



EL PATRIOTISMO CUBANO SOSTIENE ESTE PERIODICO PARA CIRCULARLO GRATIS.

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LA VERDAD.

POR CORA MONTGOMERY.

"LUZ Y PAZ."

NEW YORK, Octubre, 15, de 1849.

A LA PATRIA DE NUEVA ORLEANS.

Debido publicar traducidos al inglés algunos extractos del folleto sobre Nueva Orleans nuestro amigo P. A., naturalmente dirigimos la vista sobre la prensa del país, por si se ocupaba de él, y nos dimos de manos a boca con la Patria del mismo N. O., la cual combate dicho folleto con las armas melancólicas y gastadas de su pobre arsenal, y con la tática que le es característica. Esto nos obliga a ocuparnos en nuestro periódico, por segunda vez, de la tal Patria.

Creemos de tan poca significancia y de tan limitada influencia a los periódicos que en este país clásico de la libertad se fatigan por hacerse oír y suar a reducir las doctrinas del más rancio y repugnante despotismo, que nos cuesta un esfuerzo grandísimo echarnos a la cara los largos e indignos artículos con que un día con otro hacen gemir las sufridoras prensas. Y la Patria de N. O. es uno de esos periódicos. Sus redactores, ya no se tengan el valor moral o el talento necesario para lanzarse en un partido político cualquiera y seguirlo hasta su término: ya que quisieran hacer, como dijo el otro, a boca y a cangrejo, se nos figuran los murciélagos de la fábula, que las aves no los reconocían por compañeros, ni las bestias los admitían como cuadrúpedos. La Patria de N. O., con la misma desmaña con que defiende el despotismo más rancio cual es el del gobierno Español en España y en América, con la misma ataca el republicanism de aquí y de Europa, y no recoge más que indiferencia de los despotas, y desprecio de los libres. Así que, (y esto va en tono de consejo) mientras la Patria de N. O. no se decida a ser democrata como la Crónica de N. York, cuyos redactores dicen que en Cuba ellos mismos harían de verdugos y en los Estados Unidos de libertadores, no espere que el buen Sr. Crispin, secretario del Virey actual de Cuba, le diga ojos negros tientes, como ya se lo ha dicho al Telégrafo por medio del Consúl Español, no obstante los ningunos méritos y servicios de este periódico, comparados con los de la Patria.

Descrito y clasificado el enemigo a quien debemos hoy combatir, si se uno que por fuerza ha de ser contrario a la causa de la libertad de Cuba, por que todo su fin es y ha sido congruarse con el despotas que allí ríje ó ríja, esto puede escusarnos de la presente tarea; sin embargo queremos comprender, antes para reforzar las doctrinas de nuestro amigo P. A., emitidas en su folleto, que para repeler los zurdos ataques de esa Patria despatrida. Por lo visto, lo que hasta ahora más le ha dolido y exasperado la bilis, es que nuestro amigo dijese una cosa que todo el mundo sabe y dice, esto es, que España es de las potencias más débiles y desituidas de Europa; y para probar que no lo es, la alborotada y sorprendida Patria no encuentra mejor argumento, sino decir que en medio de la confagración general que ha abrasado al continente Europeo, ella sola (España, se le quedaron en el tintero Turquía y Rusia) se ha mantenido tranquila, fusilando a troche y moche a cuantos osaban levantar cabeza para responder al grito del 24 de Febrero de París. Y no se ocurre a la buena de la Patria, que el pueblo español tan fraccionado por intereses, costumbres, ideas y aun idiomas opuestos, no ha entrado, ni podido entrar todavía en las vias revolucionarias, por donde no se hace extraño que no haya seguido el movimiento de Europa, si se tiene además en cuenta la opresión que sufre y que se le ocurre que jamás que sepamos el pueblo español se ha movido en favor de principios, sino de partidos o dinastías, no obstante lo que refiere la historia

de los comuneros, que apesar de todo fuero de Castilla solamente: como tampoco se le ocurre, que las únicas veces que la España ha sido valida y fuerte y aun magnánima, no ha sido el gobierno, la potencia política, sino el pueblo, el pueblo, Señores Redactores de aguas dulces, aludidos a la guerra contra cartagineses y romanos, y al levantamiento de la Península cuando la invasión francesa. Mucho nos ha sorprendido que no se acordase la Patria de la larga y profunda paz del Portugal en medio de las revueltas recientes de Europa, para citarla como una prueba concluyente de la gran fortaleza de esa potencia.

Pero es que, por echarla de buen patriota, o porque es cosa muy fácil revolver de libros viejos las glorias y el poder de España, la Patria, ya lo hemos advertido, en cuestiones de la naturaleza de la presente, no encuentra nunca mejor caballo de batalla; y le acontece que arroba de su nacional orgullo, confunde siempre al pueblo con el gobierno español, y no acierta a comprender como es que el uno puede ser débil y desituido, al paso que el otro puede ser valido y fuerte. No sabemos como es que no nos ha echado encima lo reciente formidable expedición de tropas españolas a Terracina, para aturullarnos con este ejemplar palmario de la fortaleza de España; pero sin dudar reflexiona que la tan acarreada expedición de Italia no pasó de Terracina, por que el republicano Oudinot no creyó necesaria su ayuda para derribar la República Romana; que una expedición de 7,000 hombres se puede hacer una vez, pero dos no, y eso dejando la nación en estado de quiebra; y que tendrá que volverse con la bendición del Papa... y gracias.

Además, si tanta es la fortaleza y validez de España, si su prosperidad es tan visible, ¿como es que sus fondos no tienen alta ninguna, sino que por el contrario están más despreciados y bajos que los de las repúblicas hispano-americanas. Las cuales a menudo cita la Patria y todos los que adulan al gobierno Español, como un ejemplo vivo de desorden y de atraso? Si la Patria entiende de negocios de Bolsa y no cree en encantamientos de encuatadores envidiosos de las glorias y poder actual de España, lea las noticias del estado de los fondos de algunas naciones en los papeles de París y Londres; en los cuales, según las últimas fechas se dice:

Table with 2 columns: Country and Value. Chile del 6 p 2 98. Perú del id 63. Buenos Aires del id 48. Méjico del 5 p 2 28. España del id 17, 7-8.

Es decir, que la nación que tanto prospera, y que es tan fuerte y valida, sus fondos son menos negociables que los de las demás naciones americanas y europeas. Pero puede ser valido y fuerte, ni obtener crédito de ninguna clase un deudor que no pague principal ni intereses jamás? Puede ser valido un gobierno en cuyo tesoro se advierte un déficit de 70 millones que debe al Ministerio de Marina 182,000; al de Instrucción y Obras Púlicas 1,512,000? Un gobierno que no pague sus empleados durante dos meses, y durante cuatro tiene a sus pensionados sin darles blanca por pensión? Un gobierno a quien le protestan letras en Italia y en sus mismas provincias y no por malos negocios de los pagadores, sino por la desconfianza que inspira el librador? La Patria acaso responde a todo esto, lo que dice el corresponsal madrileño a la Crónica de Nueva York — verdad que protestó la letra de 25,000 \$ girada contra una casa fuerte de Italia, pero el gobierno, siempre previsor, ya arregló ese asunto, y quedamos tan enterados y satisfechos como antes del informe. También puede que la Patria vuelva a sacarnos la expedición a Terracina de 7,000 hombres, lejo el pie más brillante de guerra; pero a todo sale ello, y así son los resultados cuando un dictador, cual es Narváez, se propone afirmarse en el poder satisfaciendo la opinión nacional con alardes de fuerza, recursos que no producen más que desilusión y descrédito. Así es que en Agosto

del presente año el Ministerio de la guerra llevaba gastados 38,800,000 reales más de los que se le señalaron en el presupuesto último, y se habían consumido los productos de las minas tomadas anticipadamente, y se habían girado contra las cajas de la Habana letras por valor de una suma mayor de lo que pueden producir las rentas de Cuba en el curso del año de 1850.

No es mucho que la Patria ignore todo esto, dado que ella, al parecer, no tiene más barómetro para juzgar de la prosperidad, validez y fortaleza de España que los periódicos ministeriales de Madrid, llenos de bajeza, adulación y mundonismo hasta los tuétanos: dado que estos le informan que la Corte siempre está de baile, de cenorio, de toros, de comilonas y francachelas: dado que entiende por otros conductos que la augusta madre de la magnánima reina de los españoles despacha fuertes expediciones al Africa para traer negros esclavos a Cuba, como la hija [su ministro Narváez, quisimos decir] manda expediciones a Italia para que el Santo Padre las bendiga, y den unos cuantos susos a los aldeanitos de Terracina y sus contornos que empezaban a soñar en república; y dado que oye decir que todos los Ministros, los empleados, los Capitanes Generales y todos los que se elevan al poder en España y en Ultramar, roban, y saquean y oprimen al pueblo, y el pueblo no se levanta, lo echa abajo y los despedaza.

Aquí nos encontramos en una perplejidad grandísima, sin atinar por donde cojer a la Patria, siendo así que toma y suelta cabos a medida que llena renglones sin abarcar jamás. Por que si dice el folletista que el navio Soberano es la perfecta caricatura de su nación, la Patria salta y replica que ese es un insulto, y que los insultos no son razones: pero no da siquiera una por donde nos convenza que el tal navio no es tal caricatura: porque si el autor del folleto dice con datos auténticos que ascienden a 19,700 hombres las tropas que guarnecen a Cuba, la Patria vuelve a saltar y a replicar que no es exacta la asercion, y que si bien ella no ha recibido los datos que ha mandado pedir, tiene motivos para creer que no bajaría de 25,000 hombres los que podrían ponerse sobre las armas en toda la Isla, entre tropa de línea, milicianos y rurales: porque si nuestro amigo dice con datos oficiales que tantas y más cuantas piezas de artillería hay en las fortalezas de Cuba, tantos y cuantos vapores y otros buques, la Patria torna a saltar y a replicar que no tiene a mano los datos necesarios para saber si son exactos los números del Sr. P. A., pero que sabe que la Isla de Cuba es una fortaleza insuperable — no se ve que se ataca del mismo modo que el valiente General Córdova atacó a Roma, desde Terracina: — por que si nuestro amigo dice, tales son los grandes recursos con que cuenta España para hacerse respetar en la posesion de su Colonia, la Patria torna a saltar y a replicar: ignora el Sr. P. A. que tanto en España como en Cuba hay elementos suficientes para repeler cualquiera agresion INJUSTA que se intentase contra sus PROPIEDADES? Y no se ocurre a la sabichosa Patria apuntar uno siquiera de esos elementos suficientes: bien que ella debe de contar con los de los antiguos, aire, agua, fuego y tierra. Porque si el folletista dice que el gobierno Español amenaza a los Cubanos con echarles encima armados a sus propios esclavos por poco que se muevan, la Patria torna a saltar y a replicar: puede creer el Sr. P. A. que en el cerebro de un hombre sensato cual debe suponer lo sea el Capitan General de Cuba, [Entre paréntesis: se nos figura que de esta hecha ese mismo Capitan General sensato de Cuba va a prohibir la entrada de la Patria de Nueva Orleans, en sus propiedades.] pudiese tener cabida la estrambótica idea de sublevar los negros contra los blancos?

Y es que los redactores de la Patria han leído la tal amenaza de ese sensato Capitan General estampada en letra de molde en la Crónica de New York del 7 de Abril del presente año, y repetida en el propio periódico con palabras oscuras en siguientes números. En suma, porque si

el folletista dice la anexion de Cuba a los Estados Unidos conviene por tales y cuales razones, la Patria replica que no conviene, en primer lugar porque los anglo-americanos son unos egoistas de primera clase, y en segundo lugar porque los Cubanos no obstante que tienen un Liceo en la Habana, y hacen versos, y saben tocar y cultivar la pintura y hasta las ciencias abstractas e IMPUSAS, son intolerantes como el diablo: llaman a todos los que no profesan la religion católica apostólica unos herejes, y esto traería una guerra de quince mil demonios, &c. &c.

Su embargo, en medio del enredo que forma la Patria y de los desatinos que encarta como quien encarta abalorios, tropiezo con el Constitucional de París del 20 de Agosto, el cual trae unas pocas palabras sobre las cosas de Cuba, y las copia en apoyo de su asercion de que esta es casi imposible anexarla a los Estados Unidos. Las palabras del Constitucional son estas: "hace 25 años se celebró un tratado entre Francia, Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos por el cual se garantizaba a España la posesion de la Isla de Cuba y aseguraba al mismo tiempo a las naciones que firmaron el tratado la neutralidad perpetua de aquella importante Isla." Y la Patria agrega en el estilo que le es peculiar: "En virtud de este tratado José, Señor P. A. que en 1826 se opuso el Gabinete de Washington a la invasión de Cuba por las fuerzas combinadas de Méjico y Colombia... y el Gabinete de Washington en virtud del mismo tratado, se ha apresurado ahora a impedir una invasión injusta, ilegal."

Cómo se echa de ver que a la tal Patria muy poco se le alcanza en achaque de política y de tratados! En 1826 el Gabinete de Washington verdad fué que se opuso a la invasión de Cuba por las fuerzas combinadas de Méjico y Colombia, y esta es una de las causas de la esclavitud actual de los cubanos; pero el Gabinete de Washington no se opuso apoyado en ese, ni en ningún tratado, porque el que existía para aquella fecha no reclamaba más que neutralidad; porque según él, ni según ningún tratado los Estados Unidos hubieran podido en justicia impedir que Méjico y Colombia en guerra abierta con España se les llevasen a donde quisiesen, mayormente a Cuba y Puerto Rico, las cuales la feraz madre sacaba todos sus recursos para hostilizarlos: no en virtud de ningún tratado, por que los E. Unidos, ó la Administración de entonces, no interpuso un voto formal, ni público, sino que por notas diplomáticas a su ministro en Panamá le significó el disgusto con que miraba aquella invasión de Méjico y Colombia: por último, no en virtud de ningún tratado, porque de las notas diplomáticas del Secretario de Estado americano Mr. Clay pasadas a sus ministros de Rusia y Francia, y de los discursos de algunos diputados del Sur en el Congreso en Washington por los años de 25 y 26, claro se viene en conocimiento de que el motivo esencial que tuvo el Gabinete para oponerse a la invasión de Cuba y Puerto Rico por las fuerzas reunidas de Méjico y Colombia no fue otro que el temor de que estas islas se extendiesen los beneficios de la ley de la emancipacion gradual de esclavos decretada en Colombia y esto costearse años Estados del Sur de la Union y pudiese en peligro sus intereses.

Ahora, por lo que toca a la proclama del actual Presidente sobre supuestas expediciones que se armaban aquí contra la Isla de Cuba ó Méjico, es preciso ser muy sándido para creer que la tal proclama se dio impellido por el tratado de 1826 entre Francia, Inglaterra, y los E. Unidos, aunque en ese documento se habla de tratados, y aunque la sándida tenga por apoyo el parecer del "constitucional parisiense". El extemporaneo documento de la actual administración Whig bien habrá podido hacer persuadir a los inocentes por el estilo de la Patria, que solo se ha querido hacer alarde de probidad y rectitud de intenciones, y que mientras exista el tratado de 1826 el Gabinete de Washington no podrá menos de proceder como ha procedido Taylor. Pero a los hombres que piensan un poco, a los que suelen pene-

trar en las oscuras regiones de la diplomacia, á los que conocen el espíritu del gobierno de la confederación, á los que ven siempre mas allá del día en que viven, á estos, *Patria* sin pies ni cabeza, á estos no puede, ni podrá nunca engañar, ó encandilar la proclama del *hombre de bien*. Podemos decir muy alto y muy claro en la *Patria* y á pesar de la Francia, la Inglaterra y la España, Cuba será libre, y el día que lo sea se unirá á los E. Unidos de América si le diere la gana, y si no se labrará una suerte independiente. No hay tratados que obliguen á una nación á ser el guardian de los intereses de otra, ni hay nación que se comprometa á remachar las cadenas de un pueblo por el inego placer de otra nación.

Por lo demás, tenga entendido la *Patria* de New-Orleans, que ella no tiene ningún derecho para hablar en nombre de los cubanos, y mucho menos para atribuir á la mayoría ó minoría opiniones ó ideas de que no participan. Si la *Patria* está tan gansosa de congraciarse con los déspotas que oprimen y saquean á Cuba, bien puede hacerlo de la manera que juzgue mas conveniente á sus intereses pecunarios ó patrióticos: pero los cubanos, cuyo órgano legítimo es la VERDAD, altamente desprecian las desmañadas alabanzas y las gratuitas opiniones que les atribuye la *Patria* de Nueva Orleans.

### “LA CRÓNICA” Y LA ADMINISTRACION DE POLK.

“La Crónica”, periódico español que se publica en New-York, que generalmente se cree ser órgano de las autoridades metropolitanas, en Cuba, y del Ministro Español, en Washington, (y que ciertamente lo es del Despotismo *in utroque*),—dicho papel, decimos, en su número 106, contestando á un artículo del *Union* de Washington, ha acusado á la administración del benemérito JAMES K. POLK, de haber ejercido el oficio de delator, con la agravante circunstancia de haberlo hecho en servicio de un Gobierno Monárquico. Nos debe tan poco crédito el antagonista del *Union*, por su modo de ver las cuestiones políticas cuando en ellas se contraponen los intereses del pueblo y los de las testas coronadas, cuanto es grande la confianza que tenemos en la noble é intachable conducta del Presidente Polk y su Gabinete en igual caso. Sin embargo, el *Union* está en capacidad y aun en deber de ilustrar la materia, porque de los artículos de “La Crónica”, donde se conocen las siniestras doctrinas de este papel ni el carácter del Ex-Presidente Polk y sus ministros, pueden ser de mala trascendencia.

### A NUESTRO COMUNICANTE “UN CUBANO.”

Como el *Journal of Commerce* no ha sostenido su asercion de que el General Campbell, Consul de los E. Unidos en la Habana, ha comunicado á su Gobierno antes y ahora que “el pueblo de Cuba no desea un cambio político ni apoyará ningún movimiento revolucionario”, y como nosotros estamos persuadidos de que el General Campbell es incapaz de falsedades ni calumnias, opinamos que la tal asercion del *Journal of Commerce* es de todo punto infundada, y que así debe entenderlo el público, á menos que no conteste ese periódico y pruebe lo contrario.

### SIMPATIAS

DEL PUEBLO AMERICANO POR LA LIBERTAD DE CUBA.

Por nuestra parte, y á nombre de todos los verdaderos Cubanos y amigos de la justa causa de Cuba, damos las mas cordiales gracias al GOBERNADOR REYNOLDS, no solo por el noble interes que tan patentemente ha manifestado en la favor de la Libertad de nuestra desgraciada patria, sino por el favor con que acaba de honrarnos proporcionándonos el siguiente artículo inserto en el *Advocate*, de Belleville, Estado de Illinois, con fecha 20 de Setiembre último, y el cual traducimos íntegro.

### ANEXION DE CUBA.

“El Sábado quince del corriente se celebró en la casa de Corte una gran junta popular (*meeting*) á fin de manifestar sus sentimientos con respecto á la revolucion de Cuba y las relaciones de este país con aquella, y á la importante dependencia de la vieja España. Limosé al órden la Junta por el Gobernador Reynolds, á mocion del cual se nombró á Mr. Samuel Thiriff por la presidencia, y de secretario á Mr. N. Niles.

El Gobernador Reynolds sometió á la consideracion de la Junta las siguientes proposiciones, y despues de una adecuada allocacion hecha por el promotor, se adoptaron por unanimidad: á saber:— Por cuanto se han recibido noticias de que los habitantes de Cuba han dado principio á una revolucion para consti-

tuirse en pueblo libre y emanciparse del corrompido y maléfico despotismo militar de la Vieja España; y como la posicion geográfica de la Isla es tal que domina la salida del comercio del Valle del Missisipi, y está tan inmediata á nosotros que el pueblo de los Estados Unidos no puede mirar dicha revolucion con indiferencia ni permanecer inerte ni neutral en la lucha de los Cubanos por su libertad;

Y por cuanto la Isla de Cuba está en tal situacion que es un imperioso deber de los Estados-Unidos anexionarla á esta Union.—Por tanto,

Se resuelve Que es un deber y al mismo tiempo un interes del pueblo de la Union hacer uso de todos los medios honrosos y legales para conseguir que la Isla de Cuba se anexe á los Estados-Unidos.

Se resuelve, Que la posicion influyente de los Estados Unidos entre las naciones de la tierra, les exige imperiosamente que alienten y sostengan la marcha de las instituciones libres, y exija tambien que nuestro Gobierno sea el primero en alentar y sostener, por todos los medios honrosos y legales, la Revolucion de Cuba.

Se resuelve, Que es un deber de todos y cada uno de los ciudadanos de la Union poner en ejercicio toda su energia, sin violar ningún tratado con España, para apoyar la Revolucion de Cuba.

Se resuelve, Que los ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos pacíficamente reunidos en la Isla Redonda, cerca de Nueva-Orleans, merecen el premio y consideracion de todo el pueblo de la Union, y esta Junta de por sí espera que los congresados en dicha Isla Redonda se dirijan á Cuba y se pondrán al lado de los Cubanos en esta lucha por la Libertad.

Se resuelve, Que esta Junta condena severamente la conducta observada por el Teniente Randolf, de la marina de guerra, pues no tenia facultades para intervenir con los individuos reunidos en la Isla Redonda, y esta Junta no cree que á ningún ciudadano de la Union se pueda impedir por el Gobierno que vaya á hacer la guerra en cualquier país á que le lleve su inclinacion.

Se resuelve, Que LA ANTIGUA SAINT CLAIR SE DEBE A SÍ PROPIO Y A SU FAMA EL HECHO DE PROPORCIONAR CINCUENTA CIUDADANOS PARA QUE, bajo su responsabilidad individual VAYAN A REUNIRSE A LOS CUBANOS Y A PELEAR EN LAS FILAS DEL EJERCITO PATRIOTA.

La junta quedó aplazada sin designar

dia SAMUEL THIRIFFT, Presidente

MIRROR (\*) de N. YORK, SEPT. 19.

Anexion de Cuba.

“Es un deber de toda nacion extender en derredor de sí, cuanto posible sea, los elementos de precision contra los estados de una potencia extranjera. Las ventajas que de tal conducta se derivan son de dos especies. Primeramente, se logra por medio de ella ese respeto y tolerancia de parte de los gobiernos estranos, lo cual pocas veces deja de producir el poder; y en segundo lugar, proporciona medios fáciles de obtener una pronta y efectiva vindicacion de derecho: que tan dispuestos están á infringir los poco escrupulosos. Si los intereses de un país requieren la adquisicion de un territorio contiguo, es cuestionable que su Gobierno no haga uso de todos los medios licitos para adquirir ese territorio. Si nuestra nacionalidad dependiese de la posesion forzosa de cualquiera porcion de esta tierra, seria tan racional, tan justificable que nuestro Gobierno emplease la fuerza necesaria para alcanzar ese objeto, como lo es en un hombre que se está ahogando, arrojar á su companero de la tabla que no puede sustentar á entrámbos. Esto se funda en el eterno principio de que “la conservacion propia es la primera ley de la naturaleza”. Apliquese esta doctrina á la Isla de Cuba. Cualquiera, teniendo á la vista un mapa del Norte America, se convencerá de que esa Isla es la llave del Golfo de Méjico. Ella puede abrir ó cerrar las puertas a ese vasto comercio que corre desde el Missisipi, cual un segundo Nilo, á proveer á la subsistencia del mundo. Contémplesse en toda su estension los inimitados recursos de ese país regado por el Padre de las Aguas y sus tributarios. Vuélvase los ojos hacia el vasto espacio que empieza en la cima de los Montes Azules y termina en la base de los Montes Rocosos [Rocky Mountains], cuántense los millares de montañas, pueblos y ciudades que se convertirán en hogares de cien millones de hombres libres, y preguntados á vosotros mismos si será bien que se les cierren las puertas y que su comercio sea interrumpido ó aniquilado por los poseedores de Cuba?—Quién hablará de contrabandar ó regir los destinos de esa Isla cuando arraque á España el cetro que empuña con mano tiránica pero trémula? Si se consultasen los deseos de los “gubernados”, los habitantes de Estados Unidos se declararían manifiestamente independientes de la madre-patria, y quién en este país negaría, de palabra ó de hecho, ese sagrado privilegio? Es evidente que las enormes contribuciones

impuestas á los cubanos, no solo para objetos del país sino para sostener en su caso un Gobierno podrido [rotten], junto con un infucio espionaje, ejercido sobre ellos por el Capitan General de Cuba, prepara á toda presa al pueblo á una resistencia por vis de fuerza contra el Gobierno. Cuando quiera que nosotros, nuestras simpatías, á lo menos, por los patriotas. Y no estará á alcance de nuestro Gobierno impedir que los que estén dispuestos á espariarse lleven consigo el rifle americano. Mas temprano ó mas tarde los que se hallen EMPEÑADOS EN TAN JUSTA CAUSA TRIUNFARÁN Y CUBA SERÁ LIBRE!

Se niega que este país puede conservar la posesion de Cuba sin la anuencia de Inglaterra. Pues si los Estados Unidos no pueden conservar la posesion una vez obtenida, entonces ni los Cubanos ni los Españoles pueden esperarlos tampoco cuando el Gobierno [el Ingles] tan aficionado á “la manera de repartir el leon la presa estienda su cruel guerra para apropiarse de ella. En cuanto á la capacidad de los Estados Unidos para poseer la Isla, á despecho de Inglaterra ó de cualquier otra potencia de la tierra, ningún pueblo debe estar mas satisfecho de ello que los mismos Ingleses. En nuestra infancia hicimos saber á aquella arrogante nacion, que podiamos obrar á nuestro antojo; y de entonces acá nuestros recursos se han aumentado incalculablemente, al paso que Inglaterra va en decadencia. La importancia de esa Isla en esta República tan el objeto de los mas activos é incansables esfuerzos de todas las administraciones hasta que se haya conseguido. No hemos aludido todavía á los incalculables beneficios que de esa union resultaria á este país bajo el punto de vista comercial, lo reservamos para discutirlo mas adelante. Baste decir que bajo el aspecto político las ventajas son inmensas. Así lo considera el pueblo de este país y exigirá cuentas muy estrechas á todos y cada uno de los hombres públicos que por medios extra oficiales atenten contra esta medida.”

[\*] Papel Whig, el primero que llamó á Taylor á la Presidencia.

### Correspondencia de “La Verdad.”

HABANA, 2 de Octubre de 1849.

Carísimo amigo: la proclama del General Taylor me hizo dejar hace poco el retiro en que he descansado y en el cual me hallo libre de preocupaciones que de valde son bien caras. Aquella proclama y las ulteriores medidas del Gobierno americano dirigidas á impedir la expedicion misteriosa, no causaron menos desaliento en el ánimo de los que la desahaban, que en el de los que la tenían; pero ya, tanto unos como otros, experimentan contraria impresion, y el ojo de menos alcance lo percibe á las claras.

Los primeros se han desengañado de dos importantes verdades que cien veces les ha repetido “LA VERDAD”, á saber: que no hay que lisonjearse ni adormirse con la esperanza de que el Gobierno de la Union proteja ninguna empresa que tienda á revolucionar á Cuba, “sino despues de conocida la lucha”; y la segunda, que el pueblo de los E. Unidos siempre está pronto á ayudarnos, y sacará la cara y se manifestará con obras, tan luego como se aproxime la hora de la accion.

Los segundos (es decir, los enemigos de la expedicion) tambien han palpado esas mismas verdades; y en ellas no solo ven la decision del pueblo Americano por ayudarnos á sacudir el yugo, sino que tienen á milagro el haberse escapado de la esperada visita, porque atribuyen á necesidad y no á efecto de voluntad libre el acto de intervencion del Gobierno para impedir la expedicion. Dicen ellos que Reyes los ha salvado esta vez, poniendo el Gabinete de Washington en el caso de fijar la vista en donde no queria y de donde la tenía apartada (es decir, la expedicion), á fin de mantener su buena posicion en su terreno con respecto á España.

Nada de esto se le pasa por alto al público y mucho menos á los patriotas. Sin embargo, aunque ahora casi se puede tocar con la mano el favorable desenlace que en breve han de tener los asuntos de Cuba, basta el circostancia de separarlo de los Estados Unidos, para que, al parecer, no se aprecie debidamente la ventajosa posicion que hoy ocupa nuestra causa.

Mejor lo entiende la parte contraria, rica y pensadora; y así, no solo no han abusado de la victoria, sino que muchos han hecho entender que ellos estarán por quien proteja sus familias é intereses, sea cual fuere la bandera. Sin embargo, no falta algún alma de caballo,—de aquellos que hasta la racionalidad niegan á los africanos,—que, envanecido por el pasajero triunfo, habla con altanería de la causa. En estos días, hace poco, con tono magistral y á guisa de quien lo puede, hablando á cierto estrado patriota.—“Ustedes son unos escarabazos, que no ven que si sus proyectos de expedicion se realizaran, nos traerán males inmensos: á nosotros lo

que nos conviene es disfrutar las conveniencias presentes y no meternos en cambios.”—No agrado mucho el tono ni la arenga del concienzudo suizo al mortificado patriota, que en su irritacion le volvió veridicas muy amargas.

Admirable es, por cierto, la desfianchez con que estos miserables se *plumifican* para idear con el pueblo á quien por sus meritos ni intereses sacrifican!—“A nosotros”,—repite,—“lo que nos conviene es no pensar en revoluciones, sino disfrutar lo que apañamos.”—“¿Quiénes son esos nosotros?—¿Quiénes?—Unos pocos centenares y no mas, que se ven raudos de los gozes materiales que bastan á sus meneguados espíritus, mientras que medio millon de sus hermanos de Cuba solo conocen el sufrimiento y la humillacion de cuerpo y alma!”

Sufiamos, pues; pero no desmayemos en la jornada de la causa santa. Los expedicionarios fallan, los suizos á quien por algún tiempo mas engañar al pueblo; pero el progreso de la Razon y la Ilustracion sigue su marcha: el pueblo abre los ojos y aprende á conocer sus verdaderos intereses, y no tardará mucho en hacerse cargo por sí mismo de la direccion de ellos.

Entretanto, vengan “Verdades”, ya sea enteras, ya en fragmentos, como quiera; y tambien vengan folletos, bandos, Reales Órdenes y cuanto propenda á difundir luz y enseñar al pueblo. No se desmaye aunque algunos ejemplares caigan en manos del Gobierno: la guerra que éste le hace es la prueba mas patente del terror con que los ministros y de la fuerza y fuerza de armas.—De Vmá, Sca. EL CENTINELA.

P. D.—El día 25 del proximo pasado festejó Roncal en su quinta (que es como si dijéramos el Aranjuez de Cuba), al Consul Americano y á los oficiales de la *Genmantown*. La champaña y las corteses atenciones se prodigaron sin tasa para celebrar á esos *yankis borrachones*. [Virtud del medio]—Bien viene á cuento aquello de que “manos se besan que quisieran verse quemadas.”—Vale.

Atanzas 5 de Octubre —1849.

Conténtense Vmá por hoy con estas cuatro palabras que á toda prisa escribo; pero son importantes en algún modo.

Amigos: los Escribas y Fari-seos agentes del bajá y Camarilla, bufan y escarban libros de coraje contra el hombre de Paz [el General Taylor], por que se dice que ha intercedido para que Roncal no cebe su venganza en los cubanos liberales sospechados de anexionistas, y esto priva á aquellos buitres de la mansa presa que les proporciona la consecuencia de la misteriosa expedicion.

No es menos interesante la in-vencion, ó resurreccion, de una nueva expedicion de VIDAS Y HACIENDAS que en esta ciudad han promovido los mercaderes Don Leon Crespo y Don Demetrio Lopez. Esperen Umds este nuevo regalo y no les coja de susto — CORRESPONSAL.

THE “CRÓNICA” AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF MR. POLK.

The “Crónica”, a Spanish journal published in New York, and which is generally believed to be the organ of the metropolitan authorities in Cuba, and of the Spanish Ambassador at Washington, [and which is really is that of Despotism everywhere.]—that paper, we say, in its N<sup>o</sup> 106, in answer to an article inserted in the *Union* of Washington, has charged the Administration of the meritorious James K. Polk with having acted the part of a denouncer, adding to this the more aggravating circumstances of his having done so for the sake of a monarchical government. We trust as little in the antagonist of the *Union*, because of his usual mode of viewing those political questions where the interests of the people are opposed to those of monarchy or tyranny, as we fully confide in the noble and never stained conduct of Ex-President Polk and his Cabinet, in cases of such a nature. Nevertheless, we think the *Union* is able to, and ought to, illustrate this case, as the assertion of the “Crónica” may exert its noxious influence on those people among whom the depraved doctrines of that journal, or the character of Mr. Polk and his Cabinet are not duly known.

TO OUR CORRESPONDENT “UN CUBANO.”

As the “Journal of Commerce” has failed in sustaining its assertion that General Campbell, the consul of the United States at Havana, has often both formerly and recently informed this government: “that the People of Cuba do neither desire a political change nor will they support any revolutionary movements there, and as we are persuaded that General Campbell is incapable of circulating falsehoods or calumnies, we do humbly opine that the said assertion of the “Journal of Commerce” is altogether gratuitous and without the slightest foundation whatever, and that the public will understand it so, unless that Journal make answer to and prove the contrary.



## 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 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 upon obtaining the two aims at once. Liberty alone for Cuba would suffice us for at present, and for annexation we would consider that afterwards.

Yet, as the question of annexation now is the object of serious consideration of 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 besides contains some general ideas on the same subject, which are illustrated by reliable facts relative to all of which is one of the highest interests just at present.

In this view we have determined on inserting into our periodical the most prominent parts of the pamphlet, accompanying the same with some slight 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 assounding lucubrative, with which the correspondent of the "Journal" regales the readers of the latter.

It 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 stipulation have formed no obstacles 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 by the United States."

As our amiable opponent "P. A. S." [for those 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 assertions, 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 further "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 be as sweeping and absorbing as all other interests of "P. A. S." supposes. However not to embroil the subject with details proving the contrary we for the present are willing even to concede his whole allegation. But we ask: Would it be wisdom to renounce to a business that assures us of 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 it would give ten per cent in the end, who had made his calculation only for four.

So far then "Mr. A. S." is not alone 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 assertion 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 longer 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 result in benefiting 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 take place in the cultivation of the sugar-cane so naturally will be the result, many arms now are engaged in the produce of cotton, will be subtracted 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 market 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 labour 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 this question appeals to the cause 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 inhumanly huddled together and transhipped like as many bundles of merchandise into the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico and to Brazil, there to perish in perpetual servitude,—all which evils will cease entirely the moment annexation is consummated.

The 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.

"In the present state of excitement occasioned by the proximity of a new conflict between the interests of the North and South, by the accusation of the Spanish Consul at New Orleans, and the alarming rumors of an expedition intended to invade the Island of Cuba; it has seemed to me that nothing should be more proper, nor more conducive to the enlightenment and stability of public opinion, on so important an occasion, as to invite the independent press of the United States to examine and discuss the question which is the principal cause of the excitement, by pointing out the principal topics relative to it, and by publishing important facts and documents.

The annexation of Cuba to the United States is the great question of this moment, as well in Europe as in America, and one of those facts, which may be considered as accomplished, long before it is realized.

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 the glorious banner, which first checked and subdued the pride of kings in this portion of the sea.

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 of 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, and the Government of Washington, who incomprehensibly acting contrary to their principles, (as) opposed in 1823 the in-

vasion 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 all nations 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, sequence 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, selected in preference to any other, by the hand of Providence in 1776, were the authority 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 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 when the 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 vigor 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 such a helping hand to the oppressed people 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 contracts, 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 exercise of this right, and attacks or succeeds in breaking the sympathies inspired by other people, or by its first impulse, will be considered as an unjust and oppressive government; and I trust that, if 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 Corsacks 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 their liberty, is violating morality and treaties, especially in Republics, where independence and collective liberty are the basis of the institutions? What morality or 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, 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 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, superior to that of the latter to destroy and to be 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 be apart opened to them to avoid the fate of St. Domingo, 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; by 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. 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 endemic 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, despoiled 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 imports are extorted, pay yearly contributions amounting to \$18,074,491. [d]

With this people so much favored by nature, as injured and ill-treated by fortune, the American Union maintain now-a-days a trade amounting to \$13,000,000 a year and upwards, which employs immense capitals and many thousands of 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 Cuba should 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 capitals and their industry would yearly flock to Cuba, and that 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 the North and South Carolina, and of Virginia, which produce with difficulty, by dint of labour, should become free from the burden of their slaves, the latter being placed on the fertile plains and productive fields of Cuba, and their masters would be satisfied, or

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 what difficulties 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, and it is necessary to lay it in, and work it in the space of 5 or 6 weeks, to obviate inundations and snows which would deprive the owner of his crop, if he were surprised by them.

But in Cuba the canes last for 25 years, and upwards, without and necessity of being re-planted again, to the prodigious height of 12 or 15 feet or more, their juice is so sweet that it becomes, crystallized in the rays of the Sun; the crops are certain on account of the stability and mildness of 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, 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 it.

All forced industry as that of sugar in Louisiana, is in fact an evil for 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 most fit for it, and open a new field to speculations and trade.

By virtue of this change so much desired for by all the intelligent, 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 hogheads 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 effect itself gradually, peacefully, without extortions being practiced against any one, and by the time of its complete establishment, would have raised the commerce and political importance of the South and West to that greatness, which lies in store for the same in the lap of futurity, it would have saved from certain ruin 1,200,000 inhabitants, divided and industrious beings and by individual bonds have united two neighboring territories which not so very long ago acknowledged the same system of laws, and on which one and the same language was spoken.

When from the examination of material interests, that demands annexation, we turn to look upon those, which present themselves to us on the scale of policy and morality, we find that there is nothing which does not argue in favor of the immediate realization of that idea, and that even the abolitionists themselves, who have been so long and in their opposition to the project of annexation, ought to favour 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; and if we wish Cuba to submit to the former and thereby to qualify itself to enter upon the second, 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. [g]

The Cubans on their part are perfectly convinced, that it is they who are to gain most in this change; for with them it is a question not of improving their condition, but of their avoiding an impending catastrophe; they are convinced that Spain has reached to that degree of demoralization and physical and moral decadence in which a nation must lose or ruin its colonies; they know perfectly well, that annexation triumphantly free them from all dangers, bless them with a republican constitution and a Government of their own choice; will give them peace and

general security, which they look for in vain from any other quarter or an extension from the metropolis; in one word, they know that annexation will raise them from the degraded condition of depending on Europe and transform them into free citizens of the Union; and what is incomprehensible in the whole matter is, how two people placed as they are so near to each other and with such vital interests between them, have been capable of remaining strangers to each other so long a time, and even now go on hesitating and waiting in suspense for an occasion, which they could at any moment themselves produce.

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 thenceforth they will have to do there no longer with rickety weak old Spain but with powerful and proud 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 arbiter 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. [h]

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 for 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 indentured coast of Cuba would immediately be transformed into one uninterupted battery all round, which would be a terror to the sea, and endanger the commerce and shipping, may 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.

The annexation of Cuba may be effected in two different ways; by treaty or by actual force. The former is by far the most desirable mode and that which would redound to the glory and honor of the inhabitants of Cuba, of this Union and of Spain; but unfortunately as far as we can see, this is almost impossible when we take into consideration the policy, prejudices and character of the Spanish nation; and I therefore occupy myself solely with the second mode.

For that purpose it will be requisite to enter into an examination of the relative position and power of the two parties, the republicans and the royalists.

All the forces of which the present government of Cuba counts, or which to speak more correctly, it believes would rally in support of its authority, are the following:—

Troops of infantry of the line	14,500.
Cavalry	1,200.
Artillery	600.
Mariners, that is to say between enrolled seamen and men in actual service	2,000.
One regiment of militia cavalry	1,000.
Four companies of soldiers subject to re-enrollment	400.
Total number of men and officers subject to service in arms	19,700.

Of these troops are concentrated at least one half at Havana and the rest is scattered in different places in the island in parties numbering from a 100 to 1,500 men.

The fortified place of Havana with her forts contains 800 pieces of artillery of all calibers and among them 4 British guns, which are placed on the castles of *Morro* and *La Punta*. In the remainder of the Island we may be sure, that it would be hard to bring together 100 guns more. The government of Cuba has also at its disposition two war steamers, old and without sufficient strength, one ship of the line, the sorry survivor that was left of the battle of Trafalgar, [an accomplished

entirement of the Spanish Government] two frigates, one corvette and three or four smaller crafts all in the same dilapidated condition and worse officered and manned.

And these are the great resources upon which Spain has to rely. These are the formidable fleet and invincible army which which the pshaw of Cuba makes bold to beard the power of the Union, and induces him there in the circle of his courtiers and his allies in command, to give vent to the assurance that nothing shall make him swerve from his duty of preserving Cuba to Spain, and that she rather should be lost for the world; for he is too sure counts for his purposes principally on the negroes, whom he would set upon and arm against the native white population. (i)

But keeping at present out of view that which is so characteristic and immoral and savage in these ideas, in order now only to press that which they contain of the absurdity, humbug and ridiculousness, we will ask the authorities of Cuba and the enemies of annexation who would endeavor to strike terror into our hearts by the exhibition of all this force and imaginary power, of what avail will those soldiers be to you in the hour of trial, soldiers as much teased and maltreated by their chiefs, as feasted and sought after by the republicans, and who, to tell the whole truth, await with impatience the signal to call them into the ranks of liberty to restore them to the condition of free citizenship, of which they have been robbed in order to make them apt instruments and the mere footholds of force in the hands of the oppressor by authority? What will you do with your rusted cannons, that have grown spongy by age and without a single engineer, who could direct them? What advantage do you intend to draw from those vessels of war, which cannot leave port without being immediately driven in again in distress to repair damages?

At the first cry of liberty, that will be shouted on the fields of Cuba sustained by any armed force and a chief of a respectable name, all will be enemies of the government, the Spanish troops not excepting. This is well known there by all the world, for there is in this respect only one opinion among the Cubans. And they are convinced in Cuba and know that Spain can bring them nothing but calamities, and that annexation alone is the only mode, which providence has left them for their safety. All in Cuba desire, sigh and work for bringing about the moment of this happy change; every thing is prepared for it; and if they have not yet dealt the blow, it is because they want to go sure; because they want to await the moment; and because they wish to operate in concert and agreement with the American people, of whose favor they stand so much in need.

[a] 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 that contradiction which has stained the history of America with a disgraceful stigma.

(b) If proofs of the truth of what we want, the Federal Constitution of 1789 may be consulted, which states what follows: "Should Canada 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 at least."

[c] Although the last Official census, made at the end of the year 1847, does not give to the Island of Cuba more than 838,752 inhabitants; those who know well the country, and are acquainted with the motive, and the mean policy with which 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; on the contrary, the latter besides his natural increase, has received a reinforcement of 50,000 African slaves, who in spite of England, and the protest 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 436,495; total 1,007,624.—Census of 1847; whites 425,770—free colored people 159,223—slaves 523,759—total 898,752—Increase in five years, whites 7,479—free colored people 6,935.

Diminution in the same 5 years—of slaves 112,738. Total Diminution of the population—108,872.

And what has become of these 112,738 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 7479 individuals, and that of the free colored people by 6385?—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, and 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 one side and the mother of Isabel the 2d. fosters it on the other, investing immense capitals in the same.

[d] Here are the amount of the Cubans taxes: such as I did fit and publish in another writing of this kind some months ago.

### General Taxes.

Proceed of the marine incomes in 1846 according to the "Balanza General" of the commerce of the Island of Cuba, in 1847	6,232,067.7
Ditto of land incomes, according to the same "Balanza"	4,907,811.1
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
Title rents	416,000.0
Eventual rents	250,000.0
Stamp paper according to the data produced by Mr. Queipo in his "Informe Fiscal"	250,000.0
Costs of suits, without including the precedent item and according to a calculation made in the "Observador de Ultramar" (a news paper 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, permists, &c. &c.	209,650
	18,074,491.0

[e] Both things are natural, as for the fear of winter, canes must be cut before they have grown up or come to maturity. E. E. of "La Verdad."

[f] The cause of this is that canes are cut when they are quite ripe, as there is no fear of winter frosts in Cuba the don't cut there but that quantity of canes which can be ground in the same day. E. E. of "La Verdad."

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

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

[i] The idea that the Government would avail itself of the slave population to wage war with their aid against their masters has been expatiated on by one periodical in New York and another in New Orleans. worthy organs and creatures of Señor Roncalli, but the circumstances that his Excellency permitted the same to escape his mouth in the Junta of the Government-officers which was assembled immediately upon the receipt of that famous proclamation of President Taylor, lends it a little more important, and has deservedly aroused the attention and brooked the disgust and indignation in the most indifferent and even in many Spaniards by birth and friends of the Spanish Government.

We for our part have never doubted that such was the intention and project of the authorities of Cuba.