of the government; enlarging on the pathetic scenes of which the same was the cause in the assembled congress; setting forth in roseate colors the eloquent discourses with which it had been greeted by some of the progressista-members; and yielding all that was said and disseminated in explanation of some questions put, and dissatisfaction shown by a certain member of the opposition; extolling the excellent results which so opportune, general and conciliating a measure was likely to secure; and finally getting into extacies in displaying the superlative magnanimity of the Royal heart of her majesty queen Doña Isabella II.; all which were causes for us here in America of unwanted uncertainty and doubt.

With these facts, and with the assurance publicly proclaimed, that the amnesty of the eighth of June was to be the most comprehensive and unconditional of all that had heretofore made their appearance, who would not have reasonably expected that its comprehensiveness and completeness were such as not to fill short of the shores of the Island of Cuba, where that very moment two causes of political complicity, after much apparent eclat, had met with a premature end? Certainly every one. What mother, what brother, what friend, what Cuban, when hearing it whispered, that the object was a reconciliation or re-union of all Spaniards, would not have given himself up to the gentle hope that all persecutions were now to end in Cuba, and that all exiles were to be recalled and pardoned?—every one surely. But to what egregious deception did they lend themselves as willing instruments, who permitted access into their bosoms to such ideas, to such hopes!

The government of Spain, after having promulgated in the preamble of the decree, and in plenary session of the Cortes, that the amnesty was to be comprehensive and complete, admitting of not the least exception of any kind, and that the intentions of the government were noble and generous in putting that decree into the hands of the Captain General of Cuba for its due execution, adds to the same: "In this amnesty, however, are not comprehended any crimes which had for their aim the separation from the mother-country of any of its dependencies beyond sea, and every and all direct and positive transgressions tending to such an end, remain subject to the prosecution and sentence by the tribunals and extraordinary commissions, which the laws of the Indies concede to governors, viceroys, and Captains General."

[\*] In 1826, the three deputies sent by Cuba to the Cortes of Spain, were not admitted, and a seat in the Congress of the Metropolis was refused them.



What does this exception, this untoward proviso, this palpable, flat contradiction mean? It means nothing less than that a tyrant who has lost all shame and fear, knows of no inconvenience which he is not ready to overleap, of no crime from which he starts back, of no meanness to which he does not willingly stoop to attain his ends. It means nothing less, than that to cruelty they have been willing to add wantonness. For it is clear that in Cuba no other political crimes have been committed, or could ever have been committed, than those designated in the above-mentioned exception, as there are no political parties arraigned against each other, and it is for her not of the importance of a straw who reigns in Spain, Peter or John, Isabella II. of Bourbon, or Coleta I. of Angola. Then, to what purpose order the publication and execution of a decree of amnesty in Cuba, of which no Cuban can avail himself? In order, perhaps, to persuade the world that the government feels sure of the Cubans, when among Spaniards it has made it an aim to conciliate, to re-unite? No, so stupid, so stolid an artifice will impose on no one: and by the light of heaven, if that has been the object of government, it has been most egregiously mistaken.

The government of Spain, which ever has enjoyed a happy facility of stumbling into mistakes, has with the recent decree of amnesty, committed a deliberate suicide in America. For Cuba are considered good all restrictions, all extortions, every waste and spoil, and upon it are loaded all charges and contributions; but when the hour of well tempered justice, of clemency, appears—there is no justice, no clemency for Cuba. Haughty government of Spain, write this day with a stone of fire on the tablet of thy conscience, this very day thou hast renounced thy dominion in America! For what more does a people await, whose throats are ground into the dust by all manner of oppression, in order to rise as one man, and to strike off a galling, a maddening yoke? Haughty government of Spain, we repeat it once more, thou thyself hast with a public and authentic act justified in the eyes of the world the insurrection of the natives of Cuba, if thou hast not before sufficiently justified the same by the countless acts of tyranny with which thou never didst cease treading them in the dust, and if their self-preservation, threatened by thy cruelty and insatiable greediness, did not stimulate them powerfully to work on the destruction of thy deceitful domination in America!

In order to make this signalized affront

stalk forth into the open light of day in all its deformity and injustice, it is necessary that the whole world know, that at least one-third of all the troops which garrison Cuba is made up of political exiles from Spain, condemned to serve in the line; that the amnesty will include them; that they will no longer suffer themselves to be kept as exiles, but that they will be seen returning home to the domestic hearths of their mothers, their sisters, and their friends;—but the patriots of Cuba remain without a gleam of hope of ever returning to the embrace of their families and friends on the soil of their nativity! Let nobody tell us that such will not be the case, because the Captain General, making use of his extraordinary powers, in the circumstance of an insurrection of the Cubans being apprehended, will of his own authority suspend the effects of the amnesty in respect to these three or four thousand political exiles, condemned to service in the line; for we can readily appreciate the kind of confidence men can inspire, who are denied an act of grace, or that justice which is due them, and who are on hope deferred retained in service, that is to say, in captivity, just because a civil war is apprehended. The actual Captain General has up to this date, made himself guilty of many a silly proceeding, as for instance, the abduction of Garcia from New Orleans; but we really do not suppose him capable of making himself guilty of such a one. The actual Captain General of Cuba has felt sufficient valor, or, better said, impudence in himself, to tell the people of these United States, he had pardoned poor Garcia for *famous revolutions* the latter disclosed to him in respect to plans which were on the tapis against Cuba; but we do not believe him to be possessed of sufficient brass, nor that he is so blinded in his stupid career, as to endeavor to persuade those three or four thousand soldiers, exiled for their political opinions, that the amnesty does not reach them, and that it is necessary to have patience, and continue their service. These very men, nerved by the justice of their claim and the consciousness of their numbers, will either return home in peace with their clubs, or will throw themselves into the ranks of the patriots in the hour of their common redemption. Woe to him who denies them these rights!

In fine, if for any thing we have a reason to be thankful to tyrants, we are grateful towards the government of Spain for the new insult it has heaped upon Cuba by the publication of its comprehensive and complete amnesty; for by it

it has let the world know, in a manner that does not admit of a reasonable doubt, the injustice with which it treats us; and particularly because Spain herself justifies our insurrection in the eyes of the world, and of this magnanimous Confederation, precisely in the moments that we are receiving, on the part of the American people, the most explicit proofs of the sympathy our holy cause inspires.

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ANSWER OF THE SPANISH CONSUL IN NEW YORK, TO THE EXHORTATION OF THE CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

We have received from Havana a copy of the answer which the Spanish Consul of this city gave to the exhortation of the Captain General of the island of Cuba, Don Frederick Roncall, claiming the person of Don Cirilo Villaverde, who had just escaped from the jail of Havana, where he was shut up for six months on account of political matters.

We are very well convinced that the document which we now publish, besides its appearing rather late, is deprived of those requisites which give authenticity to documents of this sort: but nevertheless, it is not less entitled to our credence, and we are not afraid that the only person who can divest it of credit, will publicly do so, so great is the opinion which we entertain of the veracity of the person who remits to us the copy from Havana.

We clearly perceive therefrom, that a similar exhortation must have been sent to Don Carlos de España, Consul of New Orleans; and from the history of the abduction of Gare a, it clearly follows, that the employee of her Catholic Majesty at that place, thought and acted very differently from this. Such a difference speaks highly in favor of the morality and honor of Mr. Stoughton. The laws relative to refugees, are the same in all the States of the Confederacy: the Consul of New Orleans was not ignorant of the fact: so that, although there is no comparison between Mr. Garcia and Mr. Villaverde, we do not doubt that if, as the latter succeeded in reaching New York, he had arrived at New Orleans, the same snares would have been laid against him, which have

been laid to seize on, and send Garcia to Havana. There is no room to doubt it. Here is the document:

“The undersigned Consul of Her C. M. at New York, in compliance with the requirements of the annexed exhortation, notifies: that, from instituted enquiries it results, that Don Cirilo Villaverde, one of the named accused persons, appeared in Savannah, and it is believed he arrived there from the Havana: that from Savannah he came to New York on the steamer “Cherokee,” ten days ago, and is at present in the same city; that by the laws of these States, the entrance of passengers in these territories is altogether free, and without necessity of any document: that by virtue of the same laws, there is no power nor means of exacting a passport, and that even the Consul of Her C. M. has no right to claim it, and that therefore it is impossible to effect what is recommended by the aforesaid exhortation on the subject; that it has not been possible to ascertain with exactness in what manner said Villaverde arrived at Savannah, nor acquire other information about the escape and accomplices of this person; that as to the others mentioned in the said exhortation, to wit: Don Vincent Fernandez, and Don John Garcia, it is not known yet that they have appeared in New York; all which is made known as the result of the inquiries made in compliance with the aforesaid exhortation, which is returned herewith annexed.—New York May 25, 1849.—FRANCIS STOUGHTON, Consul of Her C. Majesty.”

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### The last Conspiracy of Cuba.

Just at the moment we were going to press with our present number, various newspapers came to our hands in which is inserted the Proclamation of the President of this Republic relative to an expedition to the Island of Cuba, which (as it is said) is intended. We keep back, for the present, other materials which we had prepared, and postpone the publication of our periodical, not so much for the importance

and novelty of the matter, as for the comments made concerning it by some papers, such as *The Republic*, and *The Intelligencer*, of Washington: which being, as is generally supposed, organs of the Government, must be apprised of the political march of the various administrations which have succeeded each other since the year 1827,—which should have been the first of the Independence of Cuba; and particularly of that which at present directs the affairs of this Republic.

We do not know that any invasion of the Island of Cuba by Americans, has been projected or intended; but we do know, as all the world knows, that whether a revolutionary movement be made from foreign shores, or in the interior of the island, it cannot fail to be effected in Cuba.

Things, as well in the physical as in the moral order, have their limits fixed by nature. The Island of Cuba is not only a victim of tyranny and of the depredations and insults of Spain; but, instead of being enabled to cherish a hope of relief in her unhappy situation, every day she sees the sum of her suffering increased, every day she is most arbitrarily and insolently oppressed, cheated and humbled. What is expected from us? Is it expected that we should be the Job of nations? We cannot be that, because men are not susceptible of so much equanimity—after suffering with patience and resignation for two centuries and upwards. We have drank of the chalice of bitterness and ignominy to the very dregs, and have been thereby rendered lethargic by the metropolis. Can it be required now that we fold our arms and wait until the chalice is again filled, that it may again be drained by us? Is it required of us that we should be, among the people of the nineteenth century, as the Helots whom the Spartans made drunk, in order to inspire their children with a horror of the vice!—Oh! but it is already too late! The iron hand of despotism has not been able to annihilate in our hearts the sentiment of our dignity, the knowledge of our strength, the appreciation of our rights, or the anxiety for our liberty: and we will be FREE, or cease to exist as a people, even though we should be doomed to

the life of a wandering race, without country and without a name; for even at the present we have neither, but to be oppressed and affronted!

But let us confine our attention more particularly to the matter relative to our article.

The proclamation of General Taylor, as well as the comments which have been made upon the cause of it by some periodicals, are grounded on the obligation to preserve the faith of the treaties of peace and amity existing between Spain and the United States, and “which would be violated by the government of the latter, if it should permit that in its territory an expedition should be raised and equipped to invade in a warlike manner the Island of Cuba.”

Certain it is, that the obligations and treaties existing between governments are sacred; but it is also certain that they have their limits. We are ready to acknowledge the justice and legality of all acts which may be necessary to maintain inviolate the faith of treaties: but we protest against all and each of them which may exceed those limits in the least title; and even more firmly do we protest against the denial of any act of grace that might be granted in favor of the liberty of Cuba.

Governments, we repeat, have sacred obligations between them, in consequence of special agreements, and for mutual benefit. But do no sacred obligations also exist between the Government and the people? Are there not greater and more stringent obligations on the part of free Governments, towards civilized people? Are there no obligations, also, between people—children of the same civilization, neighbors identified in interests—people who almost form but one, although fate has made the one free and happy, and the other unhappy and enslaved?

A faithfulness ill understood, a zeal carried to an extreme, in the fulfilment of those compacts between Governments, deprived us once already of liberty, in 1827. “The acquisition of that liberty,” say some, “might have been fatal to the very people who were desirous of it.” We shall not stop to refute so weak and vague an objection; but how many positive evils, how many real misfortunes have been the result of that con-

duct!—More than a million of African savages imported into the Island of Cuba; insurrections of slaves and tortures, gibbets and slaughter, to punish and subdue them: new fetters added to those which oppressed Cuba; arbitrary and cruel imprisonments, atrocious and unrelenting persecutions, banishments, sentences of death, executions—all, all that there is most contrary and repugnant to humanity! And all this where, and why? Where! At the very gates of the great American Confederacy, which stands at the head of the civilization of the New World. Why? We forbear to state the cause, although it burns our heart in secret.

We cannot believe that the faith of treaties between Governments is to be carried to the point of obstinately sacrificing a cause which is eternal and universal, to the interest of a period and of a fraction. Let us be clearer:—we cannot be persuaded that treaties made between the United States and Spain before its colonies were fit to be emancipated from metropolitan guardianship, oblige the cabinet of Washington to act as zealous a part as that of the very cabinet of Madrid, in order to frustrate an expedition to Cuba, should such a project exist. Should the exertions of the first-named cabinet be so great, would there not be sufficient foundation for saying that the Government of the Republic of the United States is, in America, what the Government of the French Republic is in Europe—because the one destroys the liberty of Rome, and the other would destroy the liberty of Cuba?

We repeat that we are aware of the sacredness and lawfulness of the mutual obligations which Governments impose on each other by their treaties; but we also repeat that these have their just limits, which ought not on any account be exceeded. And if, on the one hand, it is a duty of President Taylor to main-  
tain the honor of the American Govern-

ment by opposing the infraction of those compacts; it is also his duty, and a no less imperious one, to maintain that same national honor by complying with what the Republican cause, the cause of Justice and of Humanity, demands of the children of Washington, who are their natural and chosen defenders. What would the world say, if the flag of the stars and stripes should be unfurled against every standard of liberty?

Less oppressed than we are, the American people rose against England, and on the fields of Bunker's Hill, Monmouth, Yorktown and others, gloriously gained their independence. Well, we ask, would not the Thirteen Colonies exist even to this day, instead of the Thirty States, if the British nation had been backed by some strong and friendly power, over-zealous in keeping compacts of amity and peace?

Again and again we state, that the certainty of an expedition to Cuba we do not possess. But whether it be on foot or not; whether it be realized or frustrated; what cannot be doubted is, that the Cuban people wish and are determined to be free.—that if one attempt failed yesterday, another will be made to-morrow.—that if that of 1848 was frustrated, that of 1850 will be realized,—and another, and a thousand more will follow each other more ardently and in more quick succession, if we are unlucky, until we attain our object, which is that of being free!

Ultimately we, as organs of the people truly Cuban, invoke all the people and Governments of free America!—We present our cause before that Areopagus of the New World, and wait with confidence for its judgment.

We do not demand anything which is not just; but let our judges remember the days when they sallied forth to the fight to conquer their liberty, and let them reflect that we now find ourselves placed in a similar situation.



## INTRODUCTION.

On presenting to the public in this paper the first part of a series of articles published by us in the last numbers of our periodical, "LA VERDAD," concerning the Annexation of Cuba, we deem proper, and even necessary, to premise some general remarks on this first topic of the question.

The cause of *Cuban Emancipation* involves in itself the interests of all classes, of all parties, of all political, religious, and industrial fractions of the United States, and of America in general. With the cause of Cuban liberty, the cause of Reason, of all the human race, of Universal civilization, is connected. These are truths, according to our humble apprehension, clearly and naturally detached from the contents of these articles.

We have sketched, in the latter, the losses sustained by the whites of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the United States, in pecuniary interests, during the lapse of these last twenty years, in consequence of the latter Spanish Colonies in America not having attained their emancipation, by reason of the opposition made to it by the Cabinet of Washington: and we have also slightly traced the prospect of the immense advantages which the annexation of Cuba to this Confederacy would occasion to all America, and particularly to the people of the United States, not only with regard to important conveniences, but also considering it as the completion and seal of peace, prosperity, well-being, and certain happiness of the American Continent.

But let us turn our eyes to another point of view: Let us look at the moral and material interests of another race, the African race, brutally torn from its native soil, to perpetuate slavery in the New World, and we shall see that the cause of Cuban Emancipation is the only means of conciliating the opposite interests of the North and South, of the abolitionists and free soilers; the true object to be aimed at by all the illustrious patriots and enlightened spirits, who are in this country the advo-

ates for the cause of political, moral, and commercial liberty, as the basis of the complete civilization, and perfection of the human race.

The sufferings sustained by the unhappy African race in our climates, may well be conceived, but with the greatest difficulty enumerated; the task would be very gloomy, and arduous the undertaking; therefore we shall confine ourselves to sketch some observations, which we consider necessary to give to our readers an idea, if not of the sufferings of those victims, at least of their number until now, in order that they may contribute to the remedy of so great a misfortune, without any prejudice to another race, without detriment to the interests of other classes, without injury to or conflict with other parties; but for the sake of conciliating all, and for the sake of general convenience, and common well-being.

We are persuaded that the slave trade, which is still continued in Africa by Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, should have ceased at the same time as the dominion of Spain in those Islands, which fact should also, as we have pointed out in those articles, bear date from the year 1826.

Cuba should have then become independent, or constituted itself as an integral part of Columbia, or of the American Union. In the first case its own interest should have constrained it to shut up its ports to the slave trade; and even supposing that that interest was not known to it, how could it have resisted the armed influence of England, of the United States, of France, and even of Spain, being joined by treaties to those nations who were opposed to the slave trade? In the second and third case, the cessation of the slave trade was still more certain, it being prohibited in Columbia, and the United States.

The slave trade being abolished in Cuba and Porto Rico, as a necessary consequence, it would have been abolished in Brazil. All the efforts of the

abolitionists, all the attention of the cruisers being jointly directed to one single point, would have rendered almost impossible the success of any expedition, and very rare should have been the safe arrival of a slaver at those ports with her cargo. The fact of the emancipation of Cuba by Bolivar, in 1826, being supposed, (at which period the Spanish garrison in all the island was only amounting to 5,000 soldiers, and the number of slaves not exceeding 286,000, which will be better perceived from an article in "LA VERDAD," No. 10, which we insert as an appendix,) no body will doubt that that time should have been the date of the complete extinction of the power of Spain in America, of the abolition of the negro trade which is now kept up by Cuba, Porto Rico and the Brazils, and since which one million of Africans would not have been torn from their country, to be dragged to those countries in slavery!

One million may appear an exaggeration to some persons, but a single observation will be sufficient to dissipate all doubt about the exactness of the assertion.

The Island of Cuba contained in the year 1826, according to official documents, 286,940 slaves; their number in the year 1841 had risen, according to the official census, to 436,495, from which arises an increase of 149,555 in 14 years. Now, it is very well known that the slave population diminishes very considerably in Cuba on account of the great disproportion between the sexes, of the toils, &c., if the importation of new individuals is not fostered, and this decrease was to take place then in a greater ratio, when the slaves were not so humanely and favorably treated as they are now, nor a single female was to be met with in the plantations, but those of Havana and Santiago of Cuba, which furnishes a good ground to affirm that there was not a female for 25 males. From this can be inferred, that not only the pro-creation of the race was completely prevented, but that its preservation was in very great danger. Then it is indisputable that this increase to which we allude, was only the consequence of new importations of Africans. Let us aggregate to this, on account of the rapid proportion in which, in Cuba,

the slave population decreases, only 5 per cent. yearly to the 286,940 slaves enumerated in the census of 1827, in order to replace its decrease, and we shall have, in order to preserve this number in the 14 years, as a necessary consequence, an extraordinary importation of slaves, of 200,858 Africans; a larger quantity than that of the excess or increase which we have seen in the census of 1841, above that of 1827. This (only with respect to Cuba) demonstrates that there was no exaggeration in the assertion that in the space of time which has elapsed from 1826 to the present date, more than a million of Africans have been transported from Africa to America.

Independently of this, let us weigh the question in the balance of justice and humanity, from how many evils the present slave African generation would have been saved in those countries? From how many Cuba, Porto Rico, Columbia, &c. &c.!!

The American people, free, generous, just, and acquainted with its interests and duties, will not refuse to do justice by affording their support to another people, in order to enable them to obtain their emancipation; to a people also American, but humbled; to a people noble, but injured with impunity.

Before we conclude this introduction, we deem it necessary to make some observations with regard to the point which presents most difficulties in our subject, and this is the complication and opposition of interests between the North and South. Indeed, we confess that the interests are complicated; but this complication arises from the federal compact which unites the Southern States to the others of the Union; for if such cause did not exist, who might suppose with any reasonable appearance, that the Southern part of the Union would object to the annexation of Cuba, which would give it the absolute command of the Gulf of Mexico, and put in its power that Key, so necessary for the safety of those States, in case of war, which would prevent those evils which might be occasioned to it by a violent emancipation of the slavery of Cuba, and which, besides, would allay all fear, with respect to those that might arise from the freedom already granted in

other European colonies in America? Who can conceive, we repeat, such an idea, when the annexation of the Island of Cuba, and its dependencies, not only would increase the area of the Republic 64,000 miles (vide N.B.) of a very fertile territory, favored with a mild and salubrious climate, but should occasion, together with the cessation of the negro trade, the paralization of the progressive increase of the Brazilian crops, and thereby a corresponding increase in value, of the products and real estate of that part of the Union?

On the other hand, the subject is only complicated on account of the conflict of moral interests: for with respect to the material, it appears to us that we have fully demonstrated, in the articles till now published on the subject, the advantages which all industrial classes of all the United States would derive from the annexation of Cuba.

If we consider the question with regard to the influence which it can have in the Union, in the present agitation of the minds of the abolitionists, and of the planters of the South, we think that the annexation of Cuba would be the surest and easiest means of calming that effervescence, and drawing closer the bonds of Union, because the abolitionists are so certain that they shall shortly attain the object which they aim at, as the owners of slaves are that they shall cease to be masters of slaves. It follows from this, that the annexation does not in any way aggravate the uneasiness or fears of the South, or affect its interests: and on the other hand, it opens to their view the prospect of increasing their profits, in the time which remains to them of using their slaves, and re-establishing unity of opinion with their Northern brothers. We do not doubt that the South is disposed to this, and in consideration of the advantages which thereby it gains, the concession may be made that in

future no slave territory shall be incorporated into the Union; and this door being closed, the African trade being abolished, an infinite number of victims being saved, all motive of opposition between fellow-citizens being done away, will the abolitionists be so inexorable, that they will prefer immediate abolition to a reasonable, just, and efficacious measure, which will lead them to the end which they propose to themselves, by conciliating the interests of all the Confederacy, and drawing tighter the bonds of Union between one State and another?

We shall not deny, that actuated by an ardent wish to see at an end the tyranny which is oppressing with an iron hand our brothers of Cuba and Porto-Rico, we have in some way postponed and left aside some particulars of the subject, and that also we keep aloof from the most important point from which some part of the question should be examined. We are very far from presuming upon finding out infallibly the solution of a political problem so complicated, which occupies at present many of the highest and most esteemed diplomatic talents of the time in both worlds. But with respect to the most truly essential part of the matter, we believe we are not mistaken, and we are sure and intimately persuaded, that no sensible man, no understanding of good faith, will deny the undisputable right and justice with which Cuba and Porto Rico, address themselves to the Government of the Union, claiming the liberty of which since 1826 it has deprived them. We are also sure and deeply convinced that with justice, enlightened Reason, the precursor of human perfection, claims in behalf of humanity, the extinction of that imbecile, despotic and destructive colonial system which not only obstructs the progress of civilization in the West, but prolongs, and even increases the misfortune, the degradation, the death of that African race, of that considerable portion of mankind, only because it feeds the despicable covetousness of a bastard and corrupt Government.

Let the doctrines, the data, the words of the writer be read and meditated upon and calmly, and let not the motive of our writings, and the nature of our question be lost sight of.

N. B. On examining the extent of each of the United States, it will be found out that only Missouri, Virginia and Iowa, cover an area larger than Cuba. The latter (Cuba) exceeds in extent the very large state of New-York by no less than 18,755, square miles.



# OF THE ADVANTAGES WHICH THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA OFFERS TO AMERICA, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

## ARTICLE I.

In our former numbers of *La Verdad* we promised to enter largely on this subject, and develop, in a series of articles, the reasons in evidence that the annexation of Cuba to the American Union is a settled fact, and merely remains a question of time; that the realization of this fact involves interests important to all America, and that the people of the United States in particular will derive the highest advantages from this change in the economic and political condition of Cuba.

To-day we proceed with our task, but as the importance and extent of its details demands time and cool discussion, we limit ourselves to an exposition of the leading points of the question, and of the authentic data which is to guide us in the course of the discussion.

We are convinced, for many reasons, that the sentiments of the Americans are of accord on this point; that an oppressed and unhappy people desires to throw itself into the arms of this free and happy nation, who opens them as brother to receive a brother. But notwithstanding the existence of this moral predisposition, these sympathies and these mutual interests of humanity, we wish to demonstrate still more clearly the material necessity, the pecuniary benefit, and the economic advantages, which would be hastened by the solution of this thesis: The annexation of Cuba to the United States.

With the official data before us, with the figures in hand, we will sustain our position, and although doubtless a great part of the American people know perfectly well their true interests, it may not be superfluous to demonstrate in detail what they are in regard to our country. The golden prospective of California has aroused the daring spirit of American enterprise, and hundreds of men are hurrying at venture to the remote and desert shores of the "Gold Region." With how much better reason

should the people of the United States direct to the Island of Cuba the tide of their mercantile and industrial speculations?

Cuba is a discovered island since we know where it is but it is still an unknown land while the world is ignorant of its immense natural riches, and of the innumerable elements of prosperity which a wise and free government would bring into immediate action.

The Island of Cuba, incorporated in the Union, would not be for the American people what California is a country thousands of leagues distant, unpeopled, uncultivated, without other advantages than its mines of metal, whose very abundance must lower its value. The island of Cuba, with its matchless position between both Americas, its topographical peculiarities, which renders each inland town almost maritime, from its short distance to coast and harbor; the proverbial fertility of its soil; its countless and admirable Ports; its mines of gold, silver, copper, coal, &c.; its virgin forests of precious woods; its immense extent of available land, yet uncultivated and such abundant, and so many sources of wealth, which the hand of Providence has shed on this region which *might be so* prosperous and so happy—the island of Cuba, we repeat, will open a thousand new fountains of national wealth for herself, for the United States, and for the whole of America.

For the present, however, let us confine ourselves to our programme of discipline. First, we will consider Cuba in a Commercial position, and demonstrate the immense benefits which the industrious, agricultural, and manufacturing classes of both countries, will derive by annexation, from their geographical neighborhood which naturally constitutes the United States, the purveyor or rather, we should say, the *factotum* of the exportation and importation of Cuba.



We must allow also for the rapid growth which the new State will make under the impulse of the wise and liberal institutions of the Union, and of the new agents of progress—steam, machinery, telegraphs, &c.—with the advance of which Cuba will multiply the beneficial results of annexation. We said we would present at once our data for the illustration of the question, and here is that of which we have immediate need :

No. 1.—SUMMARY OF THE IMPORTATIONS OF CUBA.

Provisions - - - -	\$9,006,854,	6½
Cotton Goods - - -	2,329,857,	2½
Linen Goods - - -	2,462,844,	6½
Woolen Goods - - -	431,115,	3½
Silk Goods - - - -	427,567,	7
Lumber - - - - -	1,526,281,	6
Metals - - - - -	2,093,529,	5½
Peltries - - - - -	513,441,	3½
Articles not included in the above list	3,637,955,	2½
Effects for Rail-road purposes - - - -	62,365,	1½
do do Sugar mills	133,585,	7
Total - - - - -	\$22,625,399,	3½

No. 2.—SUMMARY OF THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTATIONS OF CUBA.

Of the staple produc- tions of the Island	\$20,837,278,	5½
Fruits and vegeta- bles - - - - -	100,825,	1
Woods - - - - -	440,226,	6½
Metals - - - - -	209,235,	2
Foreign productions, provisions, &c. - -	161,508,	3½
Manufactures - - -	251,514,	2
Total - - - - -	\$22,000,588,	4½

No. 3.—TONNAGE OF THE VESSELS ENTERED AND CLEARED IN THE PORTS OF CUBA IN 1846.

Entered - - - - -	550,158 Tons.
Cleared - - - - -	584,840 do.
Total - - - - -	*1,134,198 Tons.

No. 4.—TONNAGE DUTIES.

On entrances - - -	\$527,169	5
On clearances - - -	739,379	7½
Total - - - - -	\$1,266,549	4½

\* Of these, 476,773 tons belong to the United States.

No. 5.—

General importation of Cuba - - - -	\$22,625,399	3½
Special do., under A- merican Flag - - -	5,746,233	7½
Difference - - - -	16,879,166	4

No. 6.—

American producti- ons sent to Cuba,	\$5,746,233	7½
Those of Cuba sent to the U. States,	5,609,348	1½
Commerce of the U. States with Cuba	\$11,355,582	1

No. 7.—

Total Exports and Imports of Cuba	\$44,625,988	
Commerce with the U. States - - - -	11,355,582	1
Difference - - - -	\$33,270,405	7

In the second place, we will consider the Island of Cuba as a military point, and this is not its least interesting aspect to America. The same causes that concur to make this Island a vast trading mart, contribute to make it the Gibraltar of the New World, with the difference in its favor of uniting with them advantages and resources infinitely superior to those of that isolated rock of Great Britain.

We will lastly consider the subject in its political and diplomatic aspect. We will pass in review the arguments, the opinions, and the fears, which some minds, whether from malice, ignorance, apathy, or imbecility, oppose to the realization of the event which is the basis of our present efforts; and in conclusion we will demonstrate the policy, the possibility, and, we say again, the necessity of annexing Cuba to the United States.

In the state to which the question has now arrived, and in the actual disposition of the people and governments interested, there but remains to add to the general moral conviction, the *material* certainty of its benefits, to move even those who can show themselves indifferent to the fraternal and intellectual interests of man.

This is the duty which we now undertake to perform under the order and principles which we have just indicated to our readers.

## ARTICLE II.

In the opening number of the series in which we proposed to discuss this subject, we announced that we would first consider the Island of Cuba in a commercial point,—and demonstrate the immense advantages which the agricultural and industrial classes of the country must derive from the annexation of Cuba to the United States. This is our task to-day.

We will leave for another occasion minute details and prolonged observations on the physical conditions of Cuba, but we believe it indispensable to call immediate attention to certain geographical circumstances as they largely contribute to illustrate and confirm our ideas.

The Island of Cuba does not owe its chief importance—mercantile, political, or military—to the extension of her soil, although it is the largest of the Antilles, and nearly equal to England, including Wales,\* but to the peculiarity of her position with respect to entire America, and particularly the United States, Mexico, and the rest of the central republics.

Cuba is placed at the head of the long chain of islands that extend from West to East, between the Atlantic Ocean and the Carribbean Sea. It makes the bulwark of the Mexican Gulf, and only leaves to it two gates; one between Cape Antonio, the western extremity of the island, and Cape Catoche, which advances from the coast of Yucatan to meet it, and forms a strait but a few less than 100 miles wide, and the other between Hicacos, the most northern point of Cuba, and Cape Sable, the southern extremity of Florida, but a few more than 100 miles apart, and between which passes the "Old Channel" of the Bahamas.

Besides this, the long and narrow configuration of the island, with its immense number of ports and rivers of superior capacity, insure it a facile communication on one side with Jamaica,

Hayti, and the Bahama Islands, and on the other, with Yucatan and Florida. Thus, as we have said, it not only possesses the double advantage of being at the door of the United States, who are now almost its purveyors, and who then would be completely its factotum, but it would become the store-house, and commercial centre of all the vast circle of republics from Mexico to New Grenada.

However we will confine ourselves to that which refers to its relations with the United States; we will even limit our observations to its commerce actual and commerce possible — to that of to day under its present state of political existence and to that which might be to-morrow by its annexation to the Union.

In our introductory article we gave, in advance, various official data, which, added to much more which we have in sight, will aid us to enter fully in the subject and enable us to fulfil our engagement to prove the advantages which the political change in Cuba would bring to the productive classes of the American continent.

The annual consumption of the Island of Cuba (according to our date No. 1), amounted to \$22,625,399,44 in the year 1846, which, for many reasons, we take for a fair statement. The annual exportation (date No. 2), came to \$22,000,588,56, in the same year. The total value of the commerce of Cuba reaches, then, to \$44,625,988.

Of this commerce the United States has an important share. They employ in it not less than 476,773 tons, and in the same year of 1846 Cuba imported American productions to the amount of \$5,725,422,5½, and exported of her own, to the United States, to the value of \$5,598,567,2½. Adding these two quantities together, and the exchange of commodities between Cuba and the United States amounts to \$11,323,990 in *American ships*; but if we add to this the sum of \$31,572—the value of their trade under other flags—we will have in result the sum total of \$11,355,562,31.

\* The area of England, including Wales, is 57,960 square miles, and that of the Island of Cuba is 54,000 square miles.

Let us now calculate the injuries this valuable trade suffers from the actual system of government in Cuba.

In the first place, on examining carefully the items of the tariff that now controls the commerce of Cuba, we may calculate that the duties weighing upon importation under foreign flags are not lower than 36 per cent. Those are not wanting to say this calculation is exaggerated, but we are satisfied that it is even below the average, and think it easy of proof. The minimum duty on an article imported under a foreign flag is  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; the maximum  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., thence we may calculate the average to be 30 per cent. But we must take in consideration another very important fact, which is, that certain articles of the first necessity (like flour, which pays \$10 50 duty on a barrel costing \$4 50), and other goods of general consumption, are those burdened with the most exorbitant taxes. This would suffice to demonstrate the fairness of our calculations, but there are more, for it also happens that many articles of luxury, furniture, impliments, carriages, ornaments, &c., whose price, though specified in the tariff, is *nominal*, are always re-valued at an exorbitant rate, and the result is that they pay 100 and even 200 per cent.† What matter if some articles of small consumption and very rare introduction appear *free*? The effect of this exemption is so limited and is so completely neutralized by excessive burdens on the re-valued class of commodities that it ought not to be taken into account.

It is evident therefore that we may safely calculate on 35 per cent. as the actual weight of duties on the commerce of Cuba, and *it happens this is particularly the case with that portion of it pertaining to the United States*. We will take, firstly, the particular article of flour. This product of their agriculture, which is one of the principal fountains of the national wealth and commerce, is one of the articles most prejudiced by the tariff of the present government of the colony of Cuba. We will enter into detail :

The actual population of Cuba is, by the last census 1,100,000 souls, but we must not calculate by this number that of the consumer of flour. The United States produce the best, and could with the greatest ease abundantly supply the inhabitants of Cuba with this article; but this is not the case. Only the wealthy portion of the population use bread; and at present but 300,000 barrels of flour are consumed by an equal number of inhabitants.

The domestic grain and provisions, which are but little cultivated in Cuba, are not sufficient to supply more than a small part of the remaining 800,000. Each slave consumes, at least, 500 lbs. of corn in a year. It is inconceivable that they should not prefer wheat bread, which is not only more nutritious, but can be reduced to a price as low, or lower, than that which they are now paying for inferior food. Why, then, instead of this 300,000 barrels does not Cuba import 2,000,000, which is the minimum of the natural consumption of her population?

The question is easy of reply. The United States could readily give Cuba an abundant supply of flour of the first quality, but the sale of this production of American industry receives a mortal blow, not only by the extraordinary protection granted to the flours of Spain, but by the exorbitant duties imposed on those of the United States. Each barrel of American flour worth \$5. or less, pays the custom house of Cuba the enormous sum of \$10 50! that is to say, 225 per cent. of duty. This explains the limited consumption of the article.

Suppose that the annexation of Cuba to the Union were accomplished. As a necessary consequence these exactions would cease. The trade in flour between Cuba would be free, like all other domestic trade; and what advantages would the agricultural classes of the Union derive from this single vein of riches! Spanish flour would entirely disappear from the market of Cuba—because, being foreign, inferior, and thousands of miles distant, it could not sustain the competition, however moderate might be the duties on it, nor the cost of transportation. The American agriculturists would, of course, become the suppliers of this branch of consump-

† A dozen mahogany chairs pay for duties \$16.50. A piano-forte \$2.50. A horse (not imported expressly for breeding), \$50. Any other article not specified on the tariff, pays 40 per cent. on the value given to them by the custom house officers.

tion in Cuba. We will give one glance at the future prospects of this production, and of its value to those interested.

With the cessation of the present exorbitant duties, American flour can be sold in Cuba at a third of its actual price, and it will become the cheapest aliment of even the poorer classes, and the planters will give it to their slaves in preference to corn meal, as cheaper, healthier, and more nutritious. With the population of 1,100,000 souls, which Cuba counts to-day, it is not exaggerated to estimate the annual consumption in such a case at 2,000,000 barrels.

From the data presented by the *Balanza Mercantil de Cuba*, of 1846, it appears that the total importation of American flour in the island under both Spanish and foreign flags only come to 4,980 barrels. We must observe, however, that the existing duties lead to extensive smuggling, and, lawfully or unlawfully, it may be assumed that 10,000 barrels of American flour are introduced into Cuba every year.

Any American agriculturist may now calculate the enormous difference between the actual state of this important traffic, and the extension it would receive with the freedom from restriction that must result from the annexation of Cuba. We content ourselves in presenting the exact data and numbers, it will be easy to deduce the extent of the advantages it will give this class of productions to have eighty times greater consumption in Cuba,

There are other articles of the first necessity, products of American industry in the same proportion, and whose consumption is very limited in Cuba. Among other things the island annually imports 15,000,000, pounds of Ricé, which ought naturally to be supplied by the United States, and consumption would be tripled if it had not to endure the excessive duty of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent

This applies equally to other grains, Meat, Butter, Candles, Soap, &c., &c., of which the scarcity exceedingly diminishes the consumption.

Let us now turn to the other branches of Agricultural industry in the United States. Who can calculate the rapid increase of commerce from the moment of annexation, and much more its progress when Cuba, free from the monopolizing

of the mother country; disembarassed from the burdens of these endless duties that annihilate her products and commerce, incorporate in the Union, settled and protected, shall open to industrial enterprise of every description her thousand fountains of wealth, now closed by the ignorant avarice of its oppressive government?

An immense value in machinery, carriages, vehicles of every class, implements of labour, literary, scientific, and artistic objects, will all find in Cuba a large and liberal market, whose doors are now closed to these products of American labour, because these are precisely the articles which not having a specified value in the tariff, suffer the baneful effects of an excessive revaluation, which we have before indicated carries up the duties to 100 and even 200 per cent.

This applies to all the productions of all the laboring classes of the United States, that are consumable in Cuba, and which would be consumed in great quantity were it not for the drawback of the excessive exactions of the tariff of the existing government of Cuba.

Neither must we forget the benefits which the commerce of the U. States would derive through the shipping interest. We have said that the total of American tonnage employed in the trade with Cuba amounted to 476,773. Estimate then to what it will come when the free trade resulting from the annexation of Cuba shall augment, as it must, the traffic with this country; and take into account as well the saving of the large sums which the merchant or master now pays into the Custom-house for tonnage duty, and which is no less than \$1.50 per ton. We hold then that the annexation of Cuba will produce from the start two great benefits to the agricultural and industrial classes of the United States. 1st. saving enormous sums which their commerce pays under the tariff of the actual administration of the island. 2d. The large augmentation of commercial relations by the cessation of these very duties.

Yet these are certainly not the only advantages, nor the greatest, which the incorporation of Cuba with the Union is capable of producing. Hitherto we have only spoken with reference to the present state of the island, and of the



immediate effects of of such a political change. To form an idea of the good effects of such an event, we will proceed to consider its probable ulterior results.

The first will be the rapid and almost instantaneous increase of its population. The Island of Cuba, with an area of 64,975 square miles, including the Island of Pinos and all its adjacent, which are equal to 900,000 *caballerias*, or 31,500,000 acres (†) only, has a population of 1,100,000, which is but the population of 21 inhabitants to the square mile. Of this vast extent of ground, whose fertility and luxuriance of vegetation is proverbial, but a small portion is cultivated or grazed, though the climate is so genial that it yields two crops a year of many of its productions. (‡) It also abounds in materials for manufacturing industry; but all this will be the subject of the next article. Meanwhile it must be conceded that, with such peculiar and powerful elements of admitted prosperity, Cuba, once placed under the wing of the American Eagle, must soon double its population, and before one generation passes, attain a figure that would surprise present calculations.

Who can doubt this will happen, when Cuba, annexed to this country, and favored by the liberal institutions

(†) A *caballerias* is 35 acres.

(‡) Nothing can give a closer idea of the riches of the Island of Cuba than the fact that 1,100,000 inhabitants, less than half of whom are white; pay \$20,000,000 in different species of contributions; thus enriches its inhabitants without extracting gold and silver from its earth. Nothing is wanting for their happiness but a free government.

—political and economic—of the Union, presents her real capabilities to the enterprising eyes of all the industrial classes seeking occupation, as one of the most important business countries on earth, and above all in America.

This immense number of emigrants—this superabundance of population, which exhausted Europe daily pours into the New World, will there find a new, rich, and vast field which, until now, has been closed to foreign emigration by the religious intolerance and political fetters opposed to it by the oppressive and egotistical government of Spain.

Would not the fine and hardy races of Germany and Ireland, torn as they are in myriads from their soil, to transplant themselves to America, flourish and prosper in soft and fertile Cuba, much better than in the rough and ungenial prairies of the West, or on the barren coasts of California?

Let us transport ourselves to an epoch no more remote than thirty years after the annexation of Cuba. Imagine Cuba free from her heavy chains, and wisely governed, flourishing and enlightened, and full of riches for its enhanced population, and observe the new childhood and the period of adolescence prepared by its political regeneration.

With a multiplied population, with all her fountains of wealth open, with all her elements of prosperity developed, who can fix the limits to the benefits which will arise to Cuba, to America, and to the United States?

### ARTICLE III.

The importance of the subject, its close and complicated relations with the material interests of the countries embraced in its scope, and our desire to state it clearly and completely compels us to dwell on details and explanations touching certain particulars indicated in the preceding article.

In speaking of the benefits which annexation would bring to the industrial and agricultural classes of this country we only made a few slight observations on some productions, reserving for to-day an ampler and more detailed analysis of the subject.

In questions like this, and especially if they are discussed before a people accustomed to think and calculate with accuracy, practical demonstrations, not theories, are demanded, they want positive figures, not vain declamations, brilliant systems, no gilded utopias.

For this reason we present to our readers the following statement which comprehends the details relative to those articles of commerce which by their value as branches of the public wealth in the United States, and by their large consumption in the Island of Cuba, are of the highest mercantile importance and are of great interest to all the industrial classes, agricultural and manufacturing as well as commercial. The details are given of the duties with which each of these articles are burthened by the tariff of the government of Cuba, the mode of valuation so exaggerated as to double and triple the amount of the duties, &c. &c.

**SUMMARY OF THE IMPORTATION OF CERTAIN ARTICLES THAT HAVE A LARGE CONSUMPTION IN CUBA, PRODUCED BY THE UNITED STATES: TO WHICH IS ADDED A CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRICES ON WHICH THEY ARE VALUED BY THE TARIFF OF CUBA, AND THE AND THE DUTIES CHARGED ON THEM.**

Joist or Scantling per m. feet	-	\$20	27½ p. ct.
Tar, bbl.	-	3	27½
Plough, each	-	6	27½
Rice, qq.	-	5	33½
Morocco, doz.	-	7.50	33½
Codfish, qq. lbs.	-	3.50	27½
Plaids, Scotch, not excedg. 38 inch. per yd.	-	0.25	33
Leather trunks each	-	8	33
Do. covered with hide	-	4	33½
Flannels, coarse, 6-4 yd. per yard	-	0.31	33½
do. to 55 in width do.	-	0.50	33½
Hogsheds, each	-	2	27½
Hogshedd Shooks	-	1	27½
Half boots, pair	-	3.50	33½
Boots, do.	-	5	33½
Brass manufactured, qq.	-	37.50	33
Mackerel, bls.	-	4.50	27½
Geldings, each	-	150	33½
Copper Boilers, qq.	-	37.50	27½
Settees, wood, each	-	10	33½
Negro cloths, yard	-	3	33½
Preserved meats, lb.	-	0.50	33½
Salt Beef, bls.	-	9	33½
Pork, do.	-	14	33½

Willow Wagons, do	-	12	33½
Carts, each	-	100	33½
Straw Wagons, do.	-	4	33½
Hogs, live, each	-	10	33½
Baskets, do.	-	1	27½
Copper nails	qq.	25	27½
Copper manufactured, do.	-	37.50	33½
Russia Sheetings, ordinary yd.	-	0	6433½
Cabs, Gigs, &c.	-	400	33½
Bureaus, each	-	25	33½
Small bureaus	-	12.50	33½
Cotton rope or cord, pieces	-	0	64
Staves, m.	-	25	33½
Floormatting, yd.	-	0	25
Oakum, qq.	-	4	do.
Fringe, cotton, piece	-	1	do.
do. silk, yd.	-	0.25	do.
Flannels, yd.	-	0.21	do.
Blankets, each	-	1.25	do.
Corn meal, bls.	-	5	do.
Flour, do. duty \$10.50.	-		
Sugar moulds—doz.	-	6	do.
Soap, barrel	-	2	do.
Cordage, qq.	-	12	do.
Pianaforte, each	-	300	27½
Bricks, m.	-	6	do.
Valise, leather, each	-	6	do.
do. for horsemen, do.	-	2	do.
Cotton Shawls, doz.	-	4.50	do.
do. Silk, ordinary, each	-	2	27½
Stockings, cotton, doz.	-	3.50	33½
do. wool, do.	-	4	do.
Merino, not exceeding one yard wide	-	0.37	do.
Tables, card, one leaf	-	10	do.
do. of two leafs	-	12	do.
Candlewick, arrs.	-	6.25	do.
Cotton handkerchiefs, doz.	-	1.75	do.
Potatoes, bls.	-	2.50	27½
Ruler paper, not exceeding 26 inches	-	6	33½
do. white do. do.	-	5	do.
do. do. do. 30	-	8	do.
do. letter	-	5	2.50 do.
Shot, qq.	-	5	27½
Powder, do.	-	18	27½
Oars, 100 feet	-	6.25	27½
Bags, doz.	-	2.25	27½
Silk sewing thread, lbs.	-	3	27½
Napkins, doz.	-	0.75	33½
Mahogany chairs, doz.	-	50	do.
Maple do. do.	-	31	do.
Ordinary do.	-	15.50	co.
Saddles	-	17	do.
Hats, each	-	3	do.
Boards, pine, m.	-	20	do.
do. maple, do.	-	25	do.
Shingles, - m.	-	3.75	27½
Sperm candles, qq.	-	32	27½
Tallow do. do.	-	12	27½
Shoes, men or boys, doz.	-	15	33½

**SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES OF IMPORTATION CHARGED WITH DUTIES; THE WAY IN WHICH THEY ARE TAXED, AND THOSE WHICH ARE FREE.**

The duty of 33½ per cent. is imposed on \$24 articles.	
do. 27½ do. do.	1,908 do.
do. from 2 to 2½ do. do.	13 do.
Free from duties	25 do.

⚠ The articles not valued nor precisely taxed by the Tariff, are appreciated discretionally, and charged with duties according to the price assigned to them.

This document alone, if examined with attention, will be sufficient to demonstrate plainly the innumerable and grave injuries which the producing classes of the United States, and the consumers of Cuba, suffer by the colonial system of Spain, which can find no better means for filling the royal coffers than multiplying the imposts with which it fetters, if it does not annihilate the commerce of its rich colony.

But to the considerations presented at the first view of this statement taken in connection with the former one, it is necessary to add some others which will naturally follow the examination. It must be observed that in the importation of certain articles of the first necessity and of great consumption in Cuba, the United States has but a small share, although, producing them in great abundance, of a superior quality, and having the advantage of a short and ready transportation, this country should be the sole purveyor. We said something of this in our last number with respect to flour and rice, but these observations can and ought to extend to many other objects of American industry. Potatoes and lard are two articles of not less importance than rice and flour. 30,000 barrels of potatoes; and nearly 18,000,000 lbs. of jerked beef; more than a million pounds of ham; 2,000,000 lbs. of salt pork and beef. Among other things \$400,000 in woolens; \$2,000,000 in cotton, and 1500,000 in lumber, all annually.

Those details added to the statement given at the commencement in the first article on annexation, serve to illustrate the question and show not only the importance of certain productions of American agriculture and manufactures, from the great consumption in the Island of Cuba, but the enormity of the duties with which the tariff of that government oppresses them, and the injury suffered in consequence by the commerce of this country in being prevented from taking the part it should in the importation of those articles by these excessive custom house exactions. But this is not all.

To understand the enormity of these duties the American merchant or producer must not calculate them in the proportion designated by the tariff, and which we copied in the statement referred to. There are many articles set down at 33½ per cent. which pay 67 per cent. This seems difficult to comprehend yet it is very easy of explanation. If the rate of so much per cent is laid on the price given to the article by the tariff of Cuba, and this is double its true value, it is clear that the actual per centage is also doubled. We will demonstrate this by some examples. If a thousand bricks worth in the United States six dollars are appreciated under the tariff of Cuba, at twelve, it is not the 33½ per cent. indicated which they pay, it is really 67 per cent.

This example will enable the reader to judge of all or the most part of our productions and with greatest reason when applied to manufactures or objects of luxury. On this last particular we refer to one of

the notes appended to article II. in number 27.

Still the injury would not be so great if it did not pass beyond the exorbitant sums which commerce is obliged to cast into the coffers of the colonial government of Cuba. Add to these the tonnage duty, which, as we have stated before, is \$1,50 per ton, and as the citizens of the United States, employ there about 240,000 tons in the importation in a year, it is evident they pay not less than \$360,000 on this item alone, after allowing for the exemption of vessels *entirely freighted* with molasses.

There are beside this, the fees of the Captain of the port for countersigning the roll; the anchorage &c; those demanded by the military government for passes for going by the forts on the bay, and the heavy emoluments of the Custom House interpreters which, according to the extension of the manifest and the increase of protests &c., vary from \$4 to \$12 or more, for each foreign vessel.

Add to the sum total of these damages, to the commerce of the United States, that and it is no small consideration, which results from the burden of the tariff on the Cuban productions. Only two articles are free by the tariff; all the rest, with the exception of three, pay at the rate of 7½ per cent. By necessary consequence of these heavy duties the Cuban buys dearer, consumes less and has to sell at a higher price, while the American imports less of their mutual productions and pays higher for what he buys.

With the data we have presented in connection with our brief commentaries, we doubt not that whoever reads them in good faith will understand and measure the evils inflicted by the actual political system of Cuba, on the trade of the United States with that island, and no one will doubt that all the industrial classes of the American people the agriculturist as well as the manufacturer, the artist as well as the mechanic, the small trader as well as the great merchant participate in the loss.

We return once more to the consideration of the consequences which in another article we pointed out as the infallible result of the political change in Cuba, if transformed into a state of the Union.

From the moment Cuba becomes an integral portion of the United States all the exactions, which now impede the advance and embarrass the course of the trade between the two countries will be at an end. In our article no. 2, we demonstrated, and in this prove more clearly, that we may calculate 35 per cent as the average duty in Cuba on articles of foreign production and traffic. It is inevitable then that



the removal of this burthen on production will be a common benefit to the producer, consumer and merchant.

If a quintal of codfish, which is worth \$2 in the American market, pays through its over-valuation in the Custom Houses of Cuba, 95½ cents. (when at its true value it should pay but 55.) it cannot be sold with profit, without adding this amount to the price of the article, and including also its proportion of all the other duties. Relieve this quintal of codfish from more than \$1, with which it is loaded by these duties, and the Cuban can buy it to that extent cheaper, and in greater quantity, and, at the same time, the American supplier secures a quicker and better price. The merchant would reap a considerable share in these advantages, gaining largely by the cessation of tonnage duties, anchorage, passes, &c. &c., in addition to the increased consumption which would follow the reduction of prices.

These would be the immediate and almost simultaneous effects of annexation: these would be the consequences the moment the star of Cuba is placed in the constellation of Washington.

We must insist on the rapid increase of the population of Cuba as one of the direct and immediate results of annexation. That it would multiply in a few years in a startling degree, we said in our last number. Some might distrust the prophecy if we based it on any political change that should carry Cuba into an absolute independence, but founded as our calculations were on the hypothesis of annexation, they were perfectly correct, and it will not be an arduous task to make this evident.

If Cuba were constituted an independent nation, it would be difficult to consolidate promptly a form of government, and a political and religious organization which would secure a staple future, and open its gates to the emigration which now evades its shores, but this would be but the work of a moment, when the island, escaping from the talons of Spain to the arms of the United States, entered into the enjoyment of the civil and religious liberty, and the moral and political force which

are the vital elements of the American constitution. The Catholic and the Protestant, the Quaker and the Lutheran; every sect and every party, can live together under the same sky, breathe the same air, think, speak, and act in every lawful occupation, without any restriction, yet always revolving in one circle—the common welfare; moving by one impulse—the virtue of labor; identified in one principle—the SOCIAL UNITY; sacred tripod, on which human perfection is throned, en Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

If proofs are required, if data is exacted, to sustain our positions, we can present coteremporaneous facts from the authentic and official documents of this republic, and they will not permit falsehood. The population of the States of New York and Alabama doubled in 15 years, (1830 to 1845); that of Indiana in 10, (1810 to 1820), and increased six-fold in 20, (1820 to 1840); that of Missouri tripled in 10, (1830 to 1840); and quintupled in 15, (1830 to 1845); that of Michigan sextupled in 10, (1830 to 1840); and increased nine-fold in 15 years, (1830 to 1845); and finally, to give the clearest proof of the happy influence of the free and wise institutions of this republic, on the augmentation of the population. Wisconsin increased hers seven-fold in 5 years—from 1840 to 1845.

It is necessary to remark, that when our Cuban readers observe this extraordinary increase of American population, they must notice that it is not a question of trifling numbers, but of hundreds of thousands, and of millions of inhabitants, in places which do not owe this increase to especial or accidental causes, but, as we have said, to the steady and progressive influence of the political, religious, and moral elements of this confederacy, and its local advantages. And what place is better situated than the Island of Cuba? We shall speak of this when we shall examine the physical part of this island, so much favored by Providence.

The narrow limits of our periodical, and the superabundance of other subjects no less interesting, compel us to suspend our remarks, to resume them in our next number.



## ARTICLE IV.

When we state the physical advantages of Cuba and lightly sketch the prospect of its immense natural riches, and the abundance of raw materials which it can supply for many and new kinds of manufactures, we only pointed out the subject on account of its importance and latitude deserves to be treated of separately. We promised to speak of it in this number of our periodical; but we believe that the readers of *La Verdad* will gladly excuse us this day and accept in its stead another subject which appears to us necessary in order that the first part of the question embraced in this series of articles may be at once clearly and fully set before them. We consider as an appendix thereof the notions which we intend to present, relative to the geographical circumstances, to the climate, salubrity vegetables, animal and mineral riches of Cuba &c. for the purpose of giving the last touch to the picture of the advantages to be derived from its annexation in a mercantile point of view.

We indeed believe that the data, and evidence presented by us in our preceding articles are sufficient to make an enlightened and calculating people as that of the United-States, sensible of the importance of this question, not only extremely and vitally interesting to the oppressed Colony but equally so to this nation, and to all nations of America.

But in order to relieve the memory of our readers, and to make the way more easy to a complete understanding of the subject we beg leave here to review the capital points of this first part of the question. We wish only to premise an idea which was not mentioned by us before. This idea is that the emancipation of Cuba, its complete liberty, its free aggrandizement and the enjoyment of the advantages offered by all this to America, and particularly to the people of the United-States, are facts which should have taken place as early as in the year 1826, as we shall prove before we conclude this present article.

Let us now recapitulate, as we stated the most essential points of our thesis.

FIRST.—It is demonstrated that the products of all kinds of industry in the United States bear the enormous burden of 35 per cent. when imported in Cuba, in consequence of the oppressive tariff of its Colonial Government.

SECONDLY.—That, as the United States import annually in the Island of Cuba the amount of \$11,000,000, they pay to the

Custom-houses of that country upwards of \$3,500,000.

THIRDLY.—That they pay also for tonnage duty annually to the same Government, at the rate of \$1,50 per ton, more than 240,000 American tons being employed in that trade for the importation, the sum of \$360,000, and upwards.

FOURTHLY.—That instead of importing in Cuba *american* products to the amount of upwards of \$20,000,000, they only import to the amount of less than \$6,000,000.

FIFTHLY.—That the United States, instead of employing in the trade of Cuba for its importation and exportation 1,000,000 of tons, and upwards, they only employ 476,773 tons.

SIXTHLY.—That the people of the United States, which at present pay from \$25 to \$40 a thousand, for manufactured tobacco of Cuba, and in the same proportion for the leaf of tobacco, sustain a great prejudice, which would have been alleviated during these twenty years by its emancipation; for on its being independent it would have regulated its tariff in a manner favorable to this country, or if already annexed it would trade freely with all the States of the Confederacy.

SEVENTHLY.—That the people of the United States should have for these 20 years almost universally supplied with sugars and molasses; for the island of Cuba, if free since 1826, and annexed or allied, to the United-States, American people devoted to the culture and prosperity of its agricultural wealth, would not only have promoted the improvement of this branch of its trade, but of all its trade as its general factor, and secured by the introduction of their machinery, of their knowledge of cultivation a marked preference in favour of Cuban products.

EIGHTHLY.—That the advantages which the annexation of Cuba promised to this country particularly, should not be calculated only on its present condition, but on the supposition that they should be doubled in every successive year after its political change; for if in many states of the Union the number of inhabitants has been trebled in ten years, and even in five, there is no reason to doubt that the same thing should happen in the Island of Cuba, under the free and wise institutions of this Republic, for there is no territory offering more attractions to immigration nor more flattering prospect to individuals of all industrial classes who might go in that country; vast and very fertile lands still uncultivated,

an eternal spring, none of the rigors of winter, a benign and salubrious climate; these are indisputably circumstances which offer the most convenient and rapid means of prosperity to the workman established in Cuba, however limited his capital may be in specie, and he may even assure as a certainty, that the possession of a small lot of ground, the power of a vigorous arm, virtue of labour, with economy, are sufficient to produce in the space of a few years one of those fortunes which abound so much in our country, notwithstanding the restrictions and oppressions of a bad government. The inclemency of the winter neither interrupts there the occupations of the agriculturist, nor is he compelled to incur any extraordinary expense for his clothing, for he does not need either cloth or flannels; the extreme fertility of the land saves the large expense and labour of the husbandman, and the costs of manure; all plants produce with very little exception, twice a year; one crop follows immediately the other, without any greater delay than is necessary to gather and sow; and at the same time many articles of first necessity such as the sugar-cane, coffee, cocoa, bananas, &c. it is sufficient to consign to the earth once the seed, to gather for many subsequent years and generations the fruits of labour.

NINTHLY.—That Cuba, thanks to extraordinary and privileged geographical situation, in immediate contact with Cape-Sable, the southern extremity of the United-States and with Cape-Catoche, the most projecting point of Yucatan is the Key of the american gulph, in the waters of which now those great and magnificent rivers of the West discharge themselves, enriched by the tributary rivers of the interior of those regions, as far as California; and of all the coasts towards the Pacific, a new way of communication, which will necessarily be opened in a short time across Mexico, will put in communication again with Africa and Europe, the East with the West, and the gate leading to this thoroughfare of nations, the predestined emporium of this universal trade, is the Island of Cuba, which appears purposely placed where it lies, with this intent, by the hand of nature.

TENTHLY.—That, as a necessary consequence from the premises, Cuba should in the supposition of annexation, to the common centre of the mercantile transactions of the whole world, and either by reason of its peculiar shape, its numberless ports, its position in the chain of the islands extending towards the north, the East and

the south, or of its natural wealth. if it should be with a political change as that which we wish for, if its soil should become populous as it is possible, if its surface should be crossed by a net of railroads, if steamers and every description of coasting vessels should float on her rivers, the island of Cuba would be for the newworld, what England is, in the midst of her prosperity, for the old. What does Cuba need for all this? Liberty, encouragement, Protection. These circumstances not attainable by it, but through the political change which we pointed out.

On presenting to our readers the foregoing recapitulation of the principal points relative to the first part of the question which now engages our attention, we confidently trust that, as well by reason of the authenticity of the data, as of the exactness of the observations and consequences which we have produced, they will not doubt the truth of our assertions.

And why does the Island of Cuba still remain under the same political regimen, to the prejudice of all America, and especially of the United-States? This question can be easily answered. We would answer: because the government of the United-States did not look with the interest to which it is entitled, that part of America so important under all aspects, because said government did not foresee, or did not wish to foresee the mercantile, political and military influence of Cuba in the New World; because said government did not comprehend, or did not notice the intrests of all industrial classes of this people, with respect to a country which opens to the American masses an inexhaustible source of incalculable labour, wealth, and well being!

If in 1826, when the deliverer of Colombia, Simon Bolivar, the William Tell of America, conceived the project of freeing Cuba, and Port-Rico, from the yoke of the Metropolis, the cabinet of Washington, had not opposed the undertaking the two pearls of the impoverished crown of Spain should not still remain in America, to the injury of free America, and above all to the mortification of the enlightened, fortunate, Republican nation, which take the lead of Western Civilization. Why did not the fragile domination of Europe receive then the mortal blow in the new-world? Columbia Chili and Mexico conceived then the idea of saving the two only colonies which remained under the Spanish yoke in the New World. The great Assembly of the southern Republics convened at Panamá sanctioned the project; the land and sea forces of those three states were disposed to cooperate in the undertaking, in concert with

the Cuban people: all was ready for the extermination of the dominion of an European people who in order to snatch by violence premature crops from America, had caused its virgin and productive fields to be irrigated with tears and blood.

The cause of Liberty, the cause of Humanity, and Civilization, the general interests of the West, the very conveniencies of the United States, all, all, was forgotten: the Cabinet of Washington, openly opposed that holy crusade, for the complete American Redemption, and did not permit the regenerating sparks of the purification flame which had been heroically kindled on the continent by the Anglo-Americans themselves, to pass over to the Archipelago of the West Indies!

Not only from that very period the Spanish domination in America would have been at an end, and in a short time the destruction of that of the two other European powers in the New World would have been prepared, but Spanish despotism being dislodged from its last intrenchments, it would not have preserved in Cuba and Port Rico two nests apt to produce hopes of reconquering its last possessions: Southern America being then free from a mortal foe, moved by pecuniary incentives, and by national pride would have run with gigantic steps towards its aggrandizement, prosperity and perfection: Northern America, completely purified, would have enjoyed with the rights of its superiority in age, wisdom, and government, the advantages which her younger sister was offering her. The American unity should have been obtained, rooted, perpetrated, with the prosperity and happiness of the people of the New-World, and the people on this side of the Atlantic should have been spared many troubles and sufferings, many scandalous and ignominious scenes of blood and tears which cause the voice of Humanity to be raised to Heaven since it is not listened to on Earth.—

The American Government assumed a very heavy responsibility by a deed, the evil consequences of which cannot almost be in any way alleviated: the American Government ought to account to the people of the United States for the millions lost in their trade with Cuba in the space of twenty years: the American Government, in short, should be answerable to men and to God, for the ruins, the tears, and the blood occasioned by a war waged against some of the new-born Republics of the Continent, on the first days of their infancy, by the vile intrigues and practices of tyrannical Spain, in consequence of its remaining, by virtue of the opposition of

the American Government, possessed of Cuba and Porto Rico, where hopes of reconquest were fostered.

We would wish to have omitted a fact like this, the only one which tarnishes the lustre and well-deserved reputation of the freest and wisest Cabinet of both worlds; —we would wish to tear from its diplomatic history, a page containing such an oblivion, not to say abandonment of the most vital principle of the policy of the American Union. But neither our conscience does permit this, nor are we authorized to sacrifice the truth to secondary considerations, nor would be free from guilt, by our concealment of an act which has been one of the principal causes of the misfortunes of Mexico, of Colombia, of Panama, of New Granada, and of Cuba and Porto Rico; the last of which are still unredeemed victims. Neither speaking to the people of the United States of their material interests, of their mercantile conveniencies, with respect to Cuba, can we neglect to mention that the opposition of their Government to the Independence of that Island in 1826 has occasioned, and still occasions, to the industrial masses of this country, the enormous damages and losses which can be calculated, on viewing our preceding recapitulation? How many millions of dollars paid by American traders in the coffers of the Colonial Government of Cuba? How many millions lost by American producers, in consequence of the independence of a country having been prevented, which was to be supplied by them? Let an account be made out, showing both these items in the space of these twenty years, and the sum will be frightful, but in accordance with truth.

And if the people of the United States have a motive to disapprove the conduct of a Government which has deprived them of so many material advantages, how great a ground of complaint will not the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico have against this same Government, which, instead of favoring, or at least being neutral in the cause of emancipation, since it did not act in conformity with its true and proper mission of American deliverer, would leave them unmercifully as the last victims in the claws of the tiger to be torn to pieces.

We leave to the judicious consideration of our readers this fact and these reflections, which do not appear to us of little importance in a question as the present, in which the political, moral, and material interests of civilized America are so intimately connected with those of the whole human race.



(From No. 10 of "LA VERDAD.")

As I perceive in some newspapers published in the United States the charge brought against the Cubans, that they prefer slavery and the sepulchral tranquillity in which they live, rather than expose themselves to make any sacrifice to exchange their situation, (without denying that some of them have reached such a degree of debasement) I have collected the facts which follow, herein inserted. They will inform you about the character of the Cubans in general, and will show that if there were times when, for motives unconnected with servility or abjection, they put up patiently with tyranny, the latter should have debased them in the extreme, should they continue silent, and without shaking it off.

With respect to the American Government, it is very unpleasant to me that it does not occupy a more enviable place in this matter; yet it has become indispensable to assign to it the place which it justly deserves, in order to clear up the truth; and the facts which I quote are free from all aggravating circumstances.

Being fond of truth, you must be fond also of justice, and, relying upon this, I do not hesitate to submit to your judgment my observations, in order that you may give them a place in your ladyship's valuable periodical, should you think proper so to do, being sure that by so doing you will confer a favor upon one who is, very respectfully,

your ladyship's

Most obedient servant, B.

The island of Cuba being situated so near to the American Union, the liberal institutions of which, and the blessings arising from them to the people, are well known to the Cubans, who can compare them with the tyrannical system prevailing in Cuba, from which only evils and miseries originate: and its white population being in imminent danger of seeing even the hopes of its well-being blasted for ever, the metropolis being unable to remedy the evils, or to prevent the Cubans from providing for their safety, should they undertake so to do, it appears strange that they seem torpid; and their apparent apathy, together with the calumny published by some person, to wit: "that nobody in Cuba wishes for independence," may give rise

to the opinion, in those who do not know what has happened and what actually happens in Cuba, and that the Cubans are imbeciles and unworthy of being free. Would to heaven it were so easy to remedy the evils, as to dissipate this calumny, prove that the Cubans have constantly striven to gain the independence of Cuba, and that loyalty or sympathy to a tyrannical government, is an exotic plant in a Cuban breast!

The chief cause why the Cubans have not broken the chains which oppress them, and why they have not risen to the rank of freemen, as all of them are anxious to do is, that the Government of the United States has rivetted those very same chains! There is no statesman or diplomatist who does not know it! If this has been just, the whole world will decide. In defence of the Cubans, it is our duty to prove the truth of our assertion, and we shall do so, by alleging authentic facts which derive their origin from the period when the deeds and the immortal name of General Bolivar became familiar to the Cubans and that the tyranny became insufferable. From that very time never have the Cubans ceased to exert themselves within and without the island in behalf of that beloved country. An extensive scheme of conspiracy having proved abortive in consequence of inexperience, in 1823, the same task was pursued with zeal in the country, and the assistance of Colombia and Mexico was solicited, and with that aid the blow was preparing which was to have imparted freedom to Cuba and Porto Rico in 1826, when the American Government being informed of that undertaking (combined already at that time by the Republics of Mexico and Chili, in concert with Cuba and Porto Rico, and sanctioned by the American Assembly convened at Panama) the President made a special message on the 15th of March, 1826, and sent it to Congress, stating the undertaking, and giving assurance that he would not spare any effort tending to support the authority of Spain on the *ill-fated* Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; in consequence of that fatal declaration, by his order, notice thereof was given to the Representatives at those Republics, and to those of the governments of France and England, thereby interesting all in so strange a crusade.



Thus was frustrated the undertaking as great as the glory of the hero who conceived it, and who was to achieve the signal deed of the redemption of all Southern America.

Bolivar, triumphant over the Spaniards in Peru, where, at the very beginning of 1268, by the capture of Callao he completed the undertaking of the independence of the southern continent, causing the Spanish flag to disappear for ever from that hemisphere, was at the head of an army of 20,000 men, and upwards, victorious, inured to war, unemployed, ambitious of glory, and as anxious as his worthy Chief to drive the common enemy from his last hold. Mexico and Chili were also tranquil and unemployed; Mexico with more soldiers than she wanted, and Chili with a strong navy, and all animated by the same patriotic sentiments as those of Colombia.

Were not these authentic facts, I would omit the answer which General Bolivar gave at Caracas in the same year, 1826, to the commission of Cubans, some of whom had just arrived, and others had accompanied him at the campaign of Peru. In a sorrowful accent he told them, "We cannot set at defiance the American Government, in conjunction with that of England, determined on maintaining the authority of Spain over the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; although that determination will keep us in constant alarm, and will occasion to us much expense, in order to repel any attempt which our tenacious enemy might make from those Islands. If the great mind and genius of Bolivar was compelled to stop, is it surprising that the Cubans, being *alone*, and persecuted within and without by the enemies of their liberty, have been also compelled to stop and act slowly and cautiously? How much must the indomitable mind of that great man have suffered, in seeing himself stopped in his glorious career by the founders of the independence of the world of Columbus!

In 1827 the white population of Cuba (together with the transient people, who are computed to be 30,000) amounted to 341,051, and that of the people of color to 393,436. The army stationed in the Island at that period, of 4,000 men, of which number it consisted in 1823, had increased to a little less than 6,000, in consequence of the addition made to it in that year and in 1824, of the remnant of the troops a thousand times routed and put to flight in Colombia; and of those which had at length surrendered by capitulation at Porto Cabello in 1823, and at Maracaibo in 1824; the former to the hero of Venezuela, the invincible General Paez, the latter to the

always victorious hero of Maracaibo, General Padilla. The garrison of Cuba was disseminated over all the territory of the Island in parties of 10 to 600 men; from Cienfuegos to Port Principe, a central and most populous part of Cuba, and where less people of color are to be found; the number of soldiers, those of all detachments being counted, did not amount to one thousand; the greatest part of them was at Port Principe, which was garrisoned by the regiment of Leon with a little more than 500 men, and two companies of those that had capitulated at Maracaibo; in the interesting castle of Xagua, only 12 men and a lieutenant were to be found, and the plot had been formed to seize on them, to enable the Columbian troops to occupy it. The Columbian fleet was so much superior to the Spanish that it frequently blockaded the principal ports of the Island, and it is notorious that Porto Cabello would never have surrendered if Spain had had vessels to protect it. The Spanish fleet was to be burnt in the Port of Havana.

The ardor for independence which characterizes the Cubans was so manifest and general that in the year 1825, a very extensive conspiracy was formed against the government, the nucleus of which was in the Havana, and its ramifications extended to all the principal towns of the Island. Unfortunately all the plot was discovered; the conspirators were surprised, and persecuted, or those that could not escape or conceal themselves until they could leave the country, imprisoned. T. Peoli and J. Lemus, the ringleaders, and both military men, were thrown in prison, and with them many more of the conspirators; and by far a larger number concealed themselves in fields, and those who could, and they were not few, left the country, and took refuge in the United States, Columbia and Mexico. Peoli who escaped from his dungeon, which was afterwards occupied by the Cuban officer under whose custody the former was, this same officer who also escaped, Lemus who had fled from Sevilla, the Guerras, Castillos, Arangos, Arias, Tolou, Rojas, Heras, Sanches, Heredias, Laras, &c. &c. Some of them took service in the armies of those Republics, and others joined the diplomatic corps; all of them were kindly received by their chiefs Victoria and Bolivar; who encouraged them, and flattered them with the promise that when the Spanish dominion should be extinguished on the Continent, they would help them to strike the last blow at it in Cuba.

The plan of the conspiracy, some weapons, the proclamations, and the standards, all fell in the hands of the Government;

and these and all the papers were decreed to be burnt, and were in fact burnt by the hand of the executioner in the public square, and in the presence of the troops fully displayed.

On considering the state of defence of the Island, (which should more properly be called no defence,) the proportion between the white population and that of color, the love of independence of its inhabitants, all which, we are sure, was known to the government of the United States, what moved it to prevent the combined forces of Columbia, Mexico and Chili, intermixed with Cuba and Porto Rico officers, well disciplined, and of every grade, with General Valero, the brave conqueror of Callao from Porto Rico, at their head, should assail the expiring power in Cuba and Porto Rico, and destroy that nest of *royal* iniquities by which the Hispano-American race is scorched.

According to our mode of thinking, the government of the United States was deceived by that most keen English Minister, Mr. Canning, who, as he gave a political existence to the New World, to preserve the political balance (which circumstance he stated in full Parliament,) was willing then to preserve to Spain the Island of Cuba, in order to snatch it from her afterwards.

However, the Cubans did not lose courage; and although their efforts were not efficacious, they will not be lost; they will not falter, although their inconveniences be multiplied, and although the enemies of independence may disgorge blasphemies and anathemas by thousands.

The American government has ratified afterwards that fatal determination, keeping thus open the *only* way by which crafty England may carry into effect her double project of levelling the flourishing condition of agriculture in Porto Rico and Cuba, to the miserable one in which the West India islands are, accomplishing her ambitious object of establishing a Gibraltar at the West end of Cuba, from which at her pleasure she may watch and contemplate the Mexican Gulf, and secure to herself *free* ingress and egress, and close the canal of scarcely 30 leagues between Cuba and Yucatan, should she set foot on that Peninsula, where her ships of war as early as 1801 found a sure anchorage in the island of Women, (*Mugeres*) situate at the east of the peninsula, and contiguous to Cape *Catoche*.

It is flattering for us now-a-days to see that the American government has changed its policy to a favorable one with respect to the general interests of the New World; and every thing induces us to believe that Cuba, being one of the most important sections thereof, and the interests of the U. S. being closely connected with that island, the latter will not be considered an exception.

We might add a great deal to what precedes, but we believe that what we stated is more than sufficient to show the apparent cause of the lethargy of Cubans: that the love of independence is burning in their breast, that the government of the United States has been the step-father of the weak and oppressed Cuba, and that he, whoever he be, is a calumniator or a fool, who affirms that "the Cubans are contented with Spanish Despotism."

In confirmation of our opinions, we have thought proper, and at the same time pleasant to the readers, to adjoin the extract of a letter from a competent judge—from the Commercial Agent of the United States in Nuevitas—where sufficient data and proofs will be found of our assertions.

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A LETTER FROM GEORGE LEIGHTON DITSON, LATE UNITED STATES VICE-CONSUL AT NUEVITAS, TO THE EDITOR OF THE MERCHANT'S MAGAZINE.

WHEN the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one side, what have we to expect but that their political rights should be deserted and betrayed, in the same proportion on the other?—JUNIUS.

Is there then a nation, who, by its supineness, consummate ignorance, or studied untractableness, so far overlooks its own interests as to disregard the well-being and support of its subjects by not protecting their labor and encouraging habits of industry? Spain once had her effective fleets, commanded the commerce, and was almost mistress of the world; but what is she now? Her island colony, Cuba, it is said, during the eighty years immediately preceding 1800, built something like 120 vessels of war, carrying between 5,000 and 6,000 guns. Her present navy consists of one frigate, two steamers, (built in the United States,) and a few small craft of from one to fifteen guns each. The discontent of the subjects at home, of the mother country, make her revolutions a stereotype article in our press; but as our object is Cuba, let us look for a moment to the policy she pursues towards this, almost the only valuable foreign possession she has left of the numerous ones which once enriched her coffers, the others having, one by one, after enduring as long as possible the same irrational system of oppression which this island now suffers, shaken off the yoke, and declared themselves "free and independent." These republics, thus impelled into existence, Spain, though reluctantly, has been obliged to recognise, as well as yield up an annual revenue of more than \$50,000,000; yet never, it would seem, has she learned by these sad losses, one single simple lesson of lenity or of wisdom.

A recent writer, in his "Notes on Cuba," says: "The people are taxed beyond any other known community, its half million whites paying annually more than \$12,000,000,\* but a trifling portion of which is expended in the island in other than means to keep them in subjection." Almost every new *general* who has dominated over the island since the time of Tacón, has, for the purpose of making the revenue more considerable, and thus gratifying the rapaciousness of its benevolent parent, added a new item to the already existing long list of duty *addendas*. Besides this, the more fixed laws grant one-tenth of all the *ganado* of the farmers to the church, and 6 per cent has to be paid to government on the gross amount of sales of land, mines, houses, negroes, &c.; and it is estimated that the item of only this last impost, was, in 1843, upwards of \$4,000,000. The encouragement given to the influx of foreigners, (the value of which to any territory we will not enlarge upon here,) who are so narrowly watched as so many *bandileros*, amounts to this: every one on arriving has to present his passport, which has cost \$2; but this not being sufficient and apparently of no use, he has to give a security (*a fiador*) for his conduct. His baggage is minutely examined, and such books, if he has them, as *Vólney's Ruins*, *The Inquisition*, (which is probably too significant, and the *BIBLE*, are taken from him. In some places a

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\* At present \$20,000,000.—*La Verdad*.



*carta de domicilio* must also be obtained, and every person in whose house he sleeps must report him to the authorities. If he wish to go into the interior of the country, another passport is required at a cost of two shillings, and this has to be shown in each district through which he passes, to the captain *de partido*. When he leaves the island, then comes the last fond grip upon his purse. He has to obtain another passport. A few years ago, one cost only \$2; soon after the price was \$4; and last year \$7 50 was paid. Such is the character of the rapid increase of taxation and oppression; and I have often in silence shuddered at the thought, that the acme of endurance must ere long be reached.

If a heavy or even an enormous duty was laid on the luxuries and fancies of life, few would have cause to complain; but the reverse is the case. Domestic industry, the sweat of the poor man's brow, the home-man's toil, bear the burden; all the necessaries of life, being the especial objects, it would seem, of heavy taxation; and the church lends willingly her helping hand to keep in the humility of poverty the most industrious class. † Flour, for instance, with a duty of \$10 50 per barrel, can be used only by the richer portion of the inhabitants, while the indigent and laboring are driven for sustenance to a miserable substitute—the tasteless, nourishless bread of the casave root. This is not all of the burden which in reality rests upon them. Besides the tax on the produce of the farms, on the transfer of property, on imported articles, there is also a heavy duty on the exports.

What is the natural tendency of all this, and what must be the inevitable results? As the products of even excessive physical exertions are not sufficient to enable the producer to live well himself, clothe or educate his children, he falls into a state of unenviable indolence and idleness, and consequent dissipation of all his energies, leaves his farm for the gambling-house, the cock-pit, or the night highway, and becomes a useless, if not a dangerous member of society. He does not, for he dares not, openly and boldly set at defiance the laws, and speak out plainly of grievances and redress, but his heart is nevertheless justly in rebellion, though he answers only by a shrug of the shoulders a question as to the cause of his discontent. He feels, as everything but a senseless brute must, the never-loosened yoke, and the government give very significant expression of their knowledge of it by increasing the number of troops when they increase the taxes. It is well they do so, for I believe it only needs a union of the

abundant material existing at the present time in the island, to make the mother country deeply and lastingly regret the high-handed and impolitic system of oppression, which she has so long unjustly exercised over her once manly, but now humiliated, degraded, and almost worthless subjects; and a union of those materials, it appears to me, must inevitably take place, and the consequent results will be the same as those which now shed such a bright and sacred halo around the glorious republics of the South; though, in this case, if the United States look well to their own interests, they may add the richest of jewels to the girdle of their conquests.

Stability of character is as necessary for a government, in order to obtain a respectable standing, as it is for an individual. But what, for the last few years, has indicated the course of the political atmosphere of Spain, better than the shifting weathercock system pursued towards Cuba. In one thing only has this royal mother been stable,—in an unswerving course of exaction. Under the old and favorable mining laws of that country, foreigners, as well as natives, were allowed to work mines (all of which belong to the crown) and export ores free of imposts for ten years from the commencement of operations. Several persons, known to me, were thus induced to carry into the island, and invest in that species of enterprise, large sums of money. When well embarked in the undertaking, a new law was promulgated by Espartero, that after February, 1845, no more copper ores should be shipped, and all that were exported from the time of issuing the order to that date, were to be bonded, to pay an undefined duty when called for. The mines had also to be bonded for the same effect. When February came, came a new order to grant an extension of two years, and a deposit of 5 per cent on ores shipped up to that time, after which all were to be smelted in the island. Petition after petition was forwarded to the proper authorities, showing in the most conclusive and incontestable manner, the injustice that had been done to those who had bought or discovered mines, and invested capital, under the apparent security of laws which allowed them the privilege of exporting copper ten years without paying any custom dues whatsoever. The result was a slight reduction of the impost.

But this is not a solitary instance of that instability and entire abandonment, so prejudicial to their own interests, of all moral obligations and "good faith." The seaport of Nuevitas is large and commo-



dious; and, though the entrance to its channel is obscure, and somewhat dangerous, it offered many inducements to merchants, and did bid fair to rival the most flourishing cities of the island. Traders from Europe and the North, established commercial houses and built their stores at the edge of the water, extended out wharves by permission of government, and made such arrangements for the loading and unloading of merchandise as are deemed indispensable in all maritime ports. Things were going on well, business increasing, and lumber and stone were being brought from abroad to build larger warehouses along the *Marina*, when an extraordinary mandate issued from Havana, that not only no more buildings should be erected along the shore, but every store and house which had not between it and the water the space of fifty yards, should be torn down; and if not done by the owners themselves, within the space of six months from the publication of the *bando*, it would be enforced by the authorities. Neither the one nor the other has been accomplished, but the effect has been to paralyze the trade of the place, and the warehouses are now falling to ruin: for the merchants begin to believe that it is safer to withdraw than to proceed on such unstable dependencies: in fact, the result of such an impolitic and uncommercial measure is already too apparent.

Another instance of the intelligence which guides the affairs of that island, occurred a few years ago, I am credibly informed, in Matanzas. A company had been organized for the purpose of running some steamboats to several of the principal ports along the Northern coast, and as there was no convenient landing-place at Matanzas; they offered to build, at their own expense, a long, substantial, and commodious wharf, with all the necessary fixtures—cranes, rails, steps, &c.—which should be equally for the use of the government as for themselves—a great convenience to the whole community. But the proposal was rejected on the plea that a few thieving boatmen, who got their living mostly by boating goods and passengers from vessels to the surf and from the shore to the vessels, would be thrown entirely out of employment, and consequently starve; or, if rightly interpreted, that the government would lose the pittance, the sale of licenses to these men added to the treasury; seeming indifferent to the fact that whatever facilitates commerce usually increases it, and that consequently the imagined evil would find an ample remedy.

In reference again to the mining laws, nothing could be so advantageous to the

Island of Cuba as to allow free exportation of copper and other minerals from her shores, and the working of her mines under all the protection it is possible for the government to give. The islanders themselves will not work the mines, not only because they have no experience in the business, but that they have so many other modes of investing capital suited to their tastes; so that it becomes necessary—and the government doubtless understood the subject perfectly, when the old *Codigo de Mineria* was made—not only to allow foreigners to have the same privileges as natives, in mine discoveries and grants, but to encourage them by every judicious statute, to bring into the country as much foreign capital, intelligence, and white physical force, as possible. The new laws—first of bonding, then of 5 per cent, then of prohibition—were in no way called for by the effects of the previous protective system, unless prosperity and the blessings of well-paid industry, wherever foreign enterprise and lavish expenditure appeared, should seem to demand them. The town of St. Jago de Cuba has been mostly built, sustained, and enriched, by the English capitalists, who poured into that region countless thousands, accompanied by some of the most intelligent discoverers, miners, assayers, and practical geologists, of which the country could boast; and though, some say, and I believe with much truth—two-thirds of all the unacclimated die there annually: still hundreds after hundreds go out from England, more particularly from Cornwall, to work the mines of *Cobre*. The result is, their industry loads scores of finely appointed vessels, each month, at St. Jago, with the richest of ores. For ten years, those mining companies had the privilege of exporting these products *free of duty*. Did Spain—Did the island government—did St. Jago, or the country people of that region lose anything by this? Has the treasury been impoverished? Was the soil made barren? Were the inhabitants distressed? On the contrary, the vast number of vessels brought into port by this business, by their tonnage dues and numerous other port expenses, and the amounts necessary to carry on such extensive works, crowded the coffers with English gold, improved the town, and gave a happy independence to hundreds of *paisanos*, who raised cattle, tilled the soil, or sought labor in the mines.

The beautiful little settlement of San Fernando, at the base of the *Bermío* Mountains, about forty miles from *Sin-fuegos*, or *Xara*—so pleasingly nestled down in the valley of the *Sombra*, that

Dr. Wolf, an eminent linguist, and for several years resident there as director for a Boston and Cuba mining company, called it the "Happy Valley of Rasselas," and to whom, as a lover of books, and solitude, and magical scenery, it was even so—had fortunes poured into it by American capitalists. A magnificent road was opened to it from the sea-shore. The business brought to the merchants of Cienfuegos by its produce enriched them. The ships which were frequently seen entering that harbor to carry off its mineral wealth—the mines of San Fernando, yielding the most valuable class of ores—by their ordinary expenses profited the government,

while the neighboring industrious *montunos* blessed the foreigner.

The mines of Bayatavo commenced under the same favorable auspices as the above—countenanced and protected by the laws, as one of those branches of industry which could not be too carefully fostered. But before they had well advanced into profitable operation, that strange hallucination, which I have before spoken of, seized on the new ministry, and that which had been in its every feature the very greatest blessing to the island, was now crippled and restricted by unjust and impolitic laws, and burdenced by heavy taxes.

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The area of the U. States is taken from the National Geography, by J. Goodrich, 1846.

The area of Cuba is taken from H S. Tanner's Map, published in 1831.



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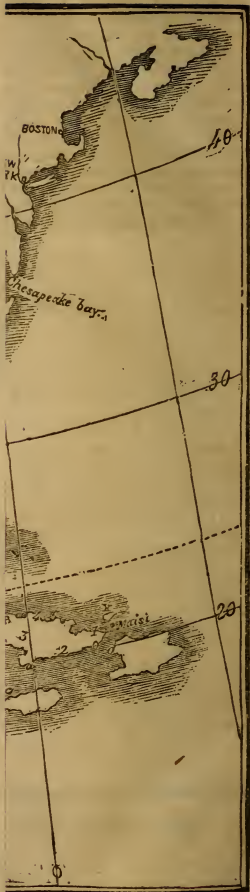
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# OF THE ADVANTAGES WHICH THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA OFFERS TO AMERICA, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

## ARTICLE V.

If in the first part of the series of our articles on this subject we have shown to the Capitalists, and industrial classes of the United-States, the great and incalculable advantages which the annexion of Cuba offers them; if we have made palpably known the interest which the owners of land, agriculturists, manufacturers and traders have in the accomplishment of this event; if we have spoken to the businessman with undeniable data and numbers; if we have addressed the understanding and the heart of the statesman of every party of the progress-men who are at the head of American Civilization and of the cause of humanity, if these are the facts, the second topic of the question, which is our subject to day, appears to us *no* less important. Besides the aforementioned classes, there are many others in this people, who should have a considerable share in the benefits of annexion, and must feel even a more lively interest in and, to say so, a more imperious need of, the event in favour of which we are pleading. It will be easily understood that we are alluding to that large portion of the American people who, whether native or immigrated from other regions, possessing no other capital but their labour, find every day less easy the means of subsistence offered by this country, where the abundance of men who want employment produces in every kind of industry numerous and indefatigable competitors. The increase of this class arising from an increasing and prodigious immigration, steadily multiplies these difficulties, and will ultimately frustrate the sacrifices of the man emigrating in search of his well being, if a new path do not open to labour, and new means are not procured to supply the necessities of this multitude. It is true that there remains still a larger field in the territories of the West; but how great a difference there is between these remote and wild asperities, and the near, rich and delicious Cuba! To show evidently this truth is the principal object of this article, and the subsequent ones, before examining the question under a political and military point of view.

This second part of our series is then another, and new branch of our observations, although it pends to the same principal and which we propose to ourselves in our progress.

And on entering in this essential part of our task, we deem proper to make a declaration to our readers which we consider consonant to the good faith and candor with which every fair writer ought to treat his question. Some body might perhaps object to us that the undertaking which we have openly entered on demonstrating to the masses of this people and of all America the advantages of incorporating Cuba with the North American Union, is rather the *off spring* of our interest than of the wish of favoring the *interest of others*. We might seem hypocrites if we should absolutely deny this assertion; but our own interest is so much connected, and identified with the interest of the masses whom we endeavour to persuade, that although we should proceed only actuated by mere selfishness, the result would be a common benefit. If on any circumstance whatsoever the interests of different parties are variously connected and one of them takes the initiative, and shows to the other parties the advantage that such or such result should occasion to them, shall the other parties be deaf to the voice of reason by which they are convinced? Will it be proper for them to refuse their consent to own utility only because the party who demonstrates it to them, is moved to action by his own interest, in order to induce others to co-operate with him to attain the intent?

Let us now leave aside this incidental digression, occasioned by a scruple of our conscience as writers, and let us immediately enter into the new field in which we have promised to enter in the course of our journey.

The Island of Cuba is sufficiently known here, as well on account of its vicinity, as of its commercial relations, and the frequent mutual intercourse between the inhabitants of both countries. Therefore we shall not expatiate on common notions,





although we shall do so on others which may not be so familiar to the generality of the people, and the clear knowledge of which is consistent with our undertaking.

Cuba, the largest of the greater Antilles, extends from Cape Mayzi on the E. to Cape S. Antonio on the W., in a curved line of 790 miles. It is 117 miles wider, in the broadest part, from Maternillos Point on the N. to the western point of Mota Cove on the S., 21 miles E. of Cape Cruz. The narrowest part of the island is 22 miles from the mouth of *Bahia del Mariel* on the N. to the Cove of Mayana on the S. From Habana to Batabanó it is 28 miles. Near the centre of the island, the breadth N. S. is about 75 miles.

The Periphery of the Island, following a line the less tortuous, and cutting the bays, ports and coves, at their mouth, is about 1719 miles, of which 816 are on the N., and 903 on the S. Its area is about 55,000 square miles; and taking into the estimate the adjacent islands or keys, which belong to it, it is 64,000 square miles.

The form of the Island is exceedingly irregular, approaching that of a long narrow crescent, the convex portion of which looks towards the arctic pole. Her situation in regard to said pole is nearly from E. S. to W. N. W. It is the westerly of the West India Islands, and her western part is placed advantageously in the mouth of the Mexican Gulf, leaving two spacious entrances, the one to the N. W. - 124 miles wide, between Point Hicacos, the most northerly of the island, and Point Tancha or Cape Sable; the most southerly of East Florida. The other entrance into the Gulf to the S. W. is 97½ miles wide in its narrowest part between Cape S. Antonio of Cuba, and Cape Catoche, the most salient extremity of the Peninsula of Yucatan. From Cape Mola or St. Nicholas in the island of S. Domingo, the eastern extremity of Cuba, or Mayzi Point, is separated by a channel 42 miles wide.

From Maysí to great Enagua, the nearest of the Lucayas or Bahama islands, the distance to the N. E. is 45 miles. From Point Lucrecia in Cuba to the most easterly point of the great Bank of Bahama in the old Bahama channel, called Santo Domingo's Key, 34 miles. From *Punta del Ingles* on the south of Cuba to the nearest Point of the northern coast of Jamaica the distance is 75 miles.

Cuba contains the following ports on the N. (1) viz:—*Guadiana, Bahia Honda Cabaña, Mariel, Habana, Matanzas, Car-*

(1.) Those marked with *italics* are spacious bays, affording anchorage to ships of the line.

*denas, Sagua la Grande, San Juan de los Remedios, Guanaja, (2) Nuevitas, Nuevas Grandes, Manati, Puerto del Padre, Puerto del Mangle, Jibara, Jururu, Barriai, Vita, Naranjo, Sama Banes, Nipe, Leviza, Cabonico, Tanamo, Cebollas, Zaguaneque, Zaragua, Taco, Cuyaguaneque Navas, Maravi, Baracoa, (3) and Mata: 37 in all.*

On the South, *Batiqueri, Puerto Escondido, Guantanamo, Santiago de Cuba, Mota, Manzanillo, Sta. Cruz, Vertientes, Masiso, Casilda, Jagua, Ensenada de Cortez, and Ensenada de Cochinos, 13 in all.* There are besides some other anchorages, good for small vessels. It must be observed with astonishment, that a great many of these fine harbors are deserted, without a single fisherman's hut.

The climate of the Island cannot be more pleasant as well in Spring as in Winter. In the latter prevails what we call *la seca*, dry weather. The rainy season begins in May, and continues until November.

The annexed tables of the rates of Fahrenheit's thermometer, will afford an illustration of the almost uniform temperature of the climate of Cuba.

#### MEAN TEMPERATURE

Mean Temperature of the year at Havana and northern part, near the sea,	77 deg.
Mean Temperature at Havana the warmest month,	82 deg.
Mean Temperature at Havana the coldest month,	70 deg.
Mean Temperature in the interior for the year, where the land rises from 600 to 1050 feet above the level of the sea,	74 deg.
Mean temperature in the coldest month,	62 des. 30 min.
Mean Temperature for the year at Santiago de Cuba,	80 deg. 30 min
Mean Temperature for the warmest month,	84 deg.
Mean temperature for the coldest,	64 deg.

#### EXTREME TEMPERATURE.

At Havana it is cold when at	70 deg.
The coldest day at Havana has been	60 deg. 30 min.
The warmest day at Havana has been	92 deg.

(2.) This was the first place on the island visited by Columbus, October 28th, 1492.

(3.) This was the first town built on the Island by the Spaniards, under Diego Velazquez, in the year 1511, and till 1522 was reckoned the Capital.



In the interior the thermometer, many times, has sunk to 53 deg.  
 And even to 50 deg.  
 In the grottos and caves near St Antonio and Beitia, and on the Chorrera Creek, 71 deg. 30 min.  
 In a well at the depth of 300 feet, 77 deg.

The vegetable soil of the island may be said to rest almost universally on one great mass of calcareous rock, of a porous and unequal character, (*Seborucos* or *Mucara*.) Near the middle of the northern coast, a slaty formation is to be seen, on which the calcareous rock seems to rest.

As to the fertility of the land in Cuba, little can be said which may be new, it being so well known that it is almost proverbial. An area of 55,000 square miles, equivalent to nearly 34,560,000 acres, the greater part of which are of the first quality for cultivation, and a great portion of them still remain uncultivated, are circumstances which offer to every emigrant fond of labor, a vast field to exert his efforts in, and the prospect of a very brilliant reward.

With respect to the salubrity of the country, it is usually remarkable, and particularly so in the interior of the island. It is certain that in the largest towns situated near the coasts, during the intense heats of the summer season, it is usual for the yellow fever to make its appearance; but besides this being not, as it formerly was, a mortal disease, thanks to the actual improvements in medicine, its attacks are almost surely avoided by observing a good hygienic regimen.

The population of Cuba does not correspond to its area, nor to the infinite advantages offered by its climate and its riches, nor to the time since which it was constituted a colony. With regard to the causes which prevent procreation and immigration in Cuba, we shall extend our observations in the course of this second part, when the data and information noted down by us, as preliminaries of the same, will come in play, and be our guides.

It appears proper and suitable to us to put an end to this article by presenting the following statement, which was made out in accordance with the official accounts and Census of the Government of Cuba.

DEPARTMENTS.	WHITES.			Free Persons of Color.			SLAVES.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
WESTERN	133,068	110,141	244,109	28,964	52,730	81,694	140,131	87,682	227,813
CENTRAL	69,292	52,692	111,984	17,041	17,074	34,115	32,425	14,669	47,094
EASTERN	34,753	31,891	66,704	26,616	26,771	53,387	28,475	20,906	49,381
Total	237,114	194,724	431,838	72,631	76,575	149,206	201,031	123,748	324,779
WESTERN	135,079	108,944	244,023	32,726	51,737	84,463	207,954	113,330	321,274
CENTRAL	69,055	53,838	112,893	15,225	16,154	31,379	34,939	15,217	50,156
EASTERN	32,030	28,395	60,425	27,132	29,344	56,476	28,387	20,708	49,095
Total	227,144	191,147	418,291	75,003	77,135	152,138	261,260	150,245	411,505

(c) Vide "Resumen del Censo de Poblacion de la Isla de Cuba.—Habana, 1842."

POPULATION OF CUBA ACCORDING TO THE RETURN IN 1841 (c)

From the above Statements it appears that the white population of the Island has only increased in five years, in 7476 individuals, while that of the colored people has decreased, in the same space of time, in 116,348 individuals, of which 3022 belong to the free class.

POPULATION OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS ON THE ISLAND, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS MADE IN 1841 AND IN 1846.

	1841.	1846.	Incrs.	Decrease
HABANA	137,498	106,968	"	30,530
PUERTO PRINCIPE,	24,034	19,163	"	4,871
SANTIAGO de CUBA,	24,733	24,006	"	727
GUINIES	2,515	2,612	"	997
MATANZAS	18,991	16,986	"	2,005
CARDENAS	1,822	3,103	"	1,281
CIENFUEGOS	2,427	4,374	"	1,947
TRINIDAD	12,718	13,222	"	504
VILLA CLARA	6,132	5,178	"	954
SANTI SPIRITUS	9,484	7,474	"	2,010
S. Juan de los Remedios,	4,313	4,106	"	207
NEUVITAS	1,332	1,222	"	110
MANAYILLO	3,299	3,780	"	481
HAYAO	7,480	4,778	"	2,702
BOLQUIN	4,180	3,065	"	1,115
BARACOA (4)	2,635	1,833	"	802

(d) This was the first town on the Island settled by the Spaniards, under Diego Velazquez.

## ARTICLE VI.

In the preceding article, we presented to our readers a few ideas and observations on the geographical position, extent, number of ports, climate, soil and population of the island of Cuba. From these ideas and observations naturally arise certain important considerations, to which we now direct their attention; and we shall be brief, confining ourselves to the most remarkable, previous to entering into the physical description of the Island, which is the theme of the second part of our subject.

We shall omit, for the present, to speak of its position, and proceed to describe its form and extent.

To its very irregularity of form, the Island of Cuba is indebted for many of its advantages. Measuring 700 miles in length by only 70 in breadth, its shores are studded with numerous ports, harbours and inlets; (too numerous to detail, in addition to those already mentioned) the distance from the centre point at its greatest breadth to an extreme point either north or south, not exceeding fifty-eight miles: which from the central point of the interior department to any given point of the sea shore is not over 30 miles; and in the greater part of the Western division it is only 18. Thus it may be truly said, that every town in Cuba might enjoy the advantages of a sea-port.

A central railroad, crossing the Island from East to West, which would afford a speedy and easy communication between its extreme boundaries, connecting with Northern and Southern branches, would at once secure this important benefit. Then would Cuba be as one immense City, her every town a rampart, and all in mutual and daily communication by Steam and Electric Telegraph. To this great work the nature of the soil, together with its topographic and geological structure, afford every facility: even now, the work is completed from Havana to the South of Matanzas: and under a protective and liberal government, it would require but a few years to complete the whole.

From observations on the Barometer and Thermometer may be deduced the great advantages which the climate of Cuba offers to its inhabitants. We know nothing of the rigours of Winter. There nature suffers nothing from that lethargy which in other regions sterilizes the earth during a third of the year: the Cuban husbandman is not paralyzed by this in-

terval of forced inaction, and needs not to lavish the fruits of his industry, in clothing or combustibles. Equally teeming with flowers, and laden with fruits are our trees in December, as in June. There is really no distinction of season, with regard to crops; Spring and renewed Spring reigns the year through. Although our country is within the limits of the Torrid Zone, the breeze which never fails, and the rain which descends copiously during the most oppressive months mitigate the otherwise injurious effects of a tropical sun.

The soil is of extraordinary depth, caused, not only by the hills contributing their alluvial deposits, fertilizing the valleys and lowlands, but from the extensive virgin forests, which, under the axe of the woodman, palpitate, we might say, with the fever of insatiable vegetation; thus, emancipating the labourer from the toil, expense, and loss of time experienced in manuring.

This operation is almost unknown in Cuba, except occasionally in gardens, and besides, such is the fertility of the soil, that in many parts, especially in the low lands, the majority of plants produce two crops a year, with this remarkable peculiarity, that two crops of different fruits may be gathered from the same plot of ground, in the same season, providing the cultivator avails himself of the intermediate spaces, by sowing other seeds, whose vegetation do no injury to the first; for instance: corn between rice: pumpkins and water-melons among corn; corn among yuca &c.

It remains for us to make our final observations on the proposition, comprehended in the preceding Article 5, on population.

The area of Cuba and its dependencies is larger than that of England, (not including Wales,) but we will concede the difference. England, with a surface of 50,387 square miles contains 14,995,138 inhabitants, which gives 297 $\frac{1}{2}$  to a square mile: Cuba, (granting her to be of equal extent,) numbers but little over 1000,000, viz: 20 to a square mile. At first sight, the inference to be drawn from this comparison may appear to clash with what we have already stated, concerning the advantages offered by Cuba for the propagation and well being of the human family. But we have purposely instituted the comparison, as affording an opportunity for remarks, which will tend to corroborate the

nucleus of our opinion, on the matter of which we treat.

In the first place, one must take into consideration that the population of Cuba is very unequally distributed; since the Western has three times the inhabitants of the Central and the Eastern Division, on account of its being the main point of Colonization, and of its containing the Capital of the Island. Thus it is, that in the Western Department, there are over 38 inhabitants to the square mile, whilst neither in the Central nor in the Eastern division do they exceed 11½, and the two latter are far more extensive than the former.

But the clearest and most reasonable method of solving this point, is presented to us in the political aspect of the Island; in the arbitrary and oppressive system of government, in the enormity of every kind of forced contributions, in the shackles, laid on the most useful branches of industry, in the jealous surveillance with which foreigners are regarded; in the religious intolerance of the Government, which actually oppresses our unhappy country: there, and there alone, exist the true causes retarding the progress of her population.

In 1825, (says the learned Baron Humboldt) 5-6 of the Island was uninhabited; there were many districts, such as Consolacion, Hanabana, Macuriges, &c., in which was only 1¼ inhabitants to the square mile. He was astonished at this; but he, no doubt, well knew the cause, when after having proved that the Island of Cuba was capable of supporting a numerous population, greater than the Republic of Columbia, and the whole Archipelago of the Antilles combined, he says: "Native of a Northern clime but little favoured by Nature, I cannot forget that the Mark of Brandeburgh, a great part of which is sandy, maintains, (thanks to a good administration favourable to the interests of agricultural industry) on a surface of one third the dimensions of the Island of Cuba, a population, twice as numerous.

Supported by such respectable authority, confirming us in what we have already intimated, we do not hesitate in declaring, that the Island of Cuba, within a decade would be capable of maintaining five times her present population, thanks to her physical constitution; and were she protected by a wise and liberal Government, such as the American Union, would afford a delightful rich and comfortable abode for more than 300 inhabitants to a square mile; or in other words, she might, if fully peopled, and without

the necessity of draining too deeply her resources, number, 15,000,000 souls.

## CENSUS OF CUBA.

Years.	White.	Slaves.	Coloured free.	Total Coloured.	Grand Total.
1774.	96440	44333	30847	75180	17620
1792.	133559	84590	54152	138742	272301
1817	239830	199145	114058	313203	553033
1827	311051	286942	106494	398436	704489
1841	418291	436495	152838	589333	1007624
1846	425767	323679	149226	473005	898752.

We shall now advert to other particulars which form a part of our sketch of the Island of Cuba. The natural riches of the Island are immense, many resources of which still lie unexplored. Sugar, Tobacco, and Coffee, are the three principal branches which have hitherto absorbed, and will continue to command the united efforts of industry and capital, as long as the increase of population shall require no other veins, which though less important are still rich and productive.

In her vegetable kingdom she need envy none. The catalogue of her indigenous alimentary plants is large, to say nothing of exotics. In grains excluding, coffee, we have rice, corn and wheat, also every variety of vegetable; in roots, the Name the Yuca, the Boniato, the Malanga, the Sagú, the Ararut, &c., (all indigenous) besides Potatoes, Onions, and Garlick; and others of the horticultural class.

The different varieties of fruit trees are very numerous, as in all tropical climates. Plantains, Orange Trees, Pines and Lemons, in great variety, Cocoa-nuts, all these are well known and esteemed here; but could the following reach this market, they would be no less appreciated, the Anon, the Zapote, the Mamey, the Guanabana, the Guayaba, and other varieties; not including Wildings.

The pasturages are extensive, abundant and perennial.

We are well provided with the best qualities of Building Timber; amongst which are the Acana, the Jucaro, the Oak, Cedar, &c. In valuable woods the Island of Cuba no less abounds; fustic and brazilwood for dying, is a principal source of wealth, in the Eastern division. With regard to other varieties of the vegetable Kingdom, we copy the following paragraph from a recent number of a periodical of the Island,

"Many persons believe that various natural productions imported into the Island of Cuba, (and for which we pay so exorbitantly) could not be raised here to advantage. It is an error, since we now have before us, a piece of a Cinnamon Tree, which has the same smell, colour



and taste as the imported, and yet is the product of a plantation in the jurisdiction of Santiago de Cuba. On the same soil may be seen nearly all the fruits of Europe and Asia, including Cloves, Oregano and Pepper."

Medicinal plants also are in great abundance, and are very efficacious.

The riches of the mineral Kingdom have hitherto not been sufficiently explored, to make known their extent. Copper mines are now being worked to great advantage, in the Eastern Department; they are also found in all parts of the Island, as had been proved by researches in the neighbourhoods of Matanzas, Villaclara, Cienfuegos, &c. Only a few months ago, a rich mine of Lead with Silver was discovered which promises to be very profitable. In the Western Department there are Rivers, (such as the Arcos or Cuevas de San Antonio,) which deposit on their banks that same sand of native Gold, in search of which thousands are now flocking to the distant shores of California, and to the sickening boundaries of the San Francisco

Coal is also found in the neighbourhood of Havana and in other parts of the Island; and with the produce of Guanabacoá, Steam Ships have always been supplied.

On all the coasts of Cuba, principally on the Northern, are found immense deposits of Salt, which would open a profitable fountain to labour and industry, were it not for the exorbitant duties imposed by the Government, levying a tax of \$2,50 per fanega (200 lbs.)

There is also an abundance of Sulphur, Loadstone, Granite, Clay, Flint, Crystal, and Marble. This latter is one of the principal branches of wealth, in the Isle of Pines, where the quarries of O'Donnell have been worked to great advantage.

Let us now turn to the Animal Kingdom, which is not less prolific. Exquisite Fish abound on all our Coasts, Rivers, and Streams; an endless variety of Wild Fowl people our Groves and Lakes; the luxurious vegetation of our soil affords ample nourishment to immense flocks and herds, which multiply abundantly in our meadows and enclosures.

We might dilate on the natural advantages of the Island of Cuba, if necessary to the question, or did the prescribed length of our article allow. In place of so doing we shall wind up this point, by observing that the clearest and most indisputable proof of the greatness of the Island, is, the fact that one million of inhabitants alone contribute to the home

Government, the enormous sum of eighteen million of dollars, annually.

We had scarcely commenced writing this article, when the speech of Senator Benton (in No. 9 of the *American Statesman*) was placed in our hands; on the project of a great National Road across the American Continent, uniting the two worlds. This would greatly enhance the importance of the Island of Cuba. As by such respectable authority as that of the illustrious Senator of Mississippi we were firmly supported in our opinion; and wishing to advert more fully to this point, we intimated that we should postpone, 'till the end of this article our observations on the advantages of her geographical position.\* For this reason we change the order of discussion.

In the year 1833 said the learned French traveller and political economist Chevalier, in the introduction to his letters on the U. S. 1st., that "within a limited period the U. S. will extend herself from sea to sea: and 2ndly., that viewed in this light, it is evident that America (seated between the two great marts of Civilization, the Eastern and Western) is reserved for a high destiny." Mons. Chevalier has seen realized his first prophecy: for the full accomplishment of the 2nd., viz: the arrival of the period when both Worlds shall embrace each other and verge together for the perfection of America, there remains only to carry out the project, so ably advocated by Mr. Benton. This being effected the U. S. would be the focus of every ray of the illustration.

"I go, then, for a central railroad from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi; and fortunately, we find all the localities of the country precisely such as a national central road would require.

The Bay of San Francisco, the finest in the world, is in the centre of the western coast of North America. It is central and without a rival. It will accommodate the commerce of that coast both north and south up to the frozen regions and down to the torrid zone. It is central in that respect; The commerce of the broad Pacific-ocean will centre there. The commerce of Asia will centre there. Follow the same latitude across the country, and it strikes the centre of the valley of the Mississippi.

It strikes the Mississippi near the confluence of all the great waters which concentrate in the valley of the Mississippi. It comes to the centre of the valley.—Follow the prolongation of that central line and you will find it cutting the heart of the great States between the Mississippi river and the Atlantic ocean.—

And then he adds:—"The road is to connect the ocean navigation at the Bay of San Francisco with the Mississippi, near the confluence of the Missouri. Near St. Louis, it is in communication with all the States and cities of this Union. It there goes into communication with all the transportation of the great valley of the West in cars or steamboats, all of which ends its centre in St. Louis"

Finally, Mr. Benton,—in reference to the necessity of carrying into execution this project, and after having alluded to the political and military regulations says:—

"Commercial reasons demand it from us: and here I touch a boundless field, dazzling and bewildering the imagination from its vastness and importance. The trade of the



Pacific Ocean, of the Western Coast of North America, and of eastern Asia, will all take its track: and not for ourselves but for posterity."

It appears to us, that the words of the eloquent Orator we have just quoted, suffice of themselves to prove the advantages which this project offers to the U. S. The ramifications necessarily arising from the central road to the North and South will participate the same benefits to Oregon, N. Mexico, &c. All the riches of those vast territories will flow here, and in the valleys of the Mississippi, to be distributed throughout Mexico. This will also be the new and privileged high-way of Universal Commerce, because, as observes the Hon. Senator.

"The trade of India which has been shifting its channels from the time of the Phœnicians to the present, is destined to shift once more and to realize the grand idea of Columbus. The American road to India will soon become the European track to that region. The European merchant as well as the American will fly across our continent on a straight line to China. The rich commerce of Asia will flow through our centre. And where has that commerce ever flowed without carrying wealth and dominion with it?"

"San Francisco at one extremity, and New Orleans at the other, will be the principal points of the line from the Pacific, to the North Coast of the Gulf of Mexico. But, will this complete the work? No; must it not be prolonged to the Atlantic. Would it not be dangerous to accumulate riches upon riches in the gulph ports, without securing the key to their outlet?"

The project of Mr. Benton is of great importance both in a social and political, as well as in a commercial point of view.

It is not only the realization of the grand idea of Columbus, but the sheers which is to raise the key-stone to the edifice of civilization. But we beg to remark that the main bearing of this political sheers must be the Island of Cuba.

We should dare to intimate that the Honorable Senator from Mississippi made a direct allusion to this point, were it not for the effects of a moderation which we judge to be reasonable.

But, on the other hand, from interests purely commercial, this subject is essentially complicated with the cause of Cuba.

Once opened a commercial route connecting Asia with Europe, through America, either by the national road, proposed by

Mr. Benton; by the old project of a canal from the mouth of the Goazacoalco to that of the Tehuantepec, or by the Isthmus of Panama, Cuba would necessarily receive, thanks to her geographical position, a large share, if not the greatest of the benefits resulting from it. In this case Cuba can be nothing less than the receptacle of all the Shipping that shall convey the riches exchanged by the East and West; Cuba would be a general depot, an immense Bazaar of her own productions, as well as of those of the whole civilized world: her Northern ports in the first instance, or her Southern in the third would be seen studded with Ships; her markets would rank among the most envied, and her population, her industry, and her cultivation would be unrivalled in astounding proportion. But, before all this, one indispensable condition is demanded, a free and protective Government, and this condition can be realized by no method so easy, natural, and just so suitable to the parties interested, as the act of Annexation. We think we have proved in our former articles, by reasonings sufficiently powerful, that Cuba, remaining in her present political attitude, can scarcely participate in these benefits. We also are of opinion that the possession of Cuba by a foreign power, would prove a stumbling-block, and perchance injurious to the new route of universal commerce, which might otherwise be of such immense benefit to the U. S. On the contrary, constituting an integral portion of the U. S. entering into the enjoyment of her privileges, not only would this danger be rendered impossible, but the increased prosperity of our Country would tend to benefit the whole Confederation.

In conclusion, revising our observations, it will be seen that we have all sufficient motives for repeating, that the cause of the Annexation of Cuba is intimately allied to the cause of humanity, and in fine, closely connected with the interests of America, and especially those of the U. S.

\* We call the attention of our readers to the map of Cuba, and its dependencies, which we publish in the present number, accompanied with convenient itinerary references, to illustrate the subject, on which we treat.

## ARTICLE VII.

To day we shall examine the third topic of our question. We shall look upon it under its social, political, military, and diplomatic points of view, taking notice of the numerous and weighty circumstances which induce the conviction that the annexation of Cuba is a fact not only of present vital interest for this Republic, and for all free America, but such as, if realized or not realized, it will be pregnant of consequences of the utmost importance to the destinies of the New World.

American civilization, policy and diplomacy which go hand in hand in their natural and necessary progress towards the South, sometimes intent on the East, through which Europe is coming, sometimes on the West, through which Asia is to come, in reaching Cuba meet two roads to be selected—annexation or abandonment. Which of the two is to be pursued? Is Cuba to be annexed on the way, or to be left aside and passed on with indifference? Shall they go on through a dangerous path, in order not to remove a stumbling-block, which now is not more considerable than a stone, but shall be a mountain to-morrow? This is the theorem, the solution of which is the object of the present article.

Important and delicate is the task which we assume; but happily, many and celebrated statesmen, and among them some of this same country, have illuminated in advance the field of the question, and we dare to enter into it, led on by the light of its principles.

Let us stop first, and consider the course taken by universal civilization. I believe it is marching divided in two principal legions disputing to each other the triumph, the one is the Eastern legion; the other is the Western. At the head of the former is Russia towards Asia, repelling Europe which turns towards the West; at the head of the latter goes the American Union towards the South through a line on which it may be embarrassed either by Europe or by Asia, the prefixed rendezvous of which is the New World. In the first ages of civilization the light of civilization dawned from East to West; from Egypt to Greece; from Greece to Rome; from Rome to the rest of Europe. Columbus tore the veil of America, and light proceeded so far. But the latter in its projection grew more and more diaphanous, instead of growing feebler; civilization become more active and perfect the farther it removed from its cradle, and

this method has always prevailed. Let us examine the proof in the aspect presented by the three principal focuses with regard to the political system of the age. Russia, at the Eastern extremity of Europe, represents monarchy in its most absolute character: the American Union represents the purification of Republican principles and between them both lies England, with its moderate monarchical institutions, and its constitutional restrictions, as a middle term between both extremes. But let us observe by the way, that Russia is not the representative heiress of the primitive and liberal civilization of the East, nor does it advance towards the West: from the latter she received the substance, which being handled by a great genius enabled him to mould it so as to make it suitable to a barbarous people, and to give them an original character of their own; but Russia, instead of going hand in hand with the other nations of Europe, repels them, and has chosen a path where it will not meet with obstacles to its physical force, nor to its intellectual power. However, it does not on this account neglect to watch the West, and even at the present moment it prepares to take a hostile step against Prussia, in order to stifle the liberal revolution, the cry of which the Autocrat does not like to be heard so near to the gates of his Empire, although he did not conjure the storm in France, while he was hearing its thunders at a distance. Nor even disguised with the Imperial mantle the liberal civilization of the West, led on by Napoleon could find a seat there. The last French revolution, imitated in various degrees by some people of the centre or the south of Europe, is however restrained, and even opposed with armed force by Austria, Naples, Spain, and other retrograding States, which still wish for thrones and crowned heads. In spite of the progress of the times Theocracy, and pseudo-divine right of Kings preserve deep foundations in Europe, which have not been yet completely sapped by the revolution. The end of this contest is still uncertain. England, notwithstanding its power and pride, pretends to be united in the crowd of mere spectators; but it is not difficult to see to which side it inclines. Being a cunning player she does not like to venture much for fear of a reverse. Let us take notice, by the way, that amongst the nations indifferent or hostile to the liberal

progress, are to be reckoned *all* those who preserve in America possessions important for their content, wealth, or position. This stake being fixed on our way, let us proceed.

Just as Russia has become the Colossus of the Old World, the American Union is now-a-days the Colossos, or to say better, the luminous precursor of the New World. But the ancient sickly civilization of Europe has recovered and purified itself by crossing the Atlantic; and in order to undertake its true mission here, has thrown away the mantle, the sceptre, and the crown, which it had brought from thence! The first step which it took out of its territory, was recognizing the Independence of Spanish America, at the same time that the strongest powers in Europe, except England, encouraged and pressed Spain to the re-conquest.

This is the manner in which, according to our humble understanding, we comprehend the march of civilization of the age. By this glance we perceive at first sight that the policy of the two worlds is different; that the interests of the monarchies of Europe, and the interests of free America are opposed to each other. And besides, since the first cry of independence and liberty resounded in this hemisphere, Europe commenced those political and diplomatic hostilities against America, which will not really cease until the former be driven from the last stronghold, the last refuge which remains to her in this New World. And what does now happen in consequence of the sovereignty which the Old World is still preserving over the New World? That Russia, England, Spain, determine there, according to their caprice and their particular convenience, on the destinies of no small a portion of the people of America; and it is easy to conceive how many and how powerful obstacles this state of things opposes to the march of civilization, and to the aggrandizement of the New World, at the head of which is the American Union.

On the other hand the acquisition of the vast territories of Texas, Oregon, California, and New Mexico has lately alarmed Europe. In these great events she sees evidently that the Union advances by gigantic strides towards the end of its journey, threatening not only to domineer over all America, but to overturn, purify and regenerate the decrepit society of that Continent: therefore she redoubles her efforts with the utmost arduous necessary in the last moments of a crisis. Before those events the political importance of Cuba was great with respect to the United States, on account of its being the Key of the Mexican Gulf, whither are going to be scattered the products of the West, which must enter the Atlantic or the Caribbean Sea through the two straits which Cuba can open and shut up as she pleases. But at present after the great events before mentioned, that importance has increased to a far superior degree. This is a truth which strikes the eye of every thinking man, and very easy to be demonstrated even to most ignorant masses. The United States being already extended from sea to sea, it is only necessary for them to

trace a great line of communication across their territory, and to open a new route to universal trade, which in its passage from the bay of San Francisco to the mouth of the Mississippi would leave an abundance of wealth to be gathered by the Union.

In our preceding article, we have made some observations on this subject, alluding to commercial relations; we have said that to complete the work an indispensable support was necessary: the principal stay of that great bridge, the Island of Cuba. To day on considering the matter under a political aspect, we repeat and confirm our assertion on a stronger ground. If the distinguished Missouri Senator, the Honourable Mr. Benton has not missed this idea in his speech in favour of a national road, it was not, we believe, because it did not occur to him, but he neglected so to do on some prudential grounds, as we then stated. For can he, an able statesman, help seeing, that a European Sentinel being placed on such an advanced post, a guard not only afraid of, but hostile to the interests of America, the most essential requisite is wanting to a NATIONAL Road, which should not in fact be measured from San Francisco to New Orleans, but from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean? might Mr. Benton have foreseen that on this post being delivered up by Spain to any of the European Potentates whatsoever, competitors or even covert enemies of the Union, such a delivery by the Sentinel should be immediately attended with fearful consequences, and extraordinary dangers? Can he conceal from himself the evils which would arise from a war with a nation to whose hands the Island of Cuba might be transferred. (\* )

It might be objected—1st That Spain, in consequence of its maritime inferiority, does not occasion serious fears to the United States. 2dly That this transfer of the Sovereignty of Cuba is not probable, and 3dly that, should the transfer be attempted, the United States would oppose such transaction. We shall answer all these objections as briefly as necessary to the limits of an article of our periodical.

It is true that the American Union has little to fear from Spain as a Military power; but, is the case the same if she be considered as a political Entity?

It is not, indeed. Spain will not make war against the United States with arms: Spain will not set dikes of fleets before outlets of the Mexican Gulf; but Spain is to be feared on account of the diplomatical springs which she can call into action, in order to obstruct, to divert, to impede the course of the enlightenment, the liberty, the peace, and the complete aggrandizement of America, even listening only to the suggestions of her offended pride. This is proved by facts. Being dislodged, in the first third part of this century from the last corner of her possessions on the American Continent; bitterly disappointed about the possibility of the reconquest by armed force, it did not despair on that account; it resorted to secret machinations, to the poison of civil discord, in order to destroy in their beginning the infant Republic, and to recover in that way at little expense her old dominion. God favoured the just cause, but a great many victims were sacrificed. Did she not, at a later period derive strength from her weakness, did she not make the last effort to recover New Spain? Even then liberty was triumphant: but how much injury was not occasioned by these very triumphs? Despairing to conquer by fire and sword, even then she resorted to the artifice of intrigue. Not long since the press has revealed to us the plan of an European Triumvirate in which Spain was performing the principal part, and the object of which was nothing less than to bring Mexico back to the state of moucharchical subjection; to seat on its throne a French prince, and a Spanish princess, and to pay the English for arrearsages, and for a dividend of their stock in the company, with the colony of Cuba. "They cast lots for the cloak of the just man." What does all this prove? Only by denying the reality of these facts, might the first objection be maintained. Let us proceed to the second.

That it is not likely that Spain would transfer to an other nation the sovereignty of Cuba. If the fact quoted in the last lines of the foregoing paragraph did not appear sufficient to overthrow this presumption, we might add to it that those who sold Louisiana, who gave up Florida in exchange, might, without any reluctance or scruple barter the Island of Cuba against the rock of Gibraltar, a negotiation of the preliminaries of which the contracting parties were or are treating according to some reports. In case of doubt let the letter of Mr. Reynolds, ex-secretary of the American legation in Madrid, be perused. And if Spain is disposed to deal in colonies with England, the former having no other means of paying what she owes the latter, should she not close a bargain with her, will it be strange that she should enter into a negotiation with some other potentate able to supply her with resources affording her the means of satisfying the exigencies every day more pressing of her creditor?

(\* ) Look at the map inserted in our preceding number.



"The United States will oppose the transaction" this is the third objection which we suppose to be urged to us. Well: we are aware that the Cabinet of Washington has solemnly declared, more than once, its determination to oppose any transfer of European territories or sovereignties in America to any European nation, either by exchange, sale or conquest. But this is an article of political faith, not a logical argument to prove that the United States should be free from the evils and sufferings attending a war with the parties concerned in the transaction, nor to demonstrate that they should with certainty succeed in their undertaking. Does it not appear more advisable to obviate in a proper and useful way the occasion of such a conflict and to obviate it *now*, precisely now when the expedient is more easy, and the result surer? But we will concede that, if the event should take place, the United States would cause such an agreement to be broken. What would they have obtained after a war which would have required the sacrifice of lives and treasure to support their principle?

That Cuba should remain in the same condition in which it is now, without any improvement being made in such a war by the American Union either favorable to its actual political interests, or civilization, or to humanity.

"The time during which this state of things can probably continue, precarious, and we may say provisional" as a distinguished American Statesman observes in reference to Cuba, "and the circumstances which may attend its change are matters of the greatest importance for the people of the United States." \*\* The space which has been run over since the publication of this precious book, has only shown more clearly the exactness of this opinion. The possession of the Island of Cuba either by England or by the United States will be a very decisive event which will produce a very important reform in the political structure of the two worlds.

As soon as the flag of great Britain is raised on the Morro of Havana, confidence will grow weaker, the tranquillity of the Union will be disturbed, and it will find no rest so long as that cause shall exist, for then it will come to pass that the obstacle which to day is a small stone, shall be converted into a mountain.

But if instead of the British or Spanish colors, the starred Anglo American flag should wave on the bulwarks of Cuba, then the retrograde and oppressing Europe being driven from them, all kinds of fears and obstacles to American civilization and politics should be immediately at an end, and might be expected without disappointment the completion of the term in which the other European colonies in this hemisphere should be also incorporated as members of the great free American Society.

(\*\*) See 'America or general investigation into the political situation of the various Powers of the Western Continent, by a citizen of the United States. 1827.'

We, therefore believe, that the annexation of Cuba is not only a convenience, but an urgent necessity for the United States on considering their actual situation, and the relations of their interior and foreign policy.

Some timid minds, and some persons prepossessed by party interests, and personal views, use as a last resource in their opposition to annexation, the allegation that this project, or assistance in promoting the independence of Cuba, would involve us in war. It is erroneous to think that should the Union treat in a friendly manner with Spain, and agree in perfect peace, and for mutual convenience on a contract of cession, it should have anything to fear on that side. Those who think so allude to England. And do they believe that England would oppose that cession with armed force? There is no ground for this belief. In the first place, because England, since she was the first to acknowledge the independence of Spanish America, (because that step suited her in order to maintain the balance with the other European Potentates) tacitly consummated her separation from the European alliance, and she launched on a path where she cannot retrograde without committing high treason against that principle which she then professed; secondly, because she has too much to do in her domestic concerns to interfere in the affairs of her neighbour; and lastly, because although it is certain that the possession of Cuba would be productive of great advantages to her—although we do not doubt that she will do the utmost in her power to take possession of it, in order to pay herself for what is due to her, or to obtain it by any other peaceable means, she cannot be supposed to be so destitute of foresight, as to be willing, in order to obtain it, to venture on a war with so powerful a nation as that of the Union, and much less when she knows, that although she still preserves the reputation and *prestige* of her pristine omnipotence, yet her strength has diminished in the same proportion as that of the people of Washington has been developed.

Should a change in the Island of Cuba be effected by the act of its own inhabitants, in order to realize their independence, and should the U. S. be the first to acknowledge it, as they did in 1825, what motives should prevent England from proceeding just as she did at that period? What grounds might be presumed that Spain would declare war, which she did not do then, (when she was more powerful than she is now,) maintaining unchanged her usual friendly relations with this Republic?

In fine, we firmly believe that the possession of the Island of Cuba is a subject of the greatest importance for the U. S.; that the good or bad luck of that country is to have a very great influence on the destinies of this Republic, as it is acknowledged (such is the power of reason,) by the most inveterate anti-annexationists; and that the immediate realization of this event, instead of exposing to danger the American Union, offers it the easiest, the readiest, the surest means of obviating greater evils, to which she should be doubtlessly liable by indulging a culpable indolence, dictated by groundless fears of pusillanimous men, or by malicious and insidious reports.



In our preceding numbers we stated, that although in the articles, on the Incorporation of Cuba, with the U. S. (which formed part of a pamphlet, we were publishing) are set forth the advantages which would accrue thereby to the labouring classes; also, representing the injustice with which the Government at Washington has deprived her citizens of these benefits, for the space of 20 years, and the injury sustained therefrom by the whole Spanish-American people, as well as by Cuba and Porto Rico especially; and the moral and physical condition of the African race; our principal object was not to promote individual and pecuniary interests, but the general progress of the cause of liberty and humanity, and at the same time, to defend the right. It was also affirmed, that if Columbia and the other Spanish-American Republics have not progressed as they might, the cause is to be attributed to the bad influence exercised in those countries by the Spanish Government, entrenched in her last colonies, Cuba and Porto-Rico; thanks to the efforts of the cabinet of the U. S. In spite of this the Editors of the *Courier* assure us that these circumstances have nothing to do with the title of the pamphlet: viz: "The government of the U. S. has injured the liberty of the people of Cuba; the people of Cuba demand justice of the people of America." Let us come to the proofs; are they not made visible in the reading of the said pamphlet, and in a lengthened introduction preceding the first part, the justifiable causes of complaint of the Cubans', supported by sound arguments; such as the *Courier* itself admits to be unanswerable, openly avowing that the Government of the U. S. opposed the execution of the project that Bolivar conceived; viz: to uproot the Government of Spain, in Cuba and Porto Rico.

"The argument" says the *Courier* "falls of itself. Although Bolivar, then powerful, compared to disgarrisoned Cuba, might have taken possession of the Island, and by a decree of emancipation have cast off the yoke of Slavery, as he was compelled to do, by the laws of Columbia, it by no means follows, that this would have bettered her condition. The condition of her neighbour Hayti is a proof positive of the effects of such experiments."

We are truly surpris'd at the erroneous inferences of the *Courier*. In Columbia there existed no such decree as that of the

total and violent abolition of slavery. But, conceding it for a moment—Why issue the same decree in the Island of Cuba? Bolivar freed Peru, and there was no such decree.

True it is, that in Columbia, there were laws for the gradual extinction of slavery; and this, as we have stated in our articles and pamphlet, would have been the case in Cuba and Porto Rico. This would have caused the cessation of the Slave Trade; there would not have been hundreds of thousands of Africans imported into Cuba, and those remaining would have been reduced to an insignificant number, and would eventually have faded out. With relation to the doubt manifested by the *Courier* with regard to the onward progress of Cuba; in the first place, the power of Spain having ceased in America, it appears reasonable to admit that there would have been rapid improvements, not only in Cuba, but in all the Spanish American Governments: but supposing the contrary, that they remained in a condition as unenviable as in any division of South America, ask them if there is one among them who would again submit to the Metropolitan Government, or to her Viziers. Ask the negroes of St. Domingo, if they are anxious to exchange their humble liberty for the brilliant slavery of Havana with all its rich liveries, and glistening gew-gaws.

But with regard to St. Domingo to which the Editors of the *Courier* so significantly direct our attention; they ought to have known that in 1789 when the revolution took place on that Island, it contained a population of 504,000 negroes and 30,831 whites, giving a proportion of nearly 17 negroes to one white man, and that in Cuba when the U. S. Government opposed the liberty of the whites (for fear of emancipating the blacks) as confessed by the *Courier* and others before it, there were 393,434 negroes and 311,051 whites; or only 1 1-6 black to one white.

In this proportion, with only a slight deviation, have increased both classes of population in the Island of Cuba. And who would presume to assert, that armed the whites and unarmed the negroes, the bloody scenes of St. Domingo would be renewed in Cuba? Not only may we suppose the contrary, but we believe, for all sufficient reasons, and this we have proved in our pamphlet, that the emancipation of Cuba and its incorporation with the U. S., would set aside all fear of a violent commotion, or of any evils arising therefrom to the U. S.

"But (continues the *Courier*) the U. States were doubtful of being led into some difficulty, should an attempt be made on Cuba by the Republics of the American continent; and to avoid this evil, and not to intermeddle with the affairs of her population with respect to her emancipation from the power of Spain, that the Federal Government adopted the course, complained of in the Pamphlet."

From the logic of the C. and E. may be drawn the following conclusion.

Because the Government of the United States was doubtful of being led into difficulty by the realization of the project of Bolivar for the liberation of Cuba, they are thereby exempt from all responsibility to Cuba and the laws of humanity, in having opposed it. It is equivalent to asserting that it is just and right to sacrifice our neighbour with impunity, providing we can reap any advantage from it.

We are satisfied that this doctrine is at logger-heads with civilization, with all ideas of justice, and above all, with true republican principles; sure are we, too, that it will be repulsive to the great majority; for this reason, we shall limit ourselves to present the following question to the Editors of the *Courier*. Let us suppose that Columbia in 1820 had been in a situation similar to that of the U. S. at that period; that the latter were in the position of Cuba; that Mexico, (in alliance with other Republics,) with a force equal to that of Columbia at the same time, powerful, inured to war, triumphant and friendly with the U. S., had proposed to free her from the power of England; that England saw herself, without army or navy, without resources, (as Spain then was) to oppose the invaders and maintain her dominion in the U. S., her people disposed, (like the Cubans were) to insurrection, inviting Mexico to liberate her—let us suppose, we repeat, this case, and that Columbia should have said: No; I may be injured by the execution of that project; let the U. S. bear the yoke of England, I will side with Spain, that she may acknowledge the Independence of Mexico and the other Republics. We now ask, what the Editors of the C. and E. and the people of the U. S. would think of the philanthropic decision of Columbia. And, one generation passed away, Columbia ranking among the first powers, and fearless of any other, what would they say about a liberal and christian writer, who should advise the same rule of conduct to the U. S.

The "*Courier*" continues, after justifying the doctrine of the Anglo-American

Cabinet (a doctrine certainly unjustifiable after having witnessed its pernicious effects on the Spanish American Colonies) and with singular "sang froid" advises the prosecution of the same ultra principle, without even casting an eye on the evils which it has produced and will still bring forth, (\*) and without considering the social and political changes, which have since occurred.—France, then a monarchy, her reigning family allied to that of Spain, in league with *her* and England to sustain royalist principles, is now to be seen threatening thrones and dynasties, and propagating republican principles. England, then closely united to France, defied the Universe, and her policy, if it did not absolutely direct, at least, powerfully intervened in the most important transactions of all nations—now, humbled by America, insulted by nations whom she regarded as inferior, and threatened with the loss of her last possessions on the continent, scarcely feels herself in a condition to keep peace at home. The U. S., that then numbered only from 10 to 12 millions of inhabitants, and possessing only half the territory they now own, have reached a state of prosperity and greatness truly astounding. In commerce, national credit, in literature, and, in fine, in arms, marching their victorious bands through Mexico, they present to the whole world the most admirable example of prosperity ever attained by a free people. In fine, Spain, hourly threatened by political changes, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen, struggling against party and factions of pretenders to the crown, with a treasure dilapidated by a faithless government; were she not exhausted by civil warfare, what could she do for herself, or her last colonies in America?

All this, and much more, which we have no room to discuss in the limits of our periodical, should be taken into consideration by the editors of the *Courier*; added to the evils already caused by that measure, and placed in the balance to counterpoise the exaggerated fear of evils that *might* happen, or the disadvantages that might accrue to the U. S. in the liberation of Cuba, and her delivery from the oppressor.

The Editors of the *Courier* continue to treat with studied disdain and feigned ridicule, the observations which we make on certain points, which we consider as secondary causes (without diminishing their importance,) on the utility which the annexation of Cuba, would produce to the manufacturing and agricultural classes of the U. S. To an hypocritical observation, which can be qualified by no other term, we will answer in the same identical

manner in which they answered the N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser*, when the latter asked them for what reason they opposed the passing of Cuba into other hands than the U. S. in case of her being freed from Spain; and what necessity there was for this opposition, endangering a war with England, or with England and Spain combined? In the answer which the *Courier and Enquirer* then gave, it will be seen that their disinterestedness and indifference about dollars and cents were not too weighty to cause them to set aside cents and dollars, in order to corroborate their pernicious doctrine, dragged from a pure fountain, "The right of self-preservation," to use it for their own purposes. As if the powerful Union needed, for self-preservation, so suddenly to declare war with England, Spain, and France, and enter into a bloody league with them, in order to maintain Cuba in *statu quo*; to humble themselves so crouchingly as to flatter the Republics of the American Continent with an offer of intercession in their favour, with the Home Government, on condition of her disfranchising Cuba and Porto Rico, and in this manner prolong the disgraceful servitude of the Cubans.

The *Courier*, in answer to the *Advertiser*, said :

"In the plainest interests of self-defence and self-preservation—as much the duty of peoples as of persons—of Governments as of individuals. The Island of Cuba stands across the Gulf of Mexico, a sentinel as it were, upon the movements of every thing entering or departing from that Gulf. It as completely commands the outlet of the Mississippi, and consequently the whole travel, commerce and existence, as it were—of the fertile and populous States drained by that river and its tributary waters, as though it were an impregnable fortress at the very mouth of the Balize. In the hands of a jealous, imperious, unscrupulous rival—we do not say enemy—this island would be formidable to the peace and fatal to the prosperity of the United States, so far as that peace and prosperity depend, and every day the dependence is becoming greater—upon the feelings, the interests, and the growth of the Western and South Western States. In the hands of Spain, never a maritime power of the first order—and now feeble and distracted, Cuba is without danger for us, and even if it were otherwise, having been from its discovery a Spanish colony, it is for us to bear as we may, the presence of such a neighbor, older than ourselves in possession. But the case is widely different, where a power like England—grasping at dominion in every sea, and planting its ambitious flag on every continent—always with a single view to its own interests and aggrandizement—never on any principle of enlarged philanthropy, or liberal aid to less favored people—seeks to thrust itself into such a possession. With the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland on the North and East of us—with Bermuda in our path across the Atlantic, give in addition to England, Cuba—which is the key of our Southern and Southwestern states—and she hems us in on every side with her fleets, her garrisons, her schemes of abolition, her promptings of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness."

Behold Judas preaching morals! Behold Judas defending Christ! The *Courier* judges that if it be for the benefit of the U. S., it is holy, just, and right that the Colonists of Cuba and Porto Rico should groan in chains, and that hundreds of

thousands of Africans be dragged to America to suffer eternal slavery! Wage war with France and England combined, rather than permit Cuba to pass from the dominion of Spain into the hands of one of the first maritime powers; or rather than meddle with the affairs of Cuba! let Spain be the acknowledged mistress of Cuba, but regard not wars or their consequences, if you can but prevent Spain from disposing of what the *Courier* plainly states to be her legitimate property. And all this, for no other reason than the fear of an imaginary evil.

Fortunately for America, especially for Cuba, there has reigned for some time past, in Washington, a more liberal policy, more in character with the age, than that which predominated at that period with respect to the affairs of the New World. The position and all that relates to America, and the general state of the political world, are now powerful motives for change and conversion; and we ourselves, are full of faith in the republican principles, and in the purity of sentiment of *him*, who has just assumed the reigns of the Government of the Union, and we doubt not, that as a "free American," he will sympathise with all those who are struggling for liberty, and not forsake us in the hour of conflict.

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Mexico, December 3rd, 1848.

"Sr. Don. Pedro Egaña,  
My dear Sir.

"By the accompanying publication, which I have the honor to transmit to you, you will be made acquainted with the resolution of the Spanish residents of this city, to present a sword to General Narvaez; thereby rewarding, through him, the gallant troops composing the garrisons of Madrid and Seville in March and May of the present year, for their praiseworthy conduct in maintaining order, and supporting the institutions of the Government which resolution will no doubt be seconded by all Spanish residents in this Republic. In the meantime, I take the liberty of addressing you, to beg your acceptance of the commission, to order the sword to be manufactured by Martinez, silversmith of your City. The amount equivalent to its supposed value, you will find in the enclosed bill of Exchange on Messrs F. de Lemardo and Co, London for 410 pounds sterling. Of course the blade must be of Spanish manufactory on which you will have engraved the following inscription. "From the resident Spaniards of the Mexican Republic, to General Narvaez" 1848."

With assurances &c.

Joaquin M. Errazu."

The fact which gave rise to this letter will suffice fully to convince the Editors of the *Courier and Enquirer*, of the reason we have, for maintaining, that whilst the monarchical and servile spirit of Spain shall breathe in America, as long as it shall have a foot hold in the New World its pernicious influences will not cease to work, and impede the peace, the progress and the complete consolidation of the Spanish American Republics; for in each of them, she sees a check to her pride and a formidable enemy to her decrepit monarchy.

What were the motives which led to this oblation, offered to the ministry, or rather to the Regent Narvaez?

The annihilation of the Republicans of Madrid and Seville in their last unfortunate attempts in the months of March and May of the past year.



## LETTER FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

My Lady,

In *La Crónica* of the 21st of the last month, I had read an article, the object of which was to exalt the acts of the Rulers of Cuba, the wise and equitable system of contributions prevailing there, the paternal Metropolitan Government which with a prodigal hand scatters benefits upon the *blessed* Island, and the tranquility of happiness enjoyed by the Cubans. All this is in perfect accordance with the principles and mission of the Editors of *La Crónica*; and therefore I was only moved to pity, on considering the insignificance of the undertaking in a country where Democracy and Liberty, well understood, are enthroned. But I have seen since reproduced in the *Courier and Enquirer*, the substance of the same article, preceded by new observations, made with the design of giving additional strength and authority to those of *La Crónica*; and although the politics professed by the *Courier* are well known, I confess I was surprised to see it converted into an echo of writers who are always ready to defend with their pen monarchical institutions, and who, even disparaging those of this country, are not very scrupulous in their observations on the character and customs of the American people—the beautiful half of them—always entitled to the respect and deference of the stronger sex, not excepted. Can a republican paper become a censor or perfuming pan of the throne, and of despotism!

On the other hand, the Editors of the *Courier and Enquirer* forget, or at least it seems so, that not long since they published or gave birth to some articles, the contents and tendencies of which are entirely contrary to those of the article inserted by them in their paper of the 24th of the last month. I will refresh their memory.

In August, 1847, an article relative to Cuba appeared in the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer*, in the editorial introduction of which, after repeatedly protesting that they did not wish for a change of domination in that Island, it was stated: "*A series of articles has been prepared for this paper by one who well understands the actual wishes and feelings of that Island.* It is not necessary to insert the entire articles, the Editors of the *Courier* can well see them in their collections; but I think indeed it is very proper and suitable to present to my readers some extracts of those writings, because in this way, without taking the trouble of producing arguments of my own, I shall destroy theirs brought forward now, with those used then by them, and we shall

thereby be enabled to ascertain the real value of the consistency of the political opinions of the *Courier and Enquirer*.—Let us then proceed to the extracts:—

"It is only in the present political degradation of the Island, that the unnatural pretensions of the Spanish provinces have turned aside the course marked by the hand of God, for the benefit of a few monopolists, and to the injury and disgrace of the Islanders. While American grain has crossed the ocean to supply the British market, Spanish grain has likewise traversed the same seas, to force itself upon the Cuban consumer!

It is important to remark here, that in estimating the extent of American trade to be obtained by the annexation of Cuba, we should not lose sight of the rapid increase which all the several branches of industry will acquire in that land, so *little cultivated as yet* when the burdens which now weigh her down shall be removed."

"Charles the V. would be this day on the throne of Castile, had not the *crisinos* seized upon and held the Treasury of Cuba, whence the cash supplies were derived for the prosecution of the war. 'Let us have a chief devoted to us in Cuba, and we are safe,' has been the axiom of every succeeding faction, and has of late ruled in Madrid."

"As it is, does it not strike every observing mind that Havana is the focus of monarchical aspirations in America? Was it not from its treasury (and forcibly drawn too, from the public funds belonging to the private board of the Island,) that 200,000 were sent with Signor Abadiza, to establish the basis of the Mexican Monarchy? Was it not there (contemplating Cuba as the starting point) that the Spanish Ministry and the Camarilla of Cristina meditated the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of an European prince on its throne?

"Nothing, however, is better calculated to increase the uneasiness of the United States, and to encumber and shackle our free action in this respect, than the barbarous policy of the Spanish Rulers of Cuba, who base the permanency of their sway on the defenceless state of the white citizen, on the absence of all precautionary measures in the rural policies on the continued importation of war-like savages, on the absolute privation of all religious, moral, and softening lessons, to the latter, and on their severe and cruel punishments.

"Such a system cannot fail to give dreadful results, by keeping both races constantly widely apart, by preventing



the only palliating trait of servitude, the tie of affection between the master and slave."

"It is not alone the interest of our country, but it is that of every country trading with Cuba, to preserve so vast a market for manufactures and productions with its numerous ports for shipping, affording abundant return cargoes, and promoting useful intercourse; all of which stands upon a most precarious footing."

1st. Does the *Bulletin* know that up to 1836, the island of Cuba was invariably governed by the same political laws as Spain, and by even more liberal commercial regulations than those of the mother country? 2d. Does the *Bulletin* know that in that year, (1836) the three Cuban deputies to Madrid, called by the Government, were rejected from the Spanish Cortes by a majority of only 13 votes? 3d. Does the *Bulletin* know that since that act, the laws for filling the vacancies in the corporation of Cuba, have been altered to suit the pleasure of the Captain General? 4th. Does the *Bulletin* know that from that not the slightest check has embarrassed the incessant encroachments of the military? 5th. Is the *Bulletin* aware that the enlightened men of Havana, such as Villaurrutia, Fernandina, Santos Suarez, Ayestaran, and Escovedo, have been treacherously supplanted in the Junta de Fomento, by untitled slave dealers? 6th. Does the *Bulletin* know that the board of authorities of Cuba was recently shamefully insulted, because they dared to open the ports in order to force in provisions under the pressure of hunger, immediately after the hurricane? 7th. Does the *Bulletin* know that the Tariff is no longer discussed in the Junta de Fomento, and that the interested voice of the Spanish European provinces is extremely influential on that important subject? 8th. Does the *Bulletin* know that during a horrible conflagration by fire in the city of Matanzas, the soldiers employed as policemen on that occasion, robbed the suffering citizens with bare face impudence, and that when the corporation complained of those acts, the Royal Audiencia declined taking cognizance of the case, thereby cowardly disclaiming the exercise of those checks against the excesses of military, which the ancient laws of the Indies had established in the American possessions; further, that subsequently, fines were established by the Capt. General as a penalty against any future complaint? 9th. Is the *Bulletin* aware of the unheard of acts of wanton cruelty, which have sullied the Spanish name during the alleged insurrection of the Slaves in which thousands of innocent victims were destroyed by the lash, and as many more robbed of their property by Military Savages, and in spite of the remonstrances of their masters and of some humane hearts? 10th. Have the awful revelations in the case of the Judge ZALAZAR never reached the ears of the *Bulletin*?

11th. Does the "*Bulletin*" know that Cuba pays 25,000 000 of various Taxes, more than half of which are privately and unjustly wrung from the country? 12th. Does the "*Bulletin*" know that there are portions of the country where holders of entailed lands have applied to Madrid to reduce their rates of rent, because they could no longer be taken at the laws census, originally established? 13th. Does the "*Bulletin*" know that during the scarcity of food, families perished of hunger, in the *Vuelto Abajo*, while no effective measures of relief were permitted by Spain? 14th. Does the "*Bulletin*" know that in districts where the proportion of Whites to Blacks stands 3 to 18, the former are not permitted to organize into a militia? And lastly, does the "*Bulletin*" know that in the month of September last, the corporation of Havana, coerced tho' it be, in its nominations, and in all its acts, insisted but without success, in an able report, on the proper investment of the funds raised to support white immigration, in which they opposed the views of the rulers, and still cherish the hope of perpetuating the slave trade?

The following paragraphs do not belong to the *Courier*, but I quote them in confirmation of my opinions:

"In evidence of the kind of happiness enjoyed by the Cubans under their Spanish rulers, I offer you a literal translation from *El Espanol*, a paper of Madrid, and edited by Spaniards.

*El Espanol*, of August 28th, 1847, says—"There (in Cuba) political and administrative discussion does not exist at all."

"No censure, nay, not even the examination of the acts of the Colonial Government in any of its branches, exists. There is no investigation of the most vital points touching the interests of the country, whether they depend in whole or in part, on the decision and judgment of the authorities. There are no means of publicity for the complaints of ill-treated subjects. There is no correspondence of ideas between the governor and the governed—no voice to tell the former of their errors, or to develop truth. There is not, in a word, a public press for the natural purposes of the press, but only for such purposes as might be obtained without it." Again, from *El Espanol*, Sept. 7th, '47—In Cuba there is but one voice to impose his will and to send here advices and observations. This is the voice of one man puffed up with authority, intoxicated with the omnipotence of his power, and surrounded with an atmosphere of flattery and baseness. Yet this voice decides here and there upon the rights of the Government. Here to inspire—there to enforce or suspend them according to its will or caprice. And will this man be infallible? Can he be even just? Let us not deceive ourselves, but have manly courage to tell it in compliance with our sacred duties in our capacity of Spaniards, such horrible despotism and absurd authority weighs upon the island of Cuba, and will not fail to produce evils of all kinds, and gravity, if we do not endeavour to satisfy promptly their just pretensions, by giving that country wiser and better laws than they now have—more adequate to the spirit of the age, and to the character of their present necessities. Our readers will remember that in some of our late reviews, we made some allusion to a renowned island of Pinos, in speaking of laws concerning vagrants of Cuba, which law has lately been modified by a decree of Government. A letter written in Havana from the "*Prensa*," and copied from the *Eco del Comercio*, confirms what we then said about that Colonial Siberia (of fire we should say) where by simple verbal trials and upon any pretext, freemen are sent to forced labour, not for the common benefit, but for the private utility of the owners of the marble quarries of that Island. Who the owners are of those quarries the people of Cuba well know, and we may in Spain guess at after perusing these lines.

Now then, this is not governing; this is skinning a country and making it afterwards.—This is to put a curse in ever

mouth, a revolutionary torch in every hand, hatred and inextinguishable rancor in every heart. Thanks to this unjustifiable tyranny, a native of Cuba is indignant when he is confounded with a Spaniard."

I have not seen the article of the *Herald*, and I suppose that the citations made by the *Courier* are correct, but in any case I can assure that General Tacon, during the memorable period of his despotic power in Cuba, refused to give possession to Don Gaspar de Arredondo of the Office of Auditor, (the appointment to which he had received from the Court of Madrid,) under the pretence "of a Royal Order which excludes from important Offices in the Island of Cuba, the natives of America!" It is not indeed my intention in producing this example, to prove that in Cuba, Royal Orders have any force: no such thing, My Lady; there is nothing there but a Bashaw of three tails, without King, or Saint. I quote it indeed, in order that it may be known, and in order to record another case, should any doubt arise on this. The same General Tacon refused also to admit to the exercise of his functions, Don Segundo Correa, appointed Commander of the *Resguardo* of Trinidad; but the latter returned to Europe, and in consequence of his title of transatlantic, he obtained a similar charge in the Island of Porto Rico. Here you see the Court of the Metropolis subject to the Bashaw of the colony of Cuba! These are facts.

Those correspondents of the *Courier* who are so well informed, know, or must know, as the *Courier* itself knows, or must know, that Don Claudio Martinez Pinillos obtains the superintendence of the revenue of Cuba, not in consequence of the will of the Spanish Government, (which makes a virtue of necessity), but because *that condition, that guarantee*, was required by England to negotiate a loan with Spain; as England knew the ability and skill of that Officer during all the time of his long administration, in the midst of the struggles of an exhausted metropolis, every day more exacting and destitute. Other offices there are in the same condition as that of Pinillos; and there are many, a great many also which are purchased on speculation, they being sold in Spain and Cuba, as if at auction, by the Satellites of the Government, by whom they are adjudged to the highest bidder either *Moorish* or *Christian*. These are also facts to many of which I could bear testimony, mentioning particulars and details, were it not odious to enter into the field of personalities.

With respect to the army and navy, it should be well understood, that it is a

mistake to consider any of their officers as Cubans; as, being moveable and without fixed residence they belong to the Peninsula as much as to the Colonies; besides its being well known, that neither in the militia nor in the navy no employ of remarkable importance or influence is bestowed on any Cuban. Is there any among them who can obtain the command of the veteran regiments of the garrison of Cuba? Who are the officers and veteran chiefs of the bodies of militia? The insignificant situations of chiefs of the bodies of firemen are bestowed with preference on peninsular men, and even the Offices of watchmen and constables are disposed of in the same way. Such details appear puerile and ridiculous, but, my Lady, so far go the monopoly of places on one side, and the fears, I will not say the panic terror of the government, on the other. And even supposing that all this were not so, (in the name of common sense) when one speaks in general terms, there are no men so punctilious as to require an evangelical exactness, a mathematical rigor; it is very usual to say that under such or such administrations, all its officers are of the same character, but no body translates that literally, and no body neglects to imply that there are exceptions. If the Editors of the *Courier* should call this exaggeration, what could not be said on hearing these gentlemen assure that the system of contributions in Cuba is light, when the statistic, authentic, and official data show, and they know it well that a country like that with 500,000 white inhabitants, and an equal number of colored ones, pays to that treasury \$18,000,000. What will one say, we repeat of such an assertion, on knowing that in this enormous sum snatched from the people of Cuba the municipal charges are not included; that the people are charged with a tax of \$3.50 each for horned cattle which is killed for the public supply; that for a pound of bread that they might obtain for 5 cents, they are made to pay 25; that they are prohibited to go one mile's distance from the city without purchasing a passport, and that ultimately are liable to a great many other contributions of this kind, so *just* and so *light* as those which I have just alluded to? These are facts and such facts, as are known not only to the correspondents of the *Courier*, but to the *Courier* himself.

With respect to general contentment, loyalty, and adhesion to the Spanish Government of the inhabitants of Cuba, and to the tranquillity of the country, if we stick to facts, it will also be necessary to declare that the *Courier* and those who informed him are not correct. If the Cu-

bans are so much contented, so loyal, so much devoted to their Metropolis; if they bear so mildly and so willingly the Spanish Government, to what purpose those measures so severe, so arbitrary, in order to prevent the circulation of a paper which pleads for the emancipation of the Colony? If so sure are the Rulers of the fidelity of the colonists, if they believe them so averse to thinking of a separation from their mother country; if such an idea does neither occur nor suit the people of Cuba, why do not they duly avail themselves of such fidelity, by permitting the free introduction of *La Verdad*, in order that the people may perceive that reliance is placed on them, and that a barren propagandism in the field of their loyalty, does not occasion any fear, dissipating in this way the interest, and dissolving the charm lent to it by persecution itself? Why (would that this were exaggeration or a lie) are American citizens and English subjects buried in filthy dungeons, without having committed any other crime than that of introducing in Cuba a periodical which has not been prohibited by any ordinance or public edict? Why not a few Cubans, for the same cause, or because the periodical was only found in their possession, are accused, and condemned to exile, transportation, or even to death? Why two individuals who are accused of corresponding with *La Verdad*, are threatened to be taken to the scaffold, as if they were guilty of high treason, or enemies caught with arms in their hands, fighting in a war without quarter? Why did the attorney-general ask that another individual should be made liable to the same penalty of death, who is considered a collaborator in the same periodical in New York? If he is such in fact, and if to be such is a crime, is he not protected by the American flag, and by the American Government, by virtue of his right to citizenship or naturalization? Is there any law in the United States prohibiting to Americans to preach up, by speaking or writing, republican principles, and to declare war to despots? What law deprives them of protection on account of propagating liberal doctrines?

What does this all prove, My Lady? Let any man of common sense and impartiality be asked and he will answer: "this proves dissatisfaction, fermentation, on the part of the people; and insecurity, uneasiness, and weakness on the part of the Government." Is there, or is there not, any motive for the proceedings adopted by the latter? If there is, what I have just stated is confirmed; if not, no body will deny that a Government which thus imprisons, torments, and condemns without any cause, is exceedingly unjust and despotic, and it cannot be conceived by any thinking man how the people can be faithful and devoted to it, how they can be contented or tranquil in reality, although from mere terror they appear so.

I will conclude by observing to the *Courier* and Co. that the future fate of Cuba does not depend upon the isolated opinion of some individuals for whom selfishness, or private interests, are the substance of their political doctrines; these adverse influences, or these hostile efforts may perhaps prolong the unhappy situation of Cuba; but she fortunately and without doubt, under the wings of civilization and liberal progress, leaving behind ignorance, prejudices, and the spirit of servility attending them, is already about reaching the threshold of her salvation, of liberty, wealth, and common happiness.

And now as a Cuban-American, I must address myself to the Editors of the *Courier*, and represent to them, that it is inconsistent with the character of a son of Washington to undertake the assistance of the oppressor against the oppressed, because this is to throw away the robe of a freeman for the purpose of putting on the livery of a palace slave. Let them oppose, if they conscientiously deem it proper, the idea of the annexation of Cuba, but let them not, for God's sake, justify, or defend at any rate the tyranny of the Government of Spain, and the abuses and arbitrary proceedings of its agents in undefended Cuba!

The first part of the book is devoted to a general  
 description of the country, its climate, soil, and  
 productions. The author then proceeds to a  
 detailed account of the various tribes and  
 nations which inhabit the country, and  
 their manners, customs, and laws. He  
 also describes the different religions and  
 superstitions which are prevalent among  
 them. The second part of the book  
 contains a history of the country, from  
 the earliest times to the present. The  
 author traces the progress of the  
 different nations, and the various wars  
 and conquests which have taken place.  
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 which have existed in the country.  
 The third part of the book is  
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The author of the present pamphlet—the original of which is in the Spanish idiom—has sent us an urgent request that we would cause a translation to be made, and that circulation be given to a few copies, printed in the English language. We are happy in the ability to comply.

This request has been prompted by a desire on the part of the author, to “aid, by a feeble effort in correcting an erroneous opinion, which has obtained to some extent in the United States, through the studied misrepresentations of the agents of the Spanish government, viz:—that the people of Cuba are content with their present condition and union with the Spanish monarchy.”

The opportunities and means on the part of the natives of Cuba, to refute such misstatements, have been, until recently, so circumscribed, or rather, they have been so utterly deprived of them, that it is not surprising that a belief, of the character alluded to, should have been entertained here. But, inasmuch as that our establishment is now the focus and radiating centre of liberal opinions; ourselves, safe in that asylum where the ravings of arbitrary power cannot reach us—having undergone, since our departure from Cuba, a species of mock or military trial (ex parte, of course), and been proscribed by public edict, yet without a consciousness of any other crime than that of which every individual composing this nation is alike guilty, and this is, the exercise of our birth-right, the freedom of political opinion;—we think we can claim to know somewhat of the sentiments of the native Cubans; and we affirm that the feeling among them is universal in favor of a change in Cuba. Strangers are in this respect misled. Why? For the simple reason, that there is no way in which the sincere and collective opinion of the people can be manifested. An individual in Cuba, unless on the eve of banishing himself from his native land, dares not express his thoughts openly; and meanwhile a complete system of surveillance exists, and the least possible opportunity is allowed to concentrate opinion and effort, the opposite or a general distrust is the result; and each endeavours to conceal from the other the workings of his oppressed spirit. The press, too, is under the most rigid censorship; the word *liberty* cannot be used in public assemblies, however remote the idea from republican institutions; and he who imprudently permits his thoughts to break forth from their prison-house, within the hearing of any of the agents of the government, is marked as the victim of the latter.

One whose heart is not overwhelmed with sadness to the exclusion of levity—in other words, a stranger—would be amused to see the manœuvres of the government to give a false coloring to the state of general sentiment. To get up an imposing Protestation of loyalty on the part of the “ever true and faithful” subjects of her Majesty, it is only necessary that the Autocrat who rules in Cuba with unlimited power, should dictate a Manifesto in due form; and woe to the individual who dares to refuse his name when the document is presented to him for signature. This is one of the devices, and frequently resorted to for the purpose of originating and confirming false impressions abroad. We could mention others, but prefer taking some other opportunity, rather than monopolize the time due to the author of this able pamphlet. We will do no more than simply demonstrate the utter falsity of the pretensions of the government, or any similar statements, by a single interrogatory, viz: If such the contentment that reigns throughout Cuba, why, in the name of common sense, should it not be more satisfactory to the government to witness the spontaneous expression of this feeling of attachment, through the freedom of public opinion? They dare not put it to the test; we challenge them to do it. And until this is done, we claim the verdict of the American People in our favor.

It is possible, that to the American reader there may be too much repetition on the part of the author. We could explain the intention, (for the repetition is a designed one) if space permitted, or we deemed it expedient. The subject upon which this repetition bears is a delicate one, and the supineness and indifference caused by years of oppression render it necessary that the author should again and again sound the warning in ceaseless reverberation, in the ears of his countrymen—in fine should omit no efforts until he arouses them from their slumbers on the brink of an awful precipice, and restores them to the full consciousness of their situation. To do this, and in a most successful reply to Don Jose Antonio Saco, whose recent production this is designed to counteract, he reiterates and repeats, his most serious and prophetic warning, using the identical and appropriate language of that gentleman.

The American national character has found an able vindicator in the author of this pamphlet; and so amply and sincerely has he done it—for we know him to be an enthusiastic admirer of American Institutions and their benign influence—that any re-

mark of ours would be misplaced. Yet there is a seeming explanation required, touching the derogatory expression, "diseased trunk," as applied to the United States by Mr. Saco. The latter is in fact hostile to the institution of slavery; and evidently desires to see his native land free from this curse. This feeling since his residence in Europe has apparently been increasing—so much so that on turning his eyes towards the United States, and finding the institution existing, tolerated and authorized by the government, his repugnance becomes so uncontrollable, that he would fain counsel his countrymen not, by any means, to seek to engraft themselves on to the "diseased trunk,"—as we should infer, lest the evil should be perpetuated in his country. In this limited sense, then, there is no just reason that any one should consider the appellation an insult to national pride.

EDITORS OF LA VERDAD.

*New York, July, 1849.*

THOUGHTS upon the Incorporation of Cuba into the American  
Confederation, in contra-position to those published by

Don José Antonio Saco.

By Betancourt Cisneros, Compe.

INTRODUCTION.

"I should advise persisting in our struggle for Liberty, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish and *only one free-man of a thousand* survive and retain his liberty. That one man must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves.

SAMUEL ADAMS."

For some time past the leading patriots of Cuba have proclaimed, in loud and solemn tones to the people of this land, the dangers which surround them. These dangers portend a terrible calamity to the latter, unless they arouse from their lethargy, and destroy, at once, the pernicious causes, which a political and social system, corrupt since the time of the conquest, has gone on preparing, against some fatal moment, the direct results to human life, and to the interests and civilization of the Colonies. A fatal hour like this sounded for St. Domingo, in 1792; a little period afterwards for the lesser isles: and to-day the bell is ready to toll the funeral knell of Cuba, its hammer being restrained, as it were by a single hair, like the sword over the head of Damocles.

Among all the published writings which, as just remarked, have proclaimed to us our seemingly fatal destiny, none have captivated our attention, given birth to so many fears, or produced convictions so deep, as those of our fellow patriot Don José Antonio Saco; because, according to our perception, no one has entered so fully and profoundly into the local questions; no one presented so forcibly the positions; no one adduced arguments more solid and irresistible: accumulated data and documents more exact, or more to the purpose and incapable of refutation. Thus it is that with just reason the writings of Saco had reached the highest point of influence and charm among Cubans;

and acquired for him the deserved reputation of a liberal writer and advocate of human progress.

Through all his productions, but more especially such as take date since the fearful and suspicious policy of General Tacon embodied and incorporated in the Spanish Constitution the exclusion of the ultra-marine provinces in the national representation.—subjecting these to a regimen more arbitrary and retrograde than has been known in America since the publication of the Code of the Indies: throughout all his writings, we repeat, we have had announced to us, with prophetic foresight, the frightful catastrophe that is to plunge Cuba into that abyss of wretchedness and ruin, which appears to be the lot of the islands of this Archipelago—unless our metropolis, guided by a policy evincing more prudent forecast, shall save us from the dangers that envelop us.

The same holy and patriotic purpose prompts, Don José Antonio Saco to bring to the light his last production, the title of which is—"*Thoughts upon the Incorporation of Cuba into the American Confederation*" But, according to our mode of viewing this question under present circumstances, this publication falls short of its object;—on the contrary, it prejudices the only plan and means of salvation that Providence has reserved for Cuba and her people; and we have therefore proposed to ourselves to attack the errors into which, for the first time as it appears to us, this profound Cuban has fallen.

It could not have caused to this illustrious exile more indecision when he took up his pen to write his "*Thoughts upon the Incorporation*," than it has to ourselves when preparing to impugn them. Accustomed to regard Saco as the oracle of Cuba, to follow him as the master of the purest political and moral doctrines, we have not been able to forget our own littleness, nor failed to feel how daring it is for one with so

feeble an arm to think of parrying the blows inflicted by a Hercules. Saco defends the *statu quo*, rooted habit, or in other words, inaction; and this is a mission of peace, tranquillity, and the apparent preservation of present interests, that ever find favor in the natural apathy, in the indolent timidity and egotism of any people. We, on the contrary, are going to plead and insist upon an immediate change.—upon a movement that has to stir up the political and social organization; that has to create new relations, and those perhaps not yet fully comprehended. And seeing that this demands an extraordinary concentration of will and simultaneous effort, valor, and union of action on the part of the people, in order to face the consequent dangers, and overcome difficulties—hence the disadvantage of our position, and the almost certainty that our opinions will not be received favorably by the people of Cuba. No matter. The same imperious duty that has impelled Saco to write, counselling *inaction* as the means most sure of saving Cuba from the fate which awaits her, that same overwhelming sense of duty compels us to write for the purpose, of recommending *action*, and that, too, of the most prompt and decided character, as absolutely indispensable to secure the present and future weal of Cuba. We believe, in the sincerity of our heart, that inaction is certain destruction; and in support of our belief we would fain quote the opinion of that wise admirer and friend of Cuba, Baron Humboldt:—“It is an error,” says he, in his Political Essay, “to think that time of itself should accomplish changes. No; time works at the same instant upon the slaves, as also upon the relations of the islands each to the other, and their inhabitants; and upon events which will, when too late, become uncontrollable because an apathetic inaction has been confided in.”

Here is the foundation of the decision to promulgate our sentiments in this mode. And why should not the name of the author accompany this as a guarantee of conscientious motive?—The name of a writer is of little consequence to him who really seeks for truth through the channel of sound argument. Our generous fellow-patriot will

seek nothing farther than this. Neither does he require the assurance of our respect. That which is perhaps more important in questions of this nature is, that the people of Cuba examine the latter, exempt from prejudice in favor or against the writers, so that public sentiment shall be more unbiassed; deciding with more freedom and independence, unswayed either by pre-existing sympathy or its opposite. If the writings of Saco had been anonymous, they would not for this have lost one iota of their force. They are the candid flowers of eloquence and patriotism that the Cubans will preserve to adorn the brow of their adored mother on the day succeeding her emancipation, when the glorious Sun of Independence and Liberty dawns upon them in full fruition of their aspirations.

Both moralists and statesmen are agreed in opinion that the disease which afflicts Cuba is critical—but nevertheless, many believe that a cure is yet practicable. The author of this pamphlet is one of this number. If the infirmity is taken hold of in season, using the remedies severe as they are, which science prescribes, Cuba will be saved. But if the causes of disorder are left in present action, or what is still worse, if allowed to increase in power; or again, should the patient repel the proffered remedy, death will promptly ensue. Like causes produce like effects, and the examples which the colonies of Denmark, Holland, England, France, and the Spanish portion of St. Domingo present, are eloquent lessons that it behoves Cubans to regard it, if they desire to shun the chasm into which the respective governments have plunged the former. Let us then look into the condition of the patient, see what care is given to him; and next in turn we shall investigate the remedies prescribed by our fellow-patriot, Saco, to ascertain if they answer to the diagnostics of the disease, and will have the effect of preserving Cuba.

### 1

“The continued introduction of Slaves, far from operating as a guarantee of the security of Cuba, *conducts irremediably to its speedy destruction.*”\*

\* Saco on the suppression of the traffic in African slaves in the Island of Cuba. Page 7. Paris, 1845.



Saco has here presented to view a grave cause, a danger of magnitude, a terrible prediction, that no candid mind can gainsay; and that admitted brings with it this consequence, viz:—that in order to check seasonably the evil and save Cuba, it is necessary to go to the root of it and stop for ever the introduction of slaves from Africa, as well from other regions.

Then we ask whose duty is it—to whom does it belong to cause this infamous traffic to cease? It belongs exclusively to the Government, for the latter alone has the power to confer upon Cuba this inestimable boon.

And will the Government do this? Do they desire to do it? Would to Heaven they did so! By the Treaty of 1817, England succeeded in obtaining from Spain her assent to the immediate abolition of her slave trade, north of the Equator; and the farther solemn and royal engagement for the complete suppression of the traffic from the year 1820. This cost England no trifle; on the contrary she contributed the large sum of £400,000, or about \$2,000,000 paid to Don Ferdinand 7th King of Spain, a premium to his philanthropy. This treaty was renewed and ratified in the year 1835.

In what manner then has this treaty been fulfilled?—a treaty so solemn, so grave, and of such political, social and moral transcendency, that its infraction causes the patriot Saco to tremble, and inspires him with the well-founded apprehension that “England armed with the indisputable right that we have given her to make reclamation for the infraction of the compact, will not always confine herself within the limits of strict justice—but levelling her formidable batteries against Cuba, may destroy her, and that within the brief space of an hour.” (\*) Let us see, next, how this contract has been kept.

Our fellow-patriot, Saco, is assuredly of all others the Cuban who has collected and possesses the most reliable data upon this subject; and no writer less exaggerates in statistieal estimates.

He states that “from 1817 to 1826, at the lowest calculation, there were introduced from Africa, 141,214 slaves. And from the year 1828 to 1840, there entered the port of Havana and the adjacent ports, more than 430 *slavers* without counting those which put into other harbors of the Island.”\* We have ourselves no data at hand, but we do not believe we exaggerate, estimating at 600 the number of vessels of this class which entered into ports of the Island from 1826 to 1848; and these at an average of 300 negroes each, will give, in the 21 or 22 years 180,000 slaves introduced thus clandestinely. Adding these to the 141,214, that Saco claims to have entered from 1817 to 1826, we then have 322,214 africans that the Government has permitted to be introduced into Cuba, and has reduced to the most illegal, inhuman, and unwarrantable condition of slavery.

Nor does the infraction of treaties and the work of iniquity stop here.—There are in Cuba thousands of Africans, called “*emancipados*,” reduced to a condition yet worse than authorized or legal slavery. A Spanish poet, wishing to portray the sordid, parsimonious, and insatiable avarice of a miser, made use of this beautiful exaggeration:

“He invented a method of watering the water!”

The Spanish Government has invented a method of rendering even the condition of slavery worse, robbing, as it does, the *emancipado* of the privileges which belong to the slave. In Cuba, among the rights which are conceded to the slave, is that of freeing himself through indemnity to his owner, or seeking a new master, in case he receives cruel treatment from the one he has. But the *emancipado* enjoys no such privilege as this. Where is the individual in Cuba who is ignorant of the knavery, the petty frauds, and iniquity which are committed here, to perpetuate the slavery of the unfortunate *emancipado*? And to what are these iniquities, and the infractions of the solemn engagements of the government owing? It is to the dark and fearful policy of those who direct the affairs of

(\*) Saco.—Suppression, &c.—Page 57.

(\*) Saco.—Reply to Vasquez Quepo, Page 16, Madrid, 1847.

the nation. The augmentation of the slave or black population is the grand lever, the great political means to insure dominion: hence this usurped right of disposing at will, of property, of liberty, and even of the honor of Cubans. This is, moreover, a mine of wealth, inasmuch as the protection afforded to the negro dealer, brings to the authorities the reward of iniquity, in the shape of three doubloons for each negro landed in Cuba; besides which, are the perquisites resulting from the system of indenture and re-indenture of the "emancipados." ||

Then, to what point does the candor of our fellow-patriot reach? How can he hope that Cuba will be saved from the imminent danger in which the traffic of slaves has placed her, meanwhile it is in the policy and interest of the government, not only to keep in existence the cause, but yet more to foster and increase its strength? If, then, the power which alone can apply a remedy seeks rather to aggravate the disease, what other human recourse remains, and to whom shall Cuba appeal to save herself from the otherwise irremediable and speedy ruin which Saco predicts?

And if we take into account, also, external causes, the situation becomes still more alarming. Saco himself forcibly alludes to these; and not one of his indications have failed in the result. Light and intelligence preserve their dominion, and more liberal, and more philanthropic or humane principles are constantly developing themselves. Democracy and Christian civilization are taking possession of thrones, and will not permit, that within the circuit of their influence, slavery shall co-exist. In vain individuals, through pretext of ancient title, assert property in man. Nations respond to the claim—Man is free! The question has reached a point from which there can be no retrograde movement: and it would be as difficult

to compel a Christian people to go back to paganism as to slavery. So far as regards principle, the question is already decided—the practical application alone is in abeyance: and this will be effected without producing disaster, ruin, or a return to a state of barbarism.

Saco communicated to us the bold step of England in 1834, which was calculated to shake the foundations of society wherever the monster slavery was tolerated; and which of those points has not been shaken?

Saco foretold us that Denmark and France would follow in the footsteps of England; and have they not followed?

Saco warned us that the continuation of the slave trade would operate as a criminal process against Cuba; and is not Cuba arraigned at the bar waiting the fatal sentence that is to punish the daughter for the crimes of the mother?

Saco predicted to us, that if the infamous traffic was continued, there would be no longer peace and tranquillity in Cuba. And now where is the peace and tranquillity enjoyed by Cubans? The sepulchres and solitary prisons of political offenders reply.

Saco, in fine, has referred to the fact, that the Northern States of the American Union fight under that banner which proclaims liberty to the captive, and freedom to the oppressed, whilst the South adheres to the ignominious flag of slavery; and that the world waits with impatience for the unravelling of the grand drama preparing in that confederation.

Sublime, indeed, is the contemplation of that event which is to proclaim redemption to an oppressed race. This disenthralment the world will assuredly witness, but not the philanthropic Saco; because if there exists in the United States a species of benevolence that directs itself to the colored race, there is, likewise, another species directing itself to the white, superior to the former by its many social titles and prepossessions, and, for this reason, asserting paramount claims to pre-eminence. Judging, nevertheless, from what is already accomplished, and by that which is in progress, we may well predict that the unravelling of the drama will correspond to its grandeur and

|| There have been honorable exceptions to this practice among the authorities of Cuba: and a sentiment of justice and respect for probity exacts from us the name of General Don Germino Valdez. This noble Spaniard refused to allow the stain upon his character consequent upon the receipt of this infamous bribe, or premium, for the sale of human flesh. On the contrary, he released from bondage a number of "emancipados" who had fulfilled the period of indenture. He retired poor, very poor, from the Government of the Island; and he owes his removal, before the usual term had expired, to the sordid machinations of the negro dealers, conjointly with the political views of the Government of Spain.

sublimity. The States of Delaware and Kentucky are preparing for the extinction of slavery by gradual emancipation. Missouri, too, evinces symptoms of a regenerating influence. Thus, one by one, they follow the lead of the Northern States, that a few years since were themselves plagued with the leprosy of slavery, and are so no longer; and marching on with measured step, but sure and uninterrupted, hand in hand with civilization and the superior element before alluded to, they will arrive at the goal without accident, without violence, or without reverses. It may be by different routes, and successively in the order of time; but they will assuredly reach the same point, inasmuch as they are guided and protected all by the same wise, thoughtful, and benevolent government, operating through a power and will of its own; free from entangling compromises; subject to no extraneous influences or interests; nor dictated to by any other government, nation, or dynasty; but ever in harmony, and sustained, too, by a free and powerful people: a notable difference, which it behoves the people of Cuba, in the circumstances in which they are placed, to regard with anxious consideration, involving, as it does, the question of life or death.

Up to the present time, we have not seen that the policy or the intentions of the Government of Spain are in the least calculated to save Cuba from the dangers in which she herself has placed her: no, her policy in this respect has, for a long period, been fixed. We wish, indeed, we could suppose that for the future she would manifest better intentions towards Cuba, if not from benevolent motives, at least impelled by self-interest. And the idea of waiting with patience for the more favorable purposes of Spain! What security has Señor Saco to offer us that Spain will be able to maintain for any length of time, even the present unhappy condition of Cuba, bad as it is? Who will pretend to limit the result of that war of principles, (and now likewise of dynasties,) that for fifty years has been consuming the vitals of the mother country? Does Señor Saco believe that the mighty democratic revolution that with throes is convulsing

Europe, will pause at the Pyrenees, and "lay down arms" at the feet of the imbeciles who dispute for the Spanish throne? We maintain the contrary. The principle of liberty will triumph in Spain, but for Spain and Spaniards only; Cuba will ever be an enslaved colony, and the Cubans will have neither voice nor vote, neither privileges nor liberty to confide in their own resources. Spain free, and enjoying a stable government, will fulfil her engagements, and her pecuniary obligations, and Cuba will provide the means, without participating in any benefits. Have we not seen—and Saco himself has affirmed it—that the more liberal government in Spain is ever the most oppressive and tyrannical for Cuba? Unhappy Cuba, indeed, should the government of Spain become free and consolidated! Cuba will then be sold, transferred, bartered, sacrificed. Do not tell us "that the Spanish government will not cede, vend, or barter the Island of Cuba," nor that it is sufficiently powerful to prevent an attempt to wrest it by force; because history affirms that Spain cedes, barter, sells, or loses her possessions frequently enough. Louisiana, St. Domingo, Jamaica, belonged at one time to Spain, and they were exchanged and ceded to France and England. Florida was a Spanish possession, and was sold to the United States. This same Island of Cuba was snatched from her at the close of the last century by England. The largest part of the American continent was once owned by Spain, and she has been deprived of it successively by all who were disposed to contend with her for their freedom. Portugal and Gibraltar—to whom did they belong? Gibraltar, a part and parcel of the Peninsular dominion, and Key of the Mediterranean—in whose power is this? The flag of England waves triumphantly over its rocky battlements, and the Spanish people are suffering, since the year 1704, this humiliation, and other grave prejudices. And it should be borne in mind that these cessions, sales, and losses have happened to Spain at a period when the Sun did not set in her dominions; and when her squadrons were denominated *invincible*. But where now is the limit of her dominion? Cuba and Porto Rico alone remain to her in America.



And her squadrons, where now are they? Yet in the forests.

Natural it is then, and correspondent with national feeling, that the Government of Spain should be thinking continually of removing that "thorn in her flesh," caused by the occupation of Gibraltar; and do not doubt, Señor Saco, that she would before this have done it, had it been in her power to do so. The Secretary of the American Legation has recently made known to us the fact of a secret negotiation, commenced between the Ministers of Her Catholic Majesty, and Her Christian Majesty, touching the exchange of Gibraltar for Ceuta and Cuba,—embracing the liquidation of the Spanish debt in the transfer of the latter; also, relative to a certain project for a republic of negroes in Cuba; the details of which have not yet transpired. And what inferences are to be drawn from these facts? Very clearly that if Spain and England have not yet completed a negotiation, it has not been for want of inclination or necessity, but because the argus eyed American stands a sentinel at the out-post, with his hundred eyes wide open, ready to hail "who goes there" so soon as the first step is taken on this side the line which marks the Eastern hemisphere.

Will England, then, suffer any favorable opportunity to pass to reimburse herself, and consummate her project of abolition? Will not Spain, too, take advantage of whatever offer which will restore her Peninsular territory and the key of the Mediterranean, and banish the hateful step-parent who now lords it over a portion of the Great Iberia? Wanting in penetration, nay more than this, must be the Cuban who believes that England and Spain, purely out of regard to the feeling and interest of Cubans, will omit to consummate a bargain of such transcendent importance to both.

How important then that Cubans should awake from their lethargy; that they should undeceive themselves without delay; that they should comprehend at once, that to ruin their country but a single stroke of the pen is necessary; and to promote to the latter, compromises, fears, and interests superabound with the government of Spain.

Yes, over the head of devoted Cuba is constantly hanging that frightful cloud which envelopes a thunderbolt capable of sending her to quick destruction! The demand of England is yet pending, and by no means withdrawn, requiring of the Spanish Government to declare the freedom of those Africans which have been introduced, in violation of the treaty, from the year 1820 to the present time.

That which to us is strange and inexplicable is, that it should be Saco who puts the following interrogatory, and to himself replies.—"Who is it that treats of emancipating the Slaves? Spain does not dream of it, and England *has no right to meddle in this question*, which belongs solely to us, and, furthermore, presents no threatening aspect." Who treats of emancipating the Slaves? A pretty question indeed! We answer, Europe entire; all America; the age, emphatically that of abolition, through its missionaries and advocates, from that great messenger of benevolence and mercy, Jesus Christ, down to the favorite son of Cuba, Don José Antonio Saco. Spain may or may not, dream of giving freedom to the Slaves; in either case there is no more security for Cuba than in the *imaginings* of Saco, to the effect that Spain will confer liberty on the Cubans. Both Spain and Cuba may be dreaming—still their dreams are not equal to the *reality*; in other words, to the existing treaties,—the fulfilment of which is obligatory on the part of Spain. How can it be possible that the visions referred to, are more to be confided in than acts which have been consummated and their force maintained in spite of either Spain or Cuba? Did the French Colonies receive previous notice of that decree which so suddenly and violently gave freedom to their Slaves? Is Isabella II. more firmly seated upon the throne of Spain than was Louis Philippe on that of France? That England presents, to-day, no apparently hostile intent is not precisely true, nor does it argue that to-morrow the indications may not be quite otherwise. Only a short time ago, a distinguished Lord uttered, in the British Parliament, the following language:—*It is necessary to attack the hornets in their own nest* (meaning the negro traders in Cuba)



give freedom to the slaves and by one blow, put my end to the trade." It is possible that just now, owing to surrounding circumstances, England will abstain from that interference in foreign affairs which has been, and is still, her habit; but Señor Saco will pardon us if we alledge that this negro question, or in other words, the abolition of slavery, belongs to her by unquestionable right, having paid no inconsiderable sum of money therefor, and her government feels the immense responsibility bearing upon them. The astute and intelligent government of England may not indeed, exact the freedom of slaves born in the Island, but she has demanded, and will continue to demand, the liberty of the Africans enslaved in Cuba, in scandalous violation of the most solemn treaties; facts which have called forth this asseveration of Saco himself, whether he is, or not, now, of the same opinion:—"We have confirmed with our oaths the undoubted right of England to demand full satisfaction for the infractions of this compact."

Let then Señor Saco see and be convinced, that so far from Cuba being free from the imminent peril in which Spain has placed her, in an hour least imagined,—during those moments of intestine commotion, frequent enough in Spain, and of which England knows well enough how to avail herself, when she wishes to make an advantageous bargain, or to punish those who deceive and insult her—she will hear the terrible ultimatum, "*accede to my demand or I will declare war.*"

And who then shall save Cuba? Who wipe away the tears that Cuba will let fall in this hour of tribulation? Spain? Spain? that Saco, in 1845, portrayed "as made lean through so many reverses and incapable then of affording the least pecuniary aid in defence of her colonies?" Has she, from that time to this, improved her condition? How has she recovered herself from so many disasters, and what new "El Dorado" has the illustrious Genoese discovered for her, to furnish her with pecuniary means to send to her Colony?

Undeceive yourself, worthy patriot Saco. Spain it will not be who shall dry up the tears of your unhappy country; for if it were so, or that she had

such intentions, neither Cuba's sons, or legitimate representatives, would be mourning in bitterness in a strange land, and seeking that sympathy and counsel which an unnatural mother denies them.

Abandoned thus on the verge of an abyss, with an ignominious end in view, how shall Cuban patriotism expend its efforts to save their beloved mother? Shall they follow the advice of her afflicted exile? "Suffer with resignation the outrages of Fortune?" No! a thousand times no!—for Fortune never lends a helping hand to the cowardly and pusillanimous.

To counsel Cubans to remain mute and unimpassioned spectators of the liberty of America, and of the rest of the world: mute and unimpassioned spectators of the slavery and degradation of their country: mute and unimpassioned spectators of the base and criminal policy that Spain has adopted to drag Cuba to her speedy ruin, is, without doubt, to consider us, as of all mankind, the most stupid and debased.

\* Such cowardice as this, in breach to manhood grown, is base servility, that loudly itself disowns."

## II.

"Cuba, in order to place herself in an advantageous position as regards the future, not only ought to terminate at once, and that forever, the slave trade, but she ought, moreover, to promote, with all the means in her power, white colonization."\*

There are two methods which Governments adopt to thwart a people when the latter demands or insists upon its rights. The one is positive or direct; the other negative or indirect. By the first, it snatches away; and by the second, it neither gives nor allows the people to acquire any of those elements which develop the physical and moral forces indispensable to them, in order to be prepared to maintain their rights, or cause their will to be respected. The Spanish Government is perfect in the theory and practice of both of the methods indicated. In truth, these form the sum total of all the wisdom or ability in the Colonial system adopted for the Government of the people of Cuba.

\* Saco on the Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Island of Cuba, p. 54.

We opine that we have demonstrated by sufficient evidence—supported as it is by the authority of our fellow-patriot Saco—that the parent government is that which has placed Cuba in so critical a situation, on the brink of the same precipice from whence the greater and lesser Antilles have been plunged into an abyss of misery and ruin. The parent government is alone responsible for the introduction of slaves into Cuba. It is so by its criminal connivance and by the support her subordinates have given to the traffic, in utter violation of the most solemn pledges; against the obligations of morality, of self-respect, and indeed of what is due from one civilized nation to another. We are compelled to speak thus plainly. The opinion entertained by the Home Government is, that the more heterogeneous the population, the more irreconcilable the antipathies of caste, and the greater the ignorance and degradation it can maintain among the inhabitants of Cuba; so much the more is their dominion insured, and so much greater the facility with which it can fleece us separately, or indeed all united. What does it matter to the Government if the means it uses are immoral or illegal, provided the object is attained? Hence the connivance and protection given to the introduction of Africans, Malays, Indians, and other degraded and uncivilized races, now in process of transportation to Cuba.

We shall now attempt to prove by other references, as well as again by the authority of Saco, that the Metropolitan Government makes it her increased study, by what means, direct and indirect, she can frustrate every measure and every feeble effort that the more enlightened people of Cuba make to promote white colonization, in order to save their country from the otherwise *irremediable* and *speedy ruin* which Saco and many others have predicted.

It is quite worth while to notice the tactics that the parent government has observed in this part of its policy. In order to give to itself in Europe the tone of an enlightened and illustrious government, and to acquire in America the character of a paternal one, it has

played the most hypocritical part that it is possible to play in this farce of white colonization. The conspicuous patriots, Ramirez, Arango, Saco, and others, apostles of the cause of white colonization, were far from imagining that they would find themselves associated with a Judas—with a Government that betrayed them, and frustrated the holy work of patriotism and redemption! The latter, finding itself unable to resist the exactions and dictations of England; the progress of the age; the reports and representations made to them on the subject—and withal the evidences of feeling on the part of Cubans—assumed the mask of philanthropy, christianity, and progress,—and thereupon instituted those *Juntas de Población* and *Fomento*; dictated laws and regulations, and imposed duties and contributions, with the alleged object of promoting efficaciously the immigration of Europeans. It went even farther than this: it offered large premiums, immunities, privileges, honors, &c., to stimulate subjects and strangers to co-operate with her in *white-washing Cuba!* It ought not to appear strange, then, that in the last Fiscal Report of Don Vicente Vasquez Quiapo we find paraded on every page the most pompous eulogiums upon the zeal with which the beneficent and pious monarchs of Spain have ever dedicated themselves, not only to the preservation of the indigeneous race, (not a seed of which, notwithstanding those extraordinary efforts, remains either in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, or the other Antillas,) but likewise to augment the population by emigration from the Peninsula." Whoever examines the motives which were alleged for the creation of the patronal associations referred to, cannot but admire the sincerity and purity of intention exhibited by the Monarchs of Spain! But how will he escape surprise when he learns that all the zeal, wisdom, and power of the Government of their Majesties has not been competent to increase the white population of Cuba beyond half a million in the space of three hundred and fifty years! and this, too, when it is considered that among all the great events of the last half century, there has been none to prejudice this noble

object; on the contrary, had the latter been sincerely sustained by the Government, all has been calculated greatly to promote it. The sale of Louisiana and Florida; the revolutions of Santo Domingo and Spanish America; even Spain, with her endless revolutions, civil and foreign wars; Europe alarmed and flying from the great Napoleon; the United States, with its migratory population and its invigorating commerce—all might have contributed to this paramount object, had the Government truly desired it. Cuba, then, in the natural order of things, ought to have attained a grade of wealth and population without a parallel among the European colonies. But how has Cuba profited by so many and such favorable circumstances and by the numerous measures and overflowing zeal of a paternal Government in fostering her white population? What, in fine, is the result? Let Saco answer—“But does the cause of colonization, in Cuba, prosper? Now and then it is talked of, and again it is written about; committees are formed, reports are made up, new contributions are imposed, and the Government usurps those, and disposes of them in some other way; and all this time not a single colonist plants his foot there; yet the fields of Cuba are inundated with African slaves! †

Here we have, then, on one hand, great zeal, extraordinary wisdom, overwhelming power, and means procured by numerous contributions, all with the design of increasing the white population of Cuba; and, nevertheless, the latter scarcely equals that which obtains simply by natural increase in the countries most despotically and brutally governed. ‡ We have, on the other,

\* See Parallel between the Island of Cuba and some of the English colonies. Page 17. Madrid, 1837.

† Nor is this ratio maintained in Cuba, inasmuch as the latter should amount to at least 3 per cent. per annum, whereas it really amounts to no more than 3-100 of 1 per cent.—that is to say, but little more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an individual for each hundred. This is demonstrated by comparing the census of 1846 with that of 1841, copied from the Statistical Tables published in Havana in 1847:

White population in 1846,	.	.	425,757
Do. do. 1841,	.	.	418,291
Increase in five years,	.	.	7,476

This is the country whose prosperity is so cherished by its Government!

solemn treaties, royal orders, severe penal laws, constituted tribunals, vigilant officers, and a thousand other measures, to prohibit and prevent the infamous traffic of African slaves; and, notwithstanding all this, never have more negroes been introduced into Cuba than in the period from 1820 to April, 1849. ¶ How does Mr. Saco explain this, and what consequences will the great statesmen of Cuba, the great moralist, the great logician, deduce from these facts? Meanwhile, other less favored countries, and enjoying less boasted protection from their governments, have doubled, tripled, and quadrupled their population; Cuba has remained almost without change, subjected to her fatal destiny.

Meanwhile Europe scatters its industrious and active population throughout all America, and even to the savage shores of Africa and Oceana; Cuba, the admired and coveted of all nations, is not permitted to welcome a single colonist, nor to see one of the sprouts of the beautiful Caucasian tree take root in her soil, whose cions inserted would so greatly improve our race. These results, so contrary to pre-conceived hopes, are owing, no doubt, to the influence of the evil star of Spain, whose Government never has hit upon the secret of making herself beloved or appreciated by anybody, not even by the legitimate children of her own household. As regards Cuba, this affects her yet more fatally; for, in addition to that which we have already detailed as calculated to produce to her irreparable injury, there is, also, to be taken into account, what she would positively gain by white colonization. An excellent statistician has estimated that each 40,000 emigrants from Europe bring to America a million of dollars as the value of their property; and their annual labor, as a farther addition to the wealth of the country, is at least five millions. ‡

‡ From January to April there have entered into the Island of Cuba 2,000 Africans, which, at the rate of 3 dollars each, the premium arranged between the negro traders and the authorities, has produced the sum of \$125,200. The British Consul, who is informed of all the particulars, has communicated the same to his Government; as also the number of expeditions which are expected in the course of the year.

¶ Von Raumer: America and the American people.—Page 149.



Some persons seek to account for the resistance and repugnance of strangers to come to Cuba to establish themselves here, by the rigor of the climate, the local diseases, and the natural effects of the products which constitute the principal sources of its wealth. Señor Vasquez Queipo has written a book to explain the multitude of causes or impediments, moral, physical, &c., that have paralyzed, suspended, or completely frustrated the wise and paternal intentions of the Home government to favor European emigration to Cuba. This gentleman would have saved himself the trouble of writing, and ourselves that of reading, if, instead of wandering about in fruitless pursuit of causes, and combinations of causes, difficulties, &c., he had taken the direct route to the truth, and found all comprehended in one—viz., a bad Government. We come now to the inquiry:

What strange aberration has excited in the mind of Saco the vain hope that Spain will yet save Cuba, causing the sun of liberty to shine upon her, so that in concert with her sons she may extract the poison which corrodes the vitals of his unhappy country?

Well might Saco, when he communicated to us that hope, likewise have revealed to us the secret which he has kept to himself, viz: in what way Spain is to obtain for herself a wise, good, just, strong, and liberal government, that shall be capable of causing the sun of liberty to shine upon the whole nation. Without he tells us the reason of his hopes, we here are not able to conceive how Spain can bestow upon others that which she herself has not; nor why she is to change her policy, or why wish to vary the means which she now employs with so much security in governing Cuba—precisely according to her own will. Let us have, then, this great secret, lest the incredulous and despairing accuse the patriot Saco of cruelty to his countrymen; or suspect that his motive is to tantalize Cuba, and divert Spain with the drama of her slow and lingering death, whilst he thus attempts to deprive Cubans of the bright anticipations of inoculating themselves into the *diseased trunk*.

Permit us, *en passant*, to remind Señor Saco that this diseased trunk, in which he affects not to desire to see his favorite Cuba engrafted, is the wide-spreading oak, which, from the summit of the Alleghanies, shades with its luxuriant grafts the waters of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico; having resisted with its trunk the tornadoes of Europe and America, which have sought to prostrate it. And we will, furthermore, remind him, that Cuba carries in her system the poison which is consuming her—the taint of inheritance and infection from the decayed parent stock from which she sprung—that does not flourish even in its own proper European soil—and besides suffered during the first hurricane, the loss of its most beautiful and thrifty branches.

To return from our digression: Will the worthy patriot do us the favor to tell us in what way we, Cubans, can gain access to the throne, in order that we may ask, with all due humility, that the sun of liberty may shine upon us; that the beneficent rays of justice, rights, protection, and proper guarantees may reach us; in fine, that we may be saved from that *speedy ruin* which is now prognosticated? And not alone salvation from the apprehended danger, but likewise from the outrages, the rapacity, the imbecile and impure hands, to whom Spain confides the destinies of Cuba and her sons. May we address the mother-country verbally, by writing, by signs, or in what way? Who “dares put the bell on the cat?” “Is there in Cuba a Junta, or Board of Commissioners, that can correct the irregularities, or restrain the excesses of erring authorities or magistrates?”—Answer yourself, Mr. Saco. \* Is there, peradventure, an assembly that discusses and regulates Cuban interests, or places them in harmony with the extreme wishes of the Metropolitan Government?† Answer, Mr. Saco. “Are not the people governed solely by the despotic will of he who commands?—Are not heavy penalties and contributions demanded; and are not subjects

\* Saco: Parallel, &c. Page 4.

† Do. do. 8.



exiled without legal process, or sentence" † Answer, if you please, Mr. Saco. "Are we not judged by military tribunals, and those entrusted with terrible faculties to the disposing of our property, our lives, and, moreover, of the honor of Cubans?" Answer, Mr. Saco. "Is not the press subjected to a rigorous censorship, which not only has suffocated or suppressed periodicals consecrated to the advancement of the country, but has compelled intelligent and laborious persons, who are capable of writing and speaking, to preserve a guarded silence—in fact, such a tyrannical censorship that the discussions in the "Cortes," nor even the message from the throne can be published in the gazettes of the Island; or if even done, it is after they have undergone alterations or mutilations, at the will of the local authorities?" ‡—

Answer, if you please, Mr. Saco.— "Does there remain any possible hope against the numerous evils whilst Cuba is condemned to colonial bondage, and meanwhile the slightest aspiration for a removal of these oppressions is punished as a crime?" † Answer Saco.

Yes, answer by all that is sacred, as belongs to the incorruptible and model patriot, in whom we behold the man of uncompromising spirit, capable of losing his head on the block, sooner than subscribe to the slavery and oppression of his country—to the political and social degradation and endless shame of his countrymen. So it is that we desire, thou patriot, like unto Samuel Adams, that you say to us, that rather than to continue to live without virtue, without honor, and without liberty, in the heart of free America, it were better to perish all, men, women, and children, in the field of battle; and even although Cuba should weep forever over our remains, only let her not weep one day more over our ignominy and chains.

Saco says to us, "that in our circumstances we ought not to allow ourselves to slumber in a vain confidence; or, on the other hand, to exaggerate the dangers."

Confidence in whom, or what? Who in Cuba has confidence in anybody, or anything? Saco it is, and not the annexionists, who treats of inspiring in us "a vain confidence." Who has exaggerated the dangers? Who can exaggerate them, if it is not in the power of pen to portray their reality? Surely it is Saco, and not the annexionists, who has awakened our distrust, and who has painted to the life, in grand relief, the dangers that are overwhelming us, and are about to consign Cuba to *irretrievable and speedy ruin*.

Would to heaven that Saco had dedicated his talents and vast acquirements to the inspiring us with confidence in ourselves; confidence in our inexhaustible resources; confidence in the people that surround us; and finally, and above all, confidence in a wise and just Providence, who never can, never has, nor never will deny aid to a people who labor sincerely in the holy work of political, moral, and social regeneration.

Instead of this, what hopes, what confidence has Saco inspired in us, in his *Thoughts upon the Incorporation of Cuba into the American Union*, calculated to tranquilize our minds with respect to our salvation and future stability? All his counsels may be summed up as follows:

That we Cubans ought to suffer with patience and resignation the outrages of fortune, promoting as far as in us lies, the successful destiny of our country: That in concert with the parent government we should exert ourselves to extract the poison which is consuming our vitals: That the Spanish Government give heed to the counsels of Señor Saco for the simple reason that he is *in every respect a Cuban*: That the Home government likewise should grant us political rights, and opportunity to embrace any callings we may judge proper; and that the former may manifest true wisdom by causing the sun of liberty to shine upon benighted Cuba! Vain hopes indeed!

What we have to say is this: that neither Governments nor individuals can play a hypocritical part for any

|| Do. do. 8.  
 † Do. do. 5.  
 † Parallel, Page 13.

‡ Do. do. 8.  
 \* Do. do. 18.

length of time. Sooner or later they are compelled themselves to drop the mask or else to suffer others to remove it. The Colonial government has thought proper to adopt the first of these alternatives;—and of a truth it was the best course for them; for there is possibly in this some little evidence of boldness which should inspire respect. In Cuba white colonization is no longer talked about. Royal orders are issued successively, and authoritative measure, adopted, designed to throw embarrassments in the way of voluntary emigration from the Peninsula and the Canary Islands, and to worry and annoy strangers. The funds contributed by the people of Cuba to promote white colonization are usurped now, without sign of conscience or even delicacy, and appropriated to the protection of favorite speculators and speculations in Malayan; and finally, a new commercial enterprise has been set on foot—one which we shall denominate the Indian Trade in contrast to distinction to the Negro trade—the result of which will be to prolong the war in Yucatan, in order to make prisoners, and compel them to contract (behold a new species of contract *per force*.) for the plantations in Cuba, to which latter point they will go under the name of *apprentices*, but, in fact, only to succeed to the wretched lot of the *african emancipatos*. ||

The fact is, that slave traders are able to land as many africans in Cuba as they like, without passports, licences, bondsmen, or molestation whatsoever: nevertheless, all these difficulties, and many others besides, will be encountered by any foreigner belonging to the white race. Savages, cannibals, witches, blacks, olive complexion, copper colored, yellow, and no matter what else; all serve with the government to make up the mosaic population of Cuba, except the color of the

Article 3. The Asiatics, agreeable to their contract, may be employed during the customary hours in any species of work, in or about the estates.

Article 4. They shall be entitled to \$4 per month, besides a daily allowance of half-a-pound of cod fish, and a pound and a half of plainties, sweet potatoes, or other nutritious vegetables; and yearly two suits of clothes, one blanket, and one woollen shirt.

Article 5. During sickness they shall be provided at the expense of the consignee; and if the infirmity exceeds fifteen days they shall not be entitled to the wages for the current month.

Article 6. Neither shall they be entitled to full wages during the month or months succeeding their flight from the house or estate to which they belong; and the expenses of their capture and restoration shall be deducted from their wages.

\* \* \* \* \*

Article 10. Ten Asiatics belonging to the same plantation require the supervision of a white overseer, who will attend to their wants, keep watch over them, and accompany them during their labors.

Article 11. The colonist who disobeys the voice of his superior in refusing to work, or in the non-performance of any of his obligations, may be punished with 12 lashes: if he persists, with 18 more; and if he still refuses to return to the path of duty, he shall wear a chain, and be obliged to sleep in the stocks.

If after the period of two months (positive limitation of correctional term) no signs of amendment appear; in this case all shall be communicated to the local authority, in order that due report thereof be made to the superior authority of the Island.

Article 12. If two or more shall refuse to work, resisting all commands and persuasions, they shall be punished with 25 lashes, wear chains, and sleep in the stocks during the space of two months.

|| By the last Reglamento published in the papers of this City, in this current month of April, the masters and overseers of estates are authorized to chastise the Asiatic and Yucatan or Mexican Colonists with the lash, stocks, imprisonment, &c. &c. And all this in the 19th century, in the Island of Cuba, against positive enactments and against natural right, by the authority of the Captain General, Count Alroy. The Spanish functionaries really imagine themselves possessed of authority to use the lash, upon the free people of America. If their respective governments permit this indignity, it must be allowed that the lash is not undeserved.

The articles of this Lash Law read as follows:—

### ASIATIC COLONISTS.

Article 1. Those in whose charge the Asiatic Colonists are, will use efforts to initiate them in the doctrines of the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion; and should they manifest a desire to embrace it, information shall be given to the curate of the parish, in order to open the way which will conduct them to the bosom of the Church.

Article 2. They shall be taught the respect and obedience due to the authorities, as well as to their immediate superiors.

civilized man of Europe. And why is this? Clear enough. It is because the Home government apprehends that the white population of Cuba, intelligent, rich, and powerful, will not longer submit to be trampled upon by a stupid and ill-disposed government; and that they will consequently combine and declare themselves independent. "This," Saco says, "the government believes, and hence they have made choice of the slavery of the Negroes as a sort of counterpoise, and thus criminally protect the traffic. Hence likewise originates the repugnance to foment the white population, and the zeal manifested to introduce some new race from Asia or America, to entangle still farther the existing relations."\*

That which excites the most wonder is, who the individual is, who writes thus; because he knows all the evil designs and corruptions of the government of Spain with respect to Cuba; and knowing this, he, notwithstanding, proposes to confide, and desires that his brethren should confide the salvation of the country to this government and its agents! Is this not equivalent to choosing folly for a guide, treason for a friend, and atheism for religion?

The government is conscious of the progressive intelligence of the Cubans; and the latter, on their side, are sensible of the danger of their situation, so threatening to their social condition, and which is due to external as well as internal causes. They would, in consequence, exhaust their resources in adopting some means to increase the white population, even though the government should render no aid, asking only that it should place no obstacles in the way. But the government foresees the blow, and desires to parry it in season. And how does it do it? It embarrasses in every way—using all the apparent means in its power—the project of white colonization; and if these means fail, it has in reserve others designed to insure its dominion, and to itself the *exclusive privilege* of fleecing the people of Cuba. The Fiscal of her Majesty clearly admits this. He advises and "insists that the standing army should be at once augmented in proportion to the increase of white pop-

ulation, especially if the latter should come from other countries of Europe than the Spanish Peninsula."\* Of course, the augmentation of the standing army produces, *pari passu*, an augmentation of import duties to support it; and the people of Cuba must of course furnish the lash that is to take the skin off their backs. The wise foresight of the Fiscal does not stop here. His Lordship counsels the Metropolitan Government that they "turn into another channel the educational system of the youth;" "because," says he, "the bad direction now pursued, by inclining them to scientific professions, has placed them in a false position in society."† These are the words of a Fiscal of the Royal Hacienda of her Majesty, in the year 1844, and one, too, whose public duties are connected with the moral and political sciences!

And what more can be expected from a policy so illiberal, so retrograde, so malevolent, as that which has been so systematized and authorized for the government of Cuba and its inhabitants? To what point, and how long, must the people of Cuba suffer? The question continually rings in our ears—What ought the patriots, the faithful sons of Cuba to do, in order to save their country from the *irremediable and speedy ruin* to which the Spanish Government is dragging it? Once more, hear Saco—and we quote him more fully than we have done: "Patriotism, pure and illustrious patriotism in Cuba ought not to consist in desiring impossibilities, nor in precipitating the country into a premature revolution, but in suffering, with resignation and noble spirit the outrages of fortune, ever striving to straighten the path of destiny of their beloved country."

Yes; but if, meanwhile, the eminent patriots, Ramirez, Arango, Saco, and others, have passed their lives in straightening the path of destiny of our country, the government of Spain and its agents have gone on in all their tortuous course, dragging it to the borders of a precipice, where we see it to-day,—it is clear that the illustrious patriotism of Cubans has effected no-

\* Vasquez Queipo, Fiscal Report, Page 12.

\* Saco: Thoughts on the Incorporation, Page 10.



thing farther than to condemn itself to the toilsome and ungrateful task of Sisyphus; † and that mother Cuba, like another Penelope, is continually weaving, and pulling asunder again, the tapestry of her salvation.

Our fellow-patriot will permit us respectfully to manifest to him our inability to comprehend his metaphysics,—"the outrages of fortune." If Providence, in his wise and inscrutable purposes, shall send a countless succession of evils upon Cuba, and chastise her by means of hurricanes, earthquakes, inundations, drought, plagues, infirmities, and devouring pestilence, we would humbly resign ourselves to the disposal of the Most High, and in the midst of our tribulations, open our lips only to implore his pardon, and supplicate his mercy, ever praising and blessing the name of the Lord!

Can usurpation, and the violent despoiling of a civilized people of all social, religious, and moral rights, be denominated "outrages of fortune?"—And are these, too, outrages of fortune—viz., the arming of tribunals, military commissions, and the agents of the government, with authority to dispose at will of the interests, "of the life, and even of the honor of Cubans?" Again: the greatest disability which can attach to a person who aspires to the career of arms, to the magistracy, to a municipal office, or to the post of a military or civil governor of the towns, is that of being born in Cuba. Have the outrages of fortune aught to do with this? And when talent and learning, honor and patriotism, qualities highly prized in other countries, are, in the eyes of this government, unpardonable crimes, compelling high-minded Cubans, (meanwhile the destiny of the country is confided to such imbecile and impure hands,) either to drag out their existence in foreign lands, or to seek a refuge in obscurity or in silence, in order to escape persecution:—is all this to be laid at the door of fortune?

Are these, and similar outrages, outrages of fortune? No; fortune has never outraged Cuba or the Cubans.—

† Sisyphus was condemned to roll to the top of a hill a huge stone; which, constantly recoiling, and rolling down incessantly, rendered his labor and efforts totally fruitless.

Outrages are the offspring of a tyrannical and demoralized government, insatiable in its avarice. Outrages spring from cowards, who are the willing instruments of iniquity and oppression. Outrages are of such a nature, that when consented to by Cubans, they sink and degrade them below the condition of their slaves. Not *feminine acquiescence*, but *manly resolve*, is what Cuba needs, and that which she exacts from her sons, to rescue her from so many outrages and perils which humiliate her and drag her on to that dreadful abyss. Nations should be like prudent individuals, circumspect and long-suffering, not appealing to violent means, when ordinary ones will effect the reform of abuses. But when the injustice and outrages constitute a system, so to speak, of the government; when the voice of reason and justice no longer suffice to obtain necessary reforms—then valor and physical force must be summoned to protect the dignity, liberty, interests, and threatened existence of one's country. And surely if Cuba has no sons capable of protecting her from the outrages of the government of Spain, and from the violence of the mercenaries of the latter—then was she more honored in her first sons the aboriginals, than in the noble descendants of their conquerors; for, although Cuba saw the former subjected to the outrages of conquest, slavery, and degradation, she did not see them outlive such ignominy—all died!

### III.

"The true salvation and future stability of Cuba does not consist in ingrafting itself on to a diseased trunk like its own, but in rooting out the cancer which is destroying vitality." \*

In the preceding divisions we have placed before the reader a multitude of facts, which demonstrate that the Spanish Government has fixed definitively the line of policy adopted for the government of Cuba; and this is to defraud and oppress its inhabitants without mercy or responsibility. This policy consists:

Firstly: in continuing to favor and protect by all the methods in their power the introduction of African slaves.

\* See: Thoughts on the Incorporation, &c. Page 10.



Secondly; in interposing obstacles and embarrassments, and, if possible, totally frustrating all projects, efforts and sacrifices which Cubans form, or attempt to execute, in order to promote European immigration, or foment the white population.

And inasmuch as a policy so criminal, so base, and so retrograde, can only conduce to the *irremediable and speedy ruin* of Cuba, hence these consequences, to wit:

1. That it is absurd to hope that the government of Spain is that which will save Cuba; or that the former will lend its aid to root out the cancer that is destroying her vitality.

2. That whenever a government violates the most solemn compacts; outrages the most holy laws of morality; leaps the bounds of respect due to itself even; and puts in jeopardy the existence of a country and its inhabitants: it is not only right, but a solemn and imperative duty for the latter to save their country, using for this purpose all known human means—for this step is abundantly justified by the law of self-preservation.

We conceive, then, that we have demonstrated by ample proof, and by the authority of Saco—that it is the infernal policy of Spain which has placed Cuba on the brink of the precipice where she finds herself. But inasmuch as our candid fellow-patriot yet cherishes in his heart the fond hope that Spain will alter her policy; and furthermore, inasmuch as he affects to dissuade Cubans from engraving themselves into the diseased trunk of the American Confederation, we, on the other hand, are willing to introduce farther evidence that Spain will not alter her policy towards Cuba; and that no possible means of escape are left to it, except to forestall the fatal decree—in other words, to separate itself from the mother country before the latter makes it her victim.

Saco himself wrote thus in 1837:—  
“Under no circumstances is the condition of a colony enviable; but when I turn my eyes towards Cuba, and contemplate the misery in which she lies, I pledge my honor that I would exchange the fate of my country for that of the

Canadian Provinces.” (1) And has the wretched condition of Cuba improved in the period from 1837 to 1849,—from that day when Saco would have exchanged lots with one of the English Colonies? Quite the contrary. Meanwhile the colonies of American negroes, established and protected by a simple philanthropic and christian society, have prospered in Liberia and Monrovia, on the western coast of Africa, and have organized a government which may serve as a model for the most polished nations of Europe, Cuba and her inhabitants have descended in the political and social scale below the level of the negro citizens of the neighbouring islands, that a little while ago were slaves.

In the year 1837, Saco declared: “If it were proper always to define things by means of examples, the most exact definition that could be given of tyranny would be to say that it is the *government of Cuba*” (2) Has the government of Cuba varied in character from 1837 to 1849? Is it now anything more than one of despotism, corruption, and, in fine, of unrestrained and unfettered will?

In 1837 Saco wrote as follows: “There is in Cuba no national militia; and although the security of the country demands it, it is not organized, because the inhabitants are distrusted; and a criminal policy not only keeps them disarmed, but labors to promote dissension” (3) Then has the national militia of which he then spoke, been subsequently established for the purpose of protecting city and country, and insuring the stability of the Island? Is it permitted to individuals to arm and organize for their local security and for the common defence? Are we not told to fear our very brothers, the Spaniards, as well our own slaves (4); and in order

(1) Parallel, &c. Page 10.

(2) Parallel, &c. Page 4.

(3) do, do, 9.

(4) “The CRONICA” of New York,—which is regarded as the print which represents the interests and colonial policy of Spain, in the United States—gave utterance on the 7th April ult. to the following: “The day that Spain shall see her West Indian possessions threatened by a foreign power, she will resist the latter, if not by an equal number of guns, at least with that valorous spirit which in all ages has been the most prominent characteristic of her sons. But if in consequence of the war, those elements now held in check by the restraints of self-interest should give signs of leaping that restraint, Spain will, in this case, should she see that the other means are insufficient, arm her Africans, and use them as auxiliaries while she is able to do so, and will bestow upon them their freedom as a reward

to still farther divide us, are there not introduced new races of savages from Asia and the American Continent ?

In 1837 Saco's lamentations were :— "Against so many evils there remains no longer the hope of a remedy ; for condemned as Cuba is to colonial slavery, her simple aspirations for a reform will be punished as a crime." (1) Has the period from 1837 to 1849 given birth to a consolatory hope of a remedy to those evils ? Has not Sr. Saco seen, terrified and fleeing to all parts, loyal patriots, for having attempted nothing worse than to prepare legal representations to be presented to the chief authority of the Island, beseeching him to employ all the means in his power to suppress the Slave trade ?

We will leave to the patriot Saco the task of tranquillizing the inhabitants of Cuba, and of demonstrating to them that the perilous situation in which Spain, Europe, and the revolutions of the 19th century, have placed the colonies of the American Archipelago, have now ceased : that a people that resolves to suffer passively the outrages of fortune, is that which has ever saved itself from the mistakes, the rapacity, and the tyranny of its government : that Spain will hereafter proceed like an intelligent, a wise, just, powerful government, and send the Sun of liberty to illumine Cuba. And when Sr. Saco has demonstrated all this, and inspired in us this confidence and security ; and when we see realized all this beautiful imagery, these blessings and miracles the illustrious exile may rest assured that he need not thereafter write one more line in order to dissuade us from engrafting ourselves on to the *diseased trunk*, which, nevertheless, has given life and verdure to Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and California, and notwithstanding that at the period when grafted on, they evinced signs of leprosy and decay.

But if our beloved countryman does not relieve our apprehensions, or if he does not present to us other hopes than he has given us in his "*Thoughts upon the Incorporation of Cuba into the American Confederation*," he may rest assured that all Cubans, like as to one man, will fix their eyes upon that luminous star to which he himself directed

our vision in the year 1837—"The Great North American Confederation—into whose arms Cuba will fall with honor and glory, and find peace, sympathy, strength and protection, justice and liberty ; and, supported by a foundation so firm, she will exhibit to the world a people springing, with the velocity of lightning, from the depths of degradation to the summit of grandeur" (2).

#### IV.

"Contemplating Cuba as she is, under the government of Spain, then as she would be as a State of the American Union, it would seem that every Cuban ought to ardently desire *annexation*. But this change, brilliant as, at first sight, it appears, presents in the realization great difficulties and dangers." [1]

Had the brilliant pen that in 1837 traced the "*Parallel between the Island of Cuba and some of the English Colonies*," been dedicated in 1848 to the contemplation of that which has befallen his unhappy country in the intervening period of eleven years, and that to which it is now exposed under the neglectful government of Spain, the question would have been resolved under the two most important aspects ; firstly, the necessity of rescuing Cuba from her alarming position, and consequent speedy ruin which all have predicted ; and, secondly, the immense advantages which would accrue to her inhabitants by the proposed change.—Had this been so, Saco would now be the nucleus or centre to which all opinions would converge, to reform, rectify and fortify themselves, to the end that they might acquire that irresistible force, that moral power, which would be the sure guarantees of victory and safety to Cuba, through the only possible human means now remaining.

Unfortunately, however, for all, Saco has not thought proper to lift the veil, and exhibit to the masses neither the real danger of their situation, or the positive and immediate advantages to be obtained by the change proposed. Instead of writing a "*Parallel between Cuba as a colony of Spain, and Cuba as a sovereign State of the American Union*," he has written his "*Thoughts*

on the Incorporation", &c., which last neither present with sufficient clearness the perilous situation of the Island, nor offer a probable remedy—on the contrary, what he has said is equivalent to saying to a family whose house is surrounded by incendiaries, robbers and assassins, that the best way to save themselves is to sleep on without alarm, and to repose all confidence in those who are thus threatening them, and holding them in such terror. In this respect, and alone in this respect, we affirm that the "Thoughts on the Incorporation" have done great service to the Spanish Government; and the latter knows well how to take advantage of it. They will do it too without any manifestation of obligation either to Saco or to his country. So true is this remark, that it is demonstrated in the fact, that the production referred to is the first of the political writings of Saco that has received from the Government of Cuba, the honors of an unmolested circulation, as well as the greatest encomiums from the Spanish press. This ought to be enough to convince Saco of the injurious tendency of his pamphlet in the opinion of the thinking portion of the Cubans; and great indeed must be his mortification to find himself the subject of commendation by the government, the local authorities, and their satellites of all classes. "*The Thoughts upon the Incorporation*" have accomplished nothing, nor will they accomplish anything towards improving the condition of Cuba, much less to save her from the catastrophe with which she is threatened. On the contrary, the policy of the Colonial government will be more firmly fixed. The latter will act with less embarrassment in the belief that this *anti-annexation* pamphlet, put forth under the influential and almost venerated name of Saco, will divide and subdivide opinions in Cuba, without allowing us to unite upon a single principle, or to rally around one and the same political standard. So that, instead of aspiring national representation, rights, liberty, or anything else which Saco in his noble desire but fatal delusion, looks forward to, the result will be numerous expatriations, imprisonments, and other outrages, such as are merited too by indi-

viduals and nations whenever they are deficient in the virtue or valor to chastise the insolent authors of their multiplied wrongs.

Knowing then, as we ourselves know, the moral rectitude of Saco; the position he occupies as a statesman and philosopher: how far publicly and privately compromised in his sentiments and his sympathies; we were not indeed expecting to see him resolve, and very decidedly expressing himself for violent measures, for overt acts, in other words, for a resort to physical force as the most effective argument against tyranny, as well as a justifiable defence against oppression, in order to break the yoke of Spain, redeem Cuba from colonial slavery, and give to her a suitable government, under such guarantees as the will of her inhabitants and circumstances might dictate. But it was far from us to imagine Saco so sensitive and prejudiced against annexation, that even under the most favorable terms, that is to say in a pacific way, it has to him such a disrelish, that the apprehended loss of *Cuban nationality* causes the deepest feeling to him.

The fact is we have not been able to comprehend what nationality it is of which Saco speaks—whether it is the one belonging to government, or the one appertaining to nature or race. The first Cuba does not possess, unless the condition of *enslaved colony* of Spain is the glorious nationality worthy of being inscribed on armorial bearings, and pompously boasted of, just as our possibilians, in their occasional gatherings, claim nobility and rank on account of the livery which covers their lacerated backs. But if it is the nationality of race he means, we do not understand how one born a Cuban, and wishing to preserve his character as such, would lose it, whatever the government may be. Will citizen Saco deny the rights and title of Cubans to those now there, children and grand-children of Germans, English, Americans, Swiss, Italians, &c., or will he deny them to those born hereafter in Cuba, whatever may be the form of government at the period of their birth? No, Saco is incapable of thinking or feeling thus. And if there is any one who in his Spanish quixotism should think so, it



matters little if so be that those who are born on Cuban soil, regard Cuba as their country; if they love it as Saco himself does; and so loving it, defend it, because they see their existence and felicity bound up in it, regardless of the country from whence their forefathers originated. With respect to races, Senor Saco cannot be ignorant that all the white races spring from one trunk, viz. the Caucasian; and that the various tribes or families, the Arabians, the Teutonics, Celts, Greeks, or Latins, are nothing more than shoots from the primitive trunk, the Caucasian. Senor Saco is moreover enough of a naturalist to know that the family *Cubana-española* inserted in either of these branches of the Caucasian tree, would gain exceedingly in all respects, physical intellectual and moral. Would that every five Cubans now, had each a parent from one of as many nations of Europe, for in this manner the savage antipathies of caste, intolerance and national quixotism would have disappeared, to the great gain of Cuba. And we should be still more Cubans and brethren; for if the pure and unadulterated truth must be spoken, Cubans and brothers we have, that the noble Gothic race would be ashamed to acknowledge, but has nevertheless to confess it, due, as it is, to the intimate relations, which for three and a half centuries have been maintained with Guinea.

But at last we hear Saco say: "that he would vote for annexation, and still more he would see with satisfaction his country fall into the arms of our neighbours, if it counted a million and a half of inhabitants: because in the latter case, however large might be the immigration, we should absorb all; and these increasing and prospering by means of her astonishing fertility, Cuba would be Cuba still." (1).

On this we will observe—1st, That it would not be the two millions, nor any other number of Cubans which would absorb equal number of strangers, but it would be the country itself, or Cuban nationality which would absorb all. These males and females who come to Cuba will bring with them arts and

sciences, trades and capital, with which to occupy themselves in Cuba; and will attach themselves to the soil, acquire here wealth and property, marry, have sons and daughters to succeed necessarily to these arts, trades and property: and thus it will really be Cuba which has absorbed all, and will claim them as her own children. Make up the account then if you please illustrious Bayamese; gather up the elements in flesh and bones of all Europe, and the result, when transported to Cuba, will always be flesh and bones of Cuba—as was said on a certain occasion most appropriately by a Cuban lady: "all makes a Spaniard in Cuba, except it be another Spaniard." In equal sense we will say to that, all may make an European in Cuba, except it be another European.\*

2dly That however large we may suppose the emigration of Americans and Europeans to become, it cannot suddenly, and as if by magic, absorb population, wealth, religion, occupations, customs, manners, tastes and habits, of the million of inhabitants at present in Cuba; for although Senor Saco makes no account of the slave population, neither of the two hundred thousand free blacks, these, notwithstanding, weigh not a little in the scale of property, occupations, customs, &c. of the Island of Cuba, that is to say, of Cuban nationality.

3dly That whatever the emigration may be, and of whatever nation the emigrants, they will meet on their arrival in Cuba, a State Constitution

\* The correctness of this observation may be numerically demonstrated. The United States is of all countries the one whose population is most mixed with European blood. The total emigration from Europe may be estimated, at the present moment, at one half of the population. The Germans alone exceed five millions. The number of Irish, English and Hollanders united, is still greater; and that of other European nations may be estimated at two millions—so that if we deduct the three millions of the African race, the foreign population exceeds the native; and the United States or each individual State absorbs all. This may be exhibited, taking for example, the German family—as follows:

States.	Population.	Germans.
Pensylvania	1,968,000	889,000
Ohio	1,784,000	764,000
New State	2,641,000	527,000
Indiana	783,000	309,000
Tennessee	921,000	281,900
Illinois	633,000	267,000
Remaining States	11,270,000	2,063,000
Total	20,000,000	8,100,000



already formed, closing the *ballot boxes* and the offices of responsibility to these which Saco calls the "*race of foreign adventurers*;" and will open them only after the lapse of a suitable period, and under such regulations in respect to residence, property, condition, services &c. as belong to each State in particular; just as it now results that a citizen of one State, albeit a citizen of the United States, cannot vote in another or become a candidate, except under the conditions prescribed by the constitution of that particular State.

We think that this exposition will quiet the minds of Cubans with respect to the loss of *Cuban nationality*, and that *absorption* that presents so fearful an aspect to Saco, and creates in him the apprehension that the true *masters of the country will find themselves shoved aside by the race of foreign adventurers*. Masters of the country." says the exile Saco! What country has he or any other with the like measure of heart and soul? It will be much gained if his brethren succeed, through tears and entreaties, in obtaining space sufficient to deposit in the bosom of Cuba, the remains of her Varelas and Saco's—for Spain knows that even the bones of such noble patriots deposited in Cuba, must inspire Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.

Seeing that the illustrious exile has not thought proper to present us with the PARELLER between Cuba,—a colony of Spain, and Cuba—sovereign State of the American Union," we will attempt it, beseeching that our wishes and good intentions may atone for our want of talent and information on the subject.

### CUBA—A COLONY OF SPAIN.

#### *Political Condition—Government.*

It is that of an enslaved Colony; subject to the most arbitrary government known among christian and civilized nations; without any responsibility to the governed, the latter with no political rights, voice or vote in the councils of the nation, in the formation of the laws, or in the administration thereof; in the election of officers, or in the apportionment and inversion of the taxes. Possibly some day or other, the home government, through the assistance of

its agents, may be enabled to comprehend, that which Saco never will succeed in persuading it, namely, that there "reigns in Cuba and among the Cubans, a profound discontent, and a desire to escape from the political bondage in which they exist" \* It may be that those in whom the Spanish government alone place confidence will convince the latter, that "if there is such a thing in the world as a colony, having no sympathy with the parent government "Cuba is that Colony." 2 And when Spain shall bestow a thought upon the subject, it will not be for the purpose of making reparation for the past injustice and multiplied or habitual wrongs,—as Saco vainly hopes.—but it will be for the sole purpose of casting about, and judging if she can succeed in preserving the *revenue* of the Island, and extracting from the inhabitants the last drop of their lives blood which remains to them; putting in operation the recourses which belong to her machiavelian policy; dazzling and deceiving through false concessions, and the gift of an other Royal Statute; the promise of Special Laws, (which will be in effect like a funnell; ) or some other political fraud which, in the end, will amount to the same identical thing—the same iron fetters painted, or, perhaps, gilded.

### CUBA—A STATE OF THE UNION.

#### *Political Condition—Government.*

It will be that which it cannot avoid being viz :—a sovereign state; as sovereign as any other State in the world;—as sovereign as any one of the thirty composing the Union;—as sovereign as all of these united, and like them, AN EMPIRE within AN EMPIRE. This is what Cuba will be by annexation or incorporation into the Union. The present inhabitants of Cuba will form its political constitution, for it belongs alone to them to do it. And they will found it on the past; conform it to present circumstances; and, with prudent foresight, regulate it to the future; harmonizing it in its structure (Republican) with that of the great edifice—the federal constitution of the United States—which has a

\* Saco on the Incorporation &c. Page 12.

2 Saco on the Incorporation &c. Page 16.

all times a space and points of union prepared to receive another column in that glorious temple of Liberty. How inspiring the thought that this our column will be protected and supported by thirty or more columns which will shield it from Spain, and England, Europe, negro-traders, or abolitionists—in a word, from enemies within and without.—The way once understood, in which the constitution of each individual State harmonizes with that of the Federal Constitution, it then becomes easy to comprehend the cotemporary duality and unity of American Sovereignty. Each state is by itself sovereign, and the Union is likewise sovereign.—The States are to the Confederation like unto the marriage relation. As individuals each in this has a separate existence, an individuality to guard, improve, and protect. In wedlock they have a common existence, duties and rights perfectly equal, relative and reciprocal. In A the rights of the husband are respected. In B, the rights of the wife. In A B or both jointly, are recognized the sovereignty of the family, and the marriage compact—the symbol of the Union.

### TRIBUNALS.

Meanwhile Cuba remains a Colony of Spain her Tribunals, Superior as well as Inferior, will be ever under the Sword of the Military Chief of the island. There will be Royal Audiences, and Judges sent from Spain. There will be military Courts armed with terrible powers.—There will be *fueros* and privileges of all kinds; Courts with closed doors; no trial by jury, no liberty, no security in defence; no one can criticize, censure, or discuss neither by speech, or through the public press, the acts and decisions of the Tribunals; nor will the judges be in any wise responsible to the people for their conduct or decisions.

Cuba as a State of the Union will have likewise its Tribunals—Superior and Inferior,—organized in accordance with the constitution, but always independent of any military power.—Her magistrates will be elected by the people in such mode as the constitution will likewise prescribe. The Jury cannot disregard its duties, for in it exists one of the best guarantees of personal li-

berty and the proper security of the citizen. In the eye of the law there will be neither *fueros*, exemptions, or privileged classes. The courts will be public; and the public prints and public opinion, will freely discuss, criticize or censure, the decision of the judges, and make them responsible for their acts.

### THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Meanwhile Cuba remains a colony of Spain, she will not enjoy this inestimable right which the Abbe Sieyes appropriately calls *the sixth sense of modern nations*. Thought and word will be subject to a stupid censorship, behind which a government, whose mortal enemy is the truth, and dreading publicity, ever seeks to hide itself. The colonial government, in this respect, has reached the climax of ridicule; for it even fears to have operative singers utter the word *Liberty*, obliging them to substitute that of *Loyalty* on pain of fines or other punishment if they omit to conform. Cuba as a State of the Union will enjoy, in all the plenitude of liberty, the freedom of the press, without other restraints or censorship than the responsibility of the editors or writers,—which is amply sufficient to protect the rights of society, of the family and of the individual which must ever be protected from defamation calumny &c. The government of the State will neither fear the truth nor its publicity, in as much as the greatest security will be found in the publication of its acts, and in the fact that there will be an intelligent people, capable and accustomed to judge uprightly, respecting the measures of the government and its subordinates.

### (MILITIA.

A standing army to maintain dominion over, and impose silence upon the people touching all acts or extortions of the Spanish government, will be all the militia Cuba, as a colony, will have.—This will be supported by the contributions which the inhabitants of the island, whether they are disposed or not, will furnish; for the bayonets of soldiers, will draw forth supplies, and with these it is easy to augment the soldiers. In 1837, the army of Cuba amounted to from 9 to 10,000 men—in 1840, from 18 to 20,000; and in the

same proportion the taxes have increased. The provincial militia proper, no longer exists; neither will it be permitted to be organized, because the home government is alarmed, and distrusts the inhabitants of the country; and will never permit them to arm or to learn the use of arms.

Cuba, as a State of the Union, will contribute her quota to the veteran army, pertaining to the general government, in the same proportion as the other States: and the Treasury of the Union will furnish the means to pay the Federal troops or standing army. Cuba will have at home her provincial militia, just like any other State, for the proper defence of her own territory. She might, at this time, organize a militia of 50 to 60,000 men, inasmuch as every citizen, from 15 to 45, would be liable to be enrolled: and the country and cities of Cuba would be protected by her own sons, interested in preserving their property, their liberty, public order, and tranquillity: and instead of creating alarm or jealousy to the State, or general government, it would contribute to the greater confidence and security of these.

#### NAVY.

This colony of Spain counts but little more than a few remains of the Spanish fleet, that at best are insufficient to guard 573 leagues of the exposed coast of Cuba—and whatever at any time the number of vessels belonging to her navy may be, Cuba will be called on to pay the expenses.

But the State of Cuba will have provided for the defence of her coasts, if necessary, the entire navy of the United States: and the expence will be paid from the Federal Treasury, and not alone by the contributions of the Cubans. Annexation will give to Cuba a competent and powerful navy, well known to all the maritime powers of the Earth.

#### PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The propagation of scientific knowledge and the liberal arts, does not accord with the ideas of a government that founds its rights and support in the ignorance of the people. This explains why the statistics of Cuba in the branch of education, present the discouraging fact of but one out of 57

among the free population, now receiving the benefits of education! On the other hand, the government of the United States bases its rights and builds its power on the foundation of the highest grade of intelligence, attainable by its people. In fact, this is one of the conditions of its existence, its stability, and of its progress. Cuba, a State of the Union, will adopt the wise system of public, or free schools; and will appropriate one of the *three millions of dollars* which are called *surplus*, and which go to satisfy the extravagance and corruption of the Court of Madrid, to comply with the sacred obligation of furnishing an education to her children. With this million of dollars devoted to an object so holy, a new generation of men would thence grow up in Cuba—one distinguished in all the branches of human knowledge; and the Statistics would embrace as many children in her schools as there might be in her population.

#### ROADS AND BRIDGES.

In this rich and fruitful colony of Spain, where any roads exist, they are nothing more than simple openings, or paths, the surface of which preserves its natural figure. During the rainy season the rivulets obstruct the communication between the country and towns, for the want of some economical structure or inconsiderable bridge. There are, it is true, in Cuba railroads, but these have been made by private enterprise. The honor of promoting and carrying forward to completion the Railroad to Guines, belongs to that intelligent Cuban, Count Villa Nueva; and from that time this branch of Cuban progress has not been suspended; and Cuba is now so far in advance of mother country, that meanwhile there are in Cuba hundreds of miles constructed, in Spain there are scarcely twenty-six. If Cuba should become a State of the Union, she could dispose herself of her local contributions, and appropriate them to her own necessities, and progress in all branches. Then indeed will she destine *one of her three millions* that Spain now filches from her every year, to internal improvements. Her chief cities and villages will communicate with each other hourly, and even in the space of a minute, because among



the means of communication there will be the Magnetic Telegraph, of which there is in Cuba, as yet, scarcely the idea. Very little time would elapse before the island would present a network of railroads, macadamized roads, and public roads, which would compete with those of her sister States; large or small streams would not cut off the intercourse one minute, for there would be in each district the means to construct economical bridges.

#### WHITE COLONIZATION.

Meanwhile Cuba remains a colony of Spain, this great element of her salvation and security will be checked. The population will not be fomented by European emigration, because the government looks with displeasure and distrust on all foreigners—even those from the Peninsula or Canary Islands, if they come to establish themselves permanently, and identify themselves with the country by their interests, and with the Cubans by marriage—called in Spain *aplatanarse*, or familiarly in the United States, *to settle down*. Moreover, there is no nation in Europe on which Spain does not look with an evil eye, as they in return do upon her. The institutions, laws and their administrations: the intolerance; in fine, all that constitutes the government or policy of Spain, is in such discredit throughout all the world, that nobody desires to live under such laws; and he who does so, has not an iota of confidence in those who administer them. In truth the patient and long suffering Spanish people alone, is capable of conforming and accustoming themselves to the government of Spain. Whichever way, this wretched colony has to pay for all the antipathies, jealousies, quixotism and monopoly of Spain; and this too without bearing ill-will towards any nation, nor having any just reason on her part to fear England, or France, or in fact any body, for Cuba has offended no one, nor injured no one, yet, nevertheless, is ever alarmed and trembling, on account of what England or France may be doing at home, in Spain, in Cuba, or, in concert with her neighbours,—all resulting from the mortal sins of the Spanish government.

But Cuba, a State of the Union, with

liberal laws; with an honorable and firm administration; with the proverbial hospitality of her inhabitants and her inexhaustible fertility, will attract a large emigration from all parts of Europe, and, in less than ten years will double her white population. Liberal institutions, an upright and firm government, with a name like that of the United States—this is all that Cuba needs, to have, in a brief period, the two millions of white inhabitants which Saco wishes to see upon her soil, and that he will not see—albeit, Providence should extend his life to the years of Methuselah—if Spain continues equal length of time, directing the fomentation of the white race in Cuba. Of the Europeans which will come to our island, the greater portion, naturally, will be Biscayans and Catalonians—intelligent men of liberal views, advanced in the mechanic arts, and who honor labor because they themselves practice it; and who will prefer to come to Cuba to enjoy here her liberty and fortune among their brothers and sons. And here will come too, just as they go now to the United States, the Germans, Hollanders, &c. &c.; and with such men, and the elements of wealth that they will bring with them, the great social regeneration that Cuba needs, will insensibly be realized, without disaster, without the alarm that now frequently happens; without confusion or losses of any kind. Free labour, intelligent and voluntary labour, will go on taking possession of the field, by its own proper merit, by the inherent right too, and self-interest of the laborers; and slave labor, stupid and forced labor, will become unnecessary and even burthensome. Then, then will be resolved in Cuba that great philanthropic and social problem, when Cubans acquire the intelligence, the means and power which under the tutelage of Spain they never will have; for although Spain herself should possess them, she would never bestow them upon her colony. Then and not till then, will Cuba, enjoy security, stability, confidence, prosperity and general contentment which to-day she has not, nor under the dominion of Spain she never will have!



## TAXES.

Neither in the right of imposing these, nor in the objects upon which they are levied, nor yet more as to how they shall be appropriated, have the people of Cuba any voice or vote. The government is the only arbiter, regulator, and judge in the matter; and her only guide or aim is, that which Saco says in his Parallel, "to raise the revenue to the highest point possible, without regard to the class of effects which they burthen, or much less whether the people of Cuba, can or cannot support them." Hence the taxes in Cuba have been raised to a point of which there is no example in the financial history of any civilized people. In 1837, Saco, with all his moderation, calculated, (and this quite little enough,) that the people of Cuba paid on an average \$36 for each free inhabitant; and since that time as the taxes or duties have been augmented, it is clear that the proportion is much greater. What people on earth pays so dearly for so wretched a government?

To the end that Cubans may form an idea of the taxes they would pay if Cuba was one of the confederation, we will explain, as briefly as possible, the system of American contributions. The latter may be divided into two classes—the one called *federal*, or belonging to the general government—the other local, or appertaining to the State. The general or federal revenue arises from duties collected at the different custom houses, and the sale of the public domain; and is appropriated to the expences of the general government, and other purposes decreed by the Congress of the nation. The second is collected from the private property in each State, and is used only in the State where contributed. The federal taxes or duties are established by the federal government, or better to say, by consent of all the States in Congress assembled. The State contributions are determined by, and established by the State legislature, precisely as a family who wish to spend what is their own, and for the purpose they think proper. And this is done by each State represented in its assembly, in its corporations, or its municipality, without the United States or

any other State having the right to interfere in any way. Consequently the contributions made by the general government, go into the National Treasury, and from this all the expences of the Federal Government are paid.—for example, the officers of government, ministers at foreign courts, the army, navy, &c. The State contributions go to the State Treasury, and they are appropriated to local objects, such as state offices, hospitals, public schools, roads, academies, libraries, &c. &c., in the which no one unless a citizen, has a right to interfere. The contributions which are paid by the American citizen to the general government, will not average \$2 for each person. Those paid by the citizens or residents of the several States to the State in which they reside, vary more or less according to their particular wants, or improvements for the general benefit—just as an individual chuses to spend in his house or family, whatever his means may permit. From all that has been said it may be inferred, that Cuba, as a state of the confederation, for less than the sum of two millions, will obtain the government, the army, the navy, the protection, the prestige, in fine, the whole power of the most free, and most substantially happy nation of the globe. There will not then be *three millions surplus* to be sent away to any part; for, whether three millions or thirty, all will be for the inhabitants of Cuba alone. We pay, at the present time, some 18 to 20 millions of dollars; not for the purpose of obtaining a good government, or to be conducted on the road to liberty and civilization, but, on the contrary, to be fleeced and trampled upon; for the privilege of living in fear and surrounded with dangers; and to brutalize us and inoculate us with vice, introducing among us, in the face of the whole world, all classes of savage and degraded beings; and finally, to be dragged on basely to our irremediable and "speedy ruin."

We might extend this Parallel to agriculture, commerce, and other branches of industry. It would be easy to demonstrate, that under the present system of duties, restrictions, monopolies, and other shackles, it is absolutely

impossible that Cuba should flourish in the manner she would do, in a few years, under the shade of the tree of liberty, without restrictions, without shackles, without tithes, without the excise duty (6¼ per cent) on the sale of real estate, without consumption or export duty, without monopolies, but on the contrary, with the aid of the capital, machinery improvement, activity and example of the Americans, and people of the most cultivated and industrious nations of Europe, that in this event will come—without any distrust or suspicion,—to make fruitful the soil of Cuba. In vain the colonial government claims to itself the credit of the advance of the island; because, if there is any thing which will paralyze the progress of a people, it is the political and financial system of the Spanish government, and its immoderate exactions. Cuba prospers against the will, and in spite of Spain—just as a child grows and expands by inherent strength. Cuba prospers, because the government cannot impede the confluence of foreign commerce, the movement and civilization, which fertilize Cuba—impossible, as it is, to make a fruitful soil sterile, or to do away the effects of self-interest and labor expended on the soil by the people of Cuba:—prosperes in spite of the oppression and fetters imposed by the government of the latter. If Cuba does not prosper equally with Louisiana and other states of the union, it is for this simple reason, that it is governed by Spain; and if Cuba has prospered relatively more than other states of Spanish America, it is because Cuba is more *Americanized* than these; and because Cuba participates more in the ideas of education, movement, activity, and example of the American people; which, nevertheless, has so distressed the Spanish government, that at one time the latter (through Royal orders) forbid, that the children of Cuba should be sent to the United States for the purpose of education.

#### CONCLUSION.

All that we have thus far written, not only serves as a justification of the ardent desires, that Cubans manifest for annexation, but also exhibits the

necessity that exists for them, to take into their own charge the destinies of the country, and throw themselves, at once, into the arms of the Confederation, in order to save themselves in time from the catastrophe that threatens them; in a word, not to permit themselves to be led, like meek and resistless lambs, to that "*speedy perdition*" which Saco and all intelligent and ardent sons of Cuba have with just prevision prognosticated.

The Thoughts on the Incorporation of Cuba into the American Union, so far from tranquillizing us with respect to the dangers and desperate situation into which the home or colonial government has plunged us, reveals, in every line, the inquietude and anxiety of Saco. He does not believe, neither is he capable of hoping, that the present policy of Spain is to save Cuba; and for this reason he exhausts the resources of his noble fidelity, and his persuasive eloquence, to ascertain, if he can succeed in making the parent government listen to him, and confide in him—in other words, to endeavour to dissuade it from pursuing the *tortuous course* that it has, until now, pursued; to convince it that the *discontent increases*, and that the day may come when overlooking material interests—the *only dike that holds in check, the just aspirations after liberty*—there shall break out a revolution in Cuba. He is yet more explicit in the following language:—"Reflect," says he, to the government, "that if there is any one interest that can unite the natives of the Peninsula, and the natives of Cuba, that interest is slavery. *Both are disquieted through fear of suddenly losing this interest.* Their alarm is increased by events taking place about them, and as the *vacillating state of Spanish policy does not inspire confidence in them*, it would not be strange—if at some moment of more sensible peril, Cubans and Europeans, brought together by common interests and dangers, should declare themselves independent, or place themselves under the protection of some neighbouring power."

We desire to add some ideas and observations of our own, to the ideas and prophetic language of Saco. The slave interest is not the only interest which

will promote the union between natives of the Peninsula and Cubans. There are more precious interests to protect, and which cannot be disregarded. Duties there are, more sacred, and which cannot be violated without a disgrace to humanity and to Spanish civilization. Are the Spaniards of the 19th century the same as those of the 15th and 16th? And their descendants in Cuba—are these savages or a conquered people? What means it to arm thousands of native Spaniards, who have no family ties in Cuba? And for what, to set in hostile strife, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers, husbands against wives? For what and to what end? To secure to the government of Spain the power to oppress us and fleece us, and finally to conduct us to speedy ruin? And are the people of the Peninsula going to serve thus a vacillating government, in which neither they nor any body in this world, confide; and which they see every moment more intent in forcing us on to that abyss where those colonies of the American Archipelago lie, that blindly and cowardly confided their destinies to their respective European governments?

Quite in character it is, that an immoral government should aspire to create division among us, and to affect a confidence which it does not truly possess. Quite correspondent it will be, to avail itself of its troops who have no kindred in Cuba, and, yet more, to avail itself of the slaves. But it belongs to the character of the inhabitants of Cuba to mediate, and comprehend their rights, their duties, the ties of consanguinity and common danger—for all counsel them to join hand in hand against the tyrant,—against that government which tramples upon them, that robs them, and leads them on to general ruin. More proper will it be if the native Spaniards and Creoles shall turn their eyes, and contemplate the parricidal war of America, and even the present war in Spain—the latter for the purpose of sustaining a government, that is but the author of misfortune to the whole nation. And for such a government are they required to tear asunder the most sacred ties that can unite a people? No; for that eternal

law which nature has inscribed on the heart of man will illumine their understandings, and touch the hearts of fathers and children, husbands and wives and friends and brothers, so that they will choose between the liberty of all, and the slavery of all; between the well-being of all, and the alternative of irrevocable ruin. The Spanish government is in total discredit in Cuba; it has lost its moral force; its prestige among the inhabitants of the latter. And there is not a single individual even among its employes who has confidence in its stability. In vain those affect it who wish to inspire it in the rest. Every step of the government betrays its own distrust; every word which escapes from the Spaniard as well as the Cuban develops his forebodings, and the gloom at his heart, for, in the opinion of many, Cuba is already lost; and there is no one who is ignorant of the point to which the imbecility and impotence of the home government, has reached.

Do not desire, then, fellow patriot, to intimidate us by mere phantoms; for if Spain is too weak at home to resist the revolutions which break upon her; if she is too weak in America to reconquer any one of her lost provinces, she is less able to save Cuba from the dangers in which she has placed her—although strong enough to ruin us, if we stupidly and in a cowardly manner permit ourselves to be ruined. The forces of Spain in Cuba, the Cubans themselves support. The day in which they put themselves in concert to withdraw this support, destroys the power of Spain to do evil in Cuba. From whence can they replace them?

Cuba delivered up, as she now is, to the will of the Spanish government, is running precipitately to positive ruin. Daily, step by step, and measure after measure of the colonial government, drags us on to our approximate perdition. And when, is it Saco's wish, that we may become firm and strong enough to halt or retreat, in our journey towards perdition? When? When we have become weakened, impoverished, and oppressed with more contributions and troops? Will it be when fifty thousand more male and equal number of females are introduced from Africa



to cross the noble Cuban race, and secure Cuban nationality—according to the plans and projects agreed upon at the Court of Madrid, and servilely confirmed by the chief rulers of Cuba?

Shall it be when the interminable revulsions of Spain, and her conflicts with England and France, bring us the fatal decree that, at a blow, shall overwhelm us like to the other colonies? If there is a country in the world that ought to make the attempt, that ought to hazard a revolution to save herself, that country is Cuba: her inaction is positive ruin. From Spain and from subjection to European policy, there is nothing to hope for, except chains, decay and ruin. Her only possible salvation lies in forestalling these events, shaking off the yoke of colonial bondage, and leaguering herself in political union with the sister republics of America. This is a natural and honorable alliance—a suitable matrimony—her only sheet anchor of salvation, liberty, permanency, and well-being.

Saco calls the revolution which may be attempted in Cuba premature. In no part of America was public opinion more, or better prepared for a revolution. In no country has the idea of independence been more general or better understood, and better understood the theory of self-government. Saco is in error when he says, "that these ideas are limited to a certain class, and that the population of the interior has not yet made so much progress in this species of philosophy"—To attain to this knowledge, tyranny and rapine, either, is a better teacher than philosophy. If these sentiments and ideas relative to independence are not general, why then does Saco affirm that "no colony has less sympathies with the parent government?" If the feeling of independence is not mature, why is it that Saco laments so much that the Cubans—unlike the French, English, and other nations, who glory in identifying themselves with their progenitors—consider it no honor to bear the national distinctive appellation—the name of Spaniard? Saco well knows this, and it is necessary that he should also know, that in Cuba the fruit is too ripe—that the great hazard is, that the crows will eat it before we do.

The negroes, the negroes! Here is the bugbear with which the government intimidates us, and holds us in check. Like as to children they call out to us: "*be quiet, for, if you do not, I'll set the negroes on to you!*" Cowardly threat! which at once reveals their own baseness, and the real fear on their part. If the government felt strong, it would not make use of artifice or of vain and foolish threats. If the government of Cuba should be capable of employing in Cuba the means it has employed in other parts of America, an army of fifty thousand Americans would immediately land in Cuba, and with a better right, too than the Spanish government had last year to send troops from Porto Rico, to the assistance of the white population of the neighbouring island of Santa Cruz, a colony of Denmark.

Let this be known to all the inhabitants of Cuba, whether foreigners or natives, viz.—That the government of the United States will not take the initiative: it will not invade the colony of a friendly nation; but it is well prepared, and so is the American people, to fly to the protection of their own rights and interests in Cuba, in spite of Spain or of all Europe. And they will not 'remain behind the curtain' as Saco most unjustly intimates; neither will they "*reduce their protection to certain acts of toleration reprobated by the laws of nations.*" No: they will proceed openly, face to face, as they have ever proceeded, fearing neither Spain, England, France, nor any body else; for they were strangers to fear even when they were weak, as likewise when such grave questions came up, and of such transcendent importance as those of Louisiana, Florida, the northern boundary line, Texas, Oregon, California and Mexico, touching which there were pretensions and views entertained by the powers just named. And let Mr. Saco understand too, that the United States and the American people have no need to remain behind the curtain neither to give protection—*to acting acts reprobated by the laws of nations*—whenever they find themselves obliged to maintain their rights, and protect their interest and their political and social existence threatened in Cuba by



precipitate and finical abolitionism; or by the crooked and intermeddling policy of the monarchs of Europe. The United States and the American people know that in America, at any rate, they are strong; and that these worn-out monarchies scarcely can sustain themselves, hated and detested as they are by their own robbed, oppressed, and naked subjects.

Unjust and prejudiced Saco manifests himself with respect to the American people, when he says, that "The United States, not for our good at all, but impelled by her own self interest, is the strongest shield that, in our *actual circumstances*, covers us against any undue attempt on the part of the British Government." In whatever way the United States presents herself as a bulwark of safety for Cuba, she merits, if not the expression of gratitude, the acknowledgement of interest in some shape for our country. The United States preserving Cuba, prompted by her interest, and Spain, contrary to her interests, dragging it on to *irremediable and speedy perdition*—which is most worthy of gratitude and the sympathies of a Cuban patriot?

But it is moreover not true that the American people or their government are actuated alone by egotism or material interests.—The most sublime principles of morality, government, religion, philosophy, liberty and civilization, operate upon the understanding and hearts of the Americans; and it is impossible for base and selfish aims to triumph over these. If in the world there exists a people of eminent good will—a people who incessantly, and with the greatest enthusiasm, labor in favor of freedom of the human race—a people where all that are oppressed and persecuted by tyranny, find friends, protection, country and wherewith to satisfy their hunger—a people which ought to be a model and the envy of all other nations of the earth; that people is the American.—In Greece as well as Poland; in Ireland as well as Canada; in the Spanish as well as the African Colonies of Liberia and Monrovia; in whatever part the cry of liberty resounds, or efforts are made in favor of the rights of man; wherever misery, hunger and nakedness have implored

succor, there have entered the free gifts of the American people.—there the *material* of battle has been sent, and American blood spilled.

And is this the people that would "remain behind the curtain," and would be wanting to Cuba in the hour of her tribulation?—Would they be deaf to the cry of Cuba, when she might invoke their aid? Would they permit that more than six hundred thousand negroes should rise, to bathe themselves in the blood of our inhabitants and furnish to the Southern States of the Confederation such a terrible example to imitate? How can this be, meanwhile the very existence of the Union, or if Señor Saco wishes to regard it so, the egotism and self interest of the Americans, exact imperatively that this geographical position, this advanced post of the Mississippi, and key to the Gulf of Mexico, should not be occupied by negroes, nor even by whites, unless they are Cubans and *Republicans*? But do not come to us Señor Saco, to inspire us with more fear of England. If England prejudices Cuba or Cubans, it is the fault of Spain, and not of Cuba; and possibly our only error, in the eyes of England, is the maintenance of our Union with Spain. England knows that from the independence, and a free government in Cuba, she will reap more benefit through her friendship and commerce, than from the present pitiful colony of Spain, and Spanish monopoly. The Cubans have no reason to fear England, for they have done no injury to the latter, nor are capable of doing it. Spain it is and not Cuba who violates treaties, who disregards her compromises, who mocks England. England will be the first nation of Europe to recognize the independence of Cuba; and not improbably she would offer her capital in order to secure it. She would then satisfy her indignation and punish the sin of Spain at a former period, when the latter imprudently rendered aid to the Yankees—not through love of liberty by any means, but through hatred to England and the English.

We repeat that England would prefer to see Cuba independent, and existing as a new nation among the nations of America. The same may be said of the United States; and who knows but that

it would be under the guarantee of both powers that Cuba would exist as a free nation? But if the Cubans through want of confidence, or through conviction—fearing lest they might be involved in great difficulties in the experiment of self-government—should voluntarily and decisively pronounce in favor of *annexation*, and seek their security and stability in the power and prestige of the American Confederation;—this would present no motive to England or any other civilized nation to oppose any resistance, much less to furnish assistance to Spain, against Cuba and the United States. There may be pretensions, intervention, and diplomatic intrigues.—What will all this amount to? Nothing. In what question in America has not England or France something to say? Did they not essay to prevent the annexation of Texas; to oppose the war with Mexico; the treaty of peace, and cession of California in which England had her own interests to promote? And what their success? None:—neither will they ever succeed here in America, where there is a Briareus or Ægean with fifty millions of free-men who, however they may desire to be friends of Europe, they will never return to bondage, nor concede their rights, their destinies, their interests and liberties, to families or monarchs *from there or here*.—If Cuba should have to constitute herself an independent nation, she will not only have to take measures and provide the means for her interior defence but for her exterior. For the first it would suffice to arm her national militia, which would secure tranquility in city and country. For the second she would need a veteran or standing army and a powerful squadron. But becoming one of the confederation, she will find all ready prepared, without other costs than her quota as a State of the Union. With this support and this security, Cuba may make the attempt at self-government, and, yet more, ask of her Sister States the teachers which she might require to direct her first steps in the various branches of her new local government. Then would Cuba present to the world the guarantees of stability, security, liberty and order. Then she would not feel the inconstancy, the disorders, the continual

changes and injury that the military despotism and the religious fanaticism, inherited from Spain, have caused in all Independent America. Then would there land in Cuba, without the necessity of seeking them, or paying premiums for bringing them, one hundred thousand or more Europeans every year, who, with their industry, their advanced civilization and capital, would cause as if by magic, beautiful cities to spring up into existence, inland and bordering on the coast, where, at the present day, are uncultivated, and unproductive deserts. (1)

Such are some of the principal reasons which lead the annexationists to prefer the incorporation of Cuba into the Confederation, to a separate existence—isolated as it would be politically, as it is by nature.

But nevertheless if the patriot Saco himself pronounces for absolute independence, and his opinion should be followed by the majority of the inhabitants of Cuba, he need not fear the annexationists will oppose it, or act in any manner contrary to their mutual understanding and wishes.

But when he says the introduction of slaves from Africa conducts us to *speedy perdition* and next wishes us to remain subject to Spain (who alone sustains the slave trade) as our means of salvation, this is what we cannot comprehend, nor suffer with patriotic submission. And when he affirms that colonization is the only means of saving Cuba and then recommends that we should remain subject to Spain—who it is that places the obstacles in the way of white colonization,)—as our only salvation;—this neither, can we comprehend, or submit to, with patriotic resignation. And again when Saco says, that Cuba carries in her entrails the poison which is destroying her, and afterward recommends that we remain subject to Spain—(who it is that administered this poison to us)—as our salvation; we cannot comprehend this,

(1) Bays of the first class which are at the lapse of three and a half centuries from the time of the Conquest, destitute of the signs of human industry. On the north, Nipe having sixty-five square miles, with excellent shelter. Puerto del Padre, Lovisa, Naranjo, Banes, Nuevas Gran las, as large, or larger than the bay of Havana. On the South: Guayama bay—which has twenty-seven superficial miles, and whose interior forms an Archipelago of ports and separate anchorage sufficient for a large number of squadrons. Puerto Escondido, Macizo-Inlets of Cortes and Corrientes, &c.

or suffer it with patriotic resignation. Perhaps Saco imagines that his loud lamentations have been heard in Heaven because Spain has deprived us of our political rights, and even of many of our natural ones—closed the doors of the national representation—overwhelmed us with taxes; disarmed us and delivered us over to military power which can imprison us, banish us, or, if it please, make us the victims of a military execution, without trial or means of defending ourselves. And hence he would persuade us that he really believes and hopes that Spain will cause “the sun of liberty to shine on Cuba;” that she will restore to us our usurped rights; that she will make reparation for injustice and long practiced oppressions, this—much less this—we are at a loss to understand, or suffer with any thing like patriotic submission.

How is it to be conceived that the sagacious statesman, the ever logical Saco, should contradict himself in such a manner? Who can believe that the true patriot Saco, treats of reviving in the hearts of his brethren, hopes that in his own breast have expired and are already buried in oblivion? For if there is a Cuban completely undeceived, and satisfied that Cuba has nothing to expect from the Government of Spain, that individual is Don José Antonio Saco.

Too late it is for the fascinating eloquence of Saco and the influence that he has over the affections of Cubans, to turn us from our purpose or create a reaction in public opinion. There is no one in Cuba ignorant, that the Government of Spain foment the danger of our situation; that she herself administers the poison that is corroding the entrails of Cuba; restricts, renders unavailable or frustrates all the means or efforts that can save us. Saco ought not, then, to aim to inspire us with confidence in a government that he himself looks upon as *vacillating* and knows “that no one has confidence in it.” Neither ought Saco to divide us or predispose us against the government of the United States, speaking of it as a *diseased trunk*; neither against the American people presenting them to us as an egotistic people, and as inter-

esting themselves in this island only because it may be of service to them—for the American Government and people are the only shield that Providence has provided to save Cuba; and they alone are able to rescue it from its “*actual danger*” and *speedy perdition* that Saco has foretold.

Accept, then, patriot Saco, the mission worthy of you. Write all that you like with the view of obtaining the pacific separation of Cuba. Exhaust the resources of your wisdom, your eloquence and your logic; and may Providence inspire you, and cause you to touch the heart of the mother country that she may not dye the soil of Cuba with the blood of fathers, sons and brothers; that she may not repeat the shameful and scandalous scenes which the world has witnessed to the discredit of the civilization of Spain and America: that we may separate without animosity or cherished revenge; without loss or reciprocal ruin; but, that we may adjust our rights and interests as if it were the affairs of a family—the business arrangements between a generous father and his grateful children. Take, then, Saco, to your charge this mission; none is more worthy of it or can perform it with more glory or more benefit to Spain and Cuba. When this shall be realized the earth will rejoice; heaven will bless you, and humanity will be able to record the momentous act, the first example of national affection, of true wisdom and political morality:—Of Spain it would be the glory; of Cuba the happiness; and of Saco the immortality!

We nevertheless shall continue our mission and shall not separate from it until Saco has progressed in his; and when Spain shall agree to a pacific separation; and have us in full liberty to govern ourselves and direct our own destinies; because as to Royal Statutes and special Laws dictated by Spain, that is to say, instead of gilded chains, we prefer to drag the iron ones, that in fine dazzle nor deceive no one.

This is the precious and opportune moment for Europeans and Cubans to become united through the common interests and dangers of their situation. The interests of Spain and Cuba may yet be saved; the present and future interests of

Spaniards and Cubans may yet be secured. But if the dangers increase or circumstances become more complicated; if the European revolution shall cross the Pyrenices and produce, as well it may, its due effect there; then it will be too late! Oh then for those who wait in indolent apathy and with cowardly resignation!

United as Europeans and Cubans ought to be by identity of interest, by ties of consanguinity, by the sacred right of mutual and self preservation, they would have nothing to fear from the vacillating and impotent government of Spain. All her power in Cuba will tumble to pieces at the general cry of "Independence"—that sublime cry whose echo will resound along the chain of the Andes, or from

Patagonia to the Arctic Ocean.

But if the government of Spain, unfortunately for us, shall find in Cuba men who will serve it, and aid it in consummating the work of iniquity; in riveting the chains of our bondage and political and social degradation; then we only fulfil still more our privilege and our duty becomes more imperative to defend ourselves and save our country, or bury ourselves in its ruins. And if on these ruins there may some day or other a Cuban arise and greet:—"Cuba is free!" this single Cuban will possess more virtue, attain to more glory, enjoy more felicity, be more worthy of freedom and country than five hundred thousand slaves.

HAVANA, 29th APRIL, 1849.

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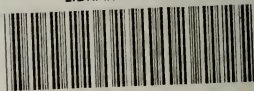
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