



EL PATRIOTISMO CUBANO SOSTIENE ESTE PERIODICO PARA CIRCULARLO GRATIS.

2a época.

Nueva York, Diciembre, 1, 1849.—2º de La Verdad. For English part, see Second page.

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LA VERDAD.

POR CORA MONTGOMERY.

"LUZ Y PAZ."

NUEVA YORK, Diciembre, 1, de 1849.

Los últimos sucesos y el curso de las opiniones y sentimientos populares en Cuba han dado ya á la cuestión de su libertad un carácter de tanta importancia que necesariamente la ha puesto al orden del día. El pueblo, la prensa y los oculares políticos y diplomáticos no solo de este país sino de otros de América, y en Europa misma, con no menos interés, la han iniciado ya en sus discusiones; y, no ciertamente, como problema que se presenta, sino como cuestión ya formulada y que muy pronto ha de resolverse. Aun hay más: su solución está ya determinada por la mayoría de los hombres que piensan imparcial y rectamente, y solo falta la sanción de los hechos.—En el Congreso de la Unión Americana, pronto á reunirse, será la cuestión de Cuba [tenemos razones para creerlo] asunto de los tópicos más interesantes y de mayor consideración, no solo por su importancia intrínseca y la exigencia de su naturaleza, sino por las estrechas relaciones en que está con los intereses políticos y materiales de la Confederación.—

En circunstancias tales, creemos de grande utilidad todo lo que tienda a ilustrar dicha cuestión en sus principales puntos de vista, y sobre todo en su complicación con los intereses de los Estados del Sur, por lo cual necesariamente se encuentra en la senda de la marcha política de la Unión.

Como uno de los medios convenientes al indicado objeto hemos determinado el de recopilar y compaginar en un pequeño volumen algunos artículos originales que sobre la materia hemos publicado en las columnas de nuestro periódico LA VERDAD y algunos de otros autores que la han favorecido con sus producciones. Todas las que en este folleto insertamos versan particularmente sobre la cuestión a que nos referimos, considerándola bajo sus diferentes puntos de vista, dilucidando suavemente las consecuencias que natural y precisamente se desprenden de ella, tanto con respecto á los Estados Unidos en particular, cuantá á la América total en cuadriga de los supuestos admisibles.

Desta cualquier punto de vista en que se observe este aspecto de la faz política de Cuba no cabe duda en que su importancia es de primer orden, ya sea por los peligros y perjuicios de gravedad tanto que del actual estado de ese país se derivan á este y otros del Nuevo Mundo, ya por la considerable suma de bienes que á todos produciría cualquier caso favorable al provenir de la colonia hispano-americana.

Permitámonos repetir con este motivo lo que en mas de una ocasión hemos observado. La emancipación política de Cuba, bien produce la Independencia ó bien de por último resultado la Anexión, es para los Estados Unidos el medio de conciliación de los varios y contrapuestos intereses y partidos. La balanza de la representación federal, se pondrá en el fiel, y el Sur no verá arrrollado por el Norte: los dueños de esclavos tendrán la completa seguridad de sus propiedades y luego de producción bajo el sistema actual, mientras no llegue á su término la gradual abolición de la esclavitud y los enemigos de esta, los abolicionistas, verán cerradas de una vez para siempre las puertas de Cuba y Puerto-Rico (y el Brasil, por consecuencia indispensable) al infame comercio de carne humana que la familia real de España y sus agentes y el Gobierno Colonial de esas Islas silencian y protegen abiertamente allí. Por último, los

rían en común con los abolicionistas, se les ofrecerán nuevos y vastísimos campos, de exuberante fertilidad y virginidad todavía, donde emplear miles y mas miles de brazos libres, con el mas lejano prospecto de buena fortuna. Y ademas, no pequeña parte de estos incalculables beneficios tocará al Oeste que, ora se independiza, ora se anexa Cuba, asegurarse de este modo la franca entrada y salida del Golfo de México en que se derraman sus inmensas producciones, y cuya llave, continuando hoy en poder de España, puede, de un momento á otro pasar a manos demasiado peligrosas por m's de un motivo que haré conocidos son á la generalidad.

Los artículos de que co'sta el presente folleto manifestarán además de un modo claro y espíritu el sistema despótico con que esta regida Cuba; la crueldad con que se opina de sus habitantes; el escandalo de las estafas y robos que diariamente se cometen allí á mansalva por los gobernantes; la inquisitorial censura de la prensa; la en el uso pleno de inundar la Isla introduciendo razas bárbaras, desmoralladas y heterogéneas, no solo con objeto de dividir y dominarnos sin riesgo, sino con el de enriquecer á los agentes y satélites del Gobierno Metropolitano y aumentar la insaciable avaricia de Da. María Cristina Borbón de Múzquiz. Diques de Rianzares y augusta Reina madre de la Soberana Isla; y demuéstrase, por último, en esas escritos cómo es verdad que Cuba está entregada por la Metrópoli al brazo secular de sus Bajos y Ejires, sin condiciones sino la de que al Tesoro Metropolitano no falle jamás la renta [20,000,000 anuales] sean cuales fuesen los medios de recaudarla, aun cuando, como ahora, se necesiten subsidios extraordinarios para cubrir las deudas que atende; ni más se contraen por antojos o dilapidaciones de un torpe y desdentado Administrador. Y hablase también, aunque ligeramente, de la immoralidad con que se quebrantan los pactos internacionales, respondiendo á Cuba [que siempre está en rencores] a las funestas consecuencias de tan punible conducta; y tampoco se olvida algún rasgo de ese repugnante y escandaloso cuadro de las violencias, arbitrariedades, ultrajes, depredaciones, asesinatos, punitivos, &c., que da lugar la investidura de las facultades omnímodas de los Capitanes Generales, ó mejor dicho, de esos monarcas absolutos de las desventuradas Colonias.

Pero: ¿ a qué cansarnos, fatigando á nuestros lectores con la enumeración repetida de los males que abruma la infeliz patria Cubana? Cada acto de aquel Gobierno, cada víctima suya, no son aquí y en todas partes una página viva de la triste historia de su iniquidad y cristiernez?

Y si aun así tuvieren un vaso de fundamento las esperanzas de algunos ó muy candidos ó muy maliciosos, á lugar habría a prolar los esfuerzos de la resignación. Pero: ¿ que podemos esperar de España?... Digalo por nosotros "La Crónica" de Nueva York, organo reconocido del Gobierno Colonial de Cuba, auxiliado con fondos pertenecientes al Erario de aquella Isla, y que en matrícula de política colonial española es el oícial de la Metrópoli. Este papel, en su número 10, fecha de 28. de noviembre, inserta un artículo de su correspondiente de la Corte Metropolitana, en el cual se lee, entre otras cosas, lo siguiente:

"Las innovaciones Políticas que para ellos (los países coloniales hispano-americanos) solicitan algunas personas, tejos de convenir á nuestras provincias de ultramar solo servirán allá para encender una guerra de fatales consecuencias para ellas y para la Metrópoli: la de LUCHA POLÍTICA nacería sin remedio, á la corta ó á la larga, UNA LUCHA DE RAZAS.

En estas pocas líneas, quien quiera que su autor sea, está encerrada la expresión genuina de la voluntad y firme propósito del Gabinete de Madrid. De ellas se desprenden claramente y sin la menor duda las siguientes consecuencias:

1º Que el Gobierno de España no hará nunca ni la menor concesión de su despotismo, en favor de nuestros derechos políticos.

2º Que presentando como única razón para esto la diferencia de razas, es evidente que perseverará con mayor empeño en mantener y fomentar á todo trance esta división como apoyo y justificación de su tiranía.

3º Que por consiguiente hará todo quanto pueda, (a despecho de todas consideraciones) por introducir en Cuba el mayor número posible de esclavos africanos, por ser ésta la raza mas opuesta á la población blanca, y un tráfico que enriquece mas prontamente á los gobernantes.

He aquí plenamente confirmadas las creencias que con respecto a esta materia hemos expresado hace largo tiempo en "La Verdad". Y con semejante programa político á la vista, preguntaremos ahora.—

¿ Que deben hacer los Cubanos, despiados y brutalmente oprimidos por el Gobierno de la Metrópoli cuando establecen toda posibilidad de innovaciones políticas?

¿ Que deben hacer los enemigos del tráfico de esclavos, cuando todo asegura que España, aun cuando no sea mas que por conservar su dominio, se propone no solo mantener sino aumentar, a toda costa, el número de las infelices víctimas de su política y codicia?

¿ Que deben hacer los hombres que rigen los destinos de la América, y en particular los de esta República, cuando en lugar de desaparecer los peligros que ofrecen á sus intereses de tola la clase las Islas de Cuba y Puerto Rico en su calidad de colonias esclavas, se cierran las puertas á toda esperanza de reformas liberales que impidan los males que bajo el actual sistema han de germinar allí para contaminar al continente como ya ha sucedido otras muchas veces?

Prontas están a abrirse las cámaras del Congreso de la Confederación Americana: ilustres y profundos estadistas son una gran parte de los miembros que en la presente Legislatura han de comparecer, y basta que nos atrevamos a indicarles la importancia y la urgencia de la cuestión, que no lo dudamos, recibirán la solución exacta y beneficiosa que esperamos para completo triunfo de la santa causa de la Libertad de América

COMUNICADO.

Cuba y el Journal of Commerce.

ARTICULO 3º

Al seguir el curso del comunicante del Journal of Commerce en su artículo de 12 de Setiembre ultimo, pasó por algo tocarse ligeramente todos aquellos puntos en que no se envuelven principios de fe política, como, por ejemplo, aquello de los quilitas de la fealdad cubana á que se disimuló y no poco empeño llama la atención el escritor, y por mi parte me contentaré con recordar también al leyente cuan subidos fuéreron los de la fidelidad de los pueblos de la América del Sur cuando se probó en la piedra de toque de la Revolución en que unidos como hermanos se levantaron para sacudir el yugo de su Metrópoli, al mismo tiempo que las tropas en gran número desataban de las filas del despotismo y se acogían á las banderas de la Libertad. Y aun bien será así mismo recordar de paso los últimos hechos ocurridos en Puerto-Príncipe, Trinidat, Cienfuegos, Matanzas, y otros puntos de nuestra Cuba, en que las tropas se hallan aplazadas con el pueblo: hechos ciertos, indudables, que en vano tratan de desfi-

gurar el Gobierno y sus agentes y pánicos en Cuba y en los Estados Unidos, porque la venda cae y la realidad se presenta.

Otra que tal es la cuestión abstracta (que así se le antoja al Journal) sobre "si el pueblo de Cuba está oprimido;—si desea un gobierno independiente, republicano;—si prefiere uno monárquico;—o si los cubanos para asegurar sus propiedades solicitan la protección de una potencia extranjera."—"Me desentiendo de todo esto,"—dice el Señor Comunicante, para salir del aprieto sin cometer un mal lance; y yo de mis amores digo tambien el consejo, dejando á los muchachos de escuela americanos el diligenciar y decidir la cuestión, porque no parece bien que hombres hechos y derechos se ocupen de tan sensibilísimo topico que solo al Señor "A. S." se presenta abstracto y crizado de dificultades en su solución.

En lugar de esto, me contraría algun tanto al pero con que sigue adelante. "Pero,"—dice,—"me aventuro á negar aun la probabilidad misma de que los caudillos de la Isla, los hombres ricos, de influencia, con familias, aprueben ó apoyen movimientos tales como el que acaba de estorbarse en esta ciudad por la intervención del Gobierno."

Nada pone mas á las claras la característica hipocresía del Journal que este juicio que antecede, aparentando creer aquello mismo que de positivo lo consta ser de todo punto falso. Nada tampoco hay mas inofrible, porque, á sabiendas de que no se le puede responder de lleno y alzadas las viseras, provoca á adversarios atados de pies y manos.

El Journal bien sabe que desde que se inició la primera conspiración en Cuba, cada dia se sacrifican nuevas victimas en las aras del Despotismo; bien sabe asimismo el Journal que muchos han sido mártires de la patria ya en cadallos, ya tragando la muerte junto con el alimento; ora sucumbiendo al rigor de duras cárceles y mal trato, ora bajo el sufrimiento moral de que un alma virtuosa y de delicado temple no puede resistir al verse atacada por la calumnia y aterradora con la idea de ver á sus hijos amenazados de la ruina y la miseria; bien que hayan sido condenados a destierro, ó a infame presidio, o a ultimo suplicio, ó multados ó perseguidos; bien lo sabe el Journal, repetimos, porque todos ó la mayor parte de los nombres de esas victimas se han publicado por la prensa de Cuba y de este país. Y ¿ se atreverá ese periódico á negar que la mayoría de esos individuos pertenecen á la clase acomodada, rica, influyente, ilustrada y que aun en su número se cuentan algunos de los cubanos mas esclarecidos por su saber y virtudes? Responda el Journal; pero responde con la mano sobre el corazón; y respondá consultando su conciencia y desnudándose esa capa de justic que se viste por mas que le venga mal. Y no alegue por disculpa la ignorancia de los hechos, porque ellos son harto públicos; porque muchos datan desde una generación atrás, y porque ese ignorancia no le confiere el derecho de dar por cierto lo que no sabe, cuanto y mas si en asuntos de grave importancia con que se rozan nada menos que los intereses vitales de todo un pueblo.

"Estos hombres,"—continúa el Journal, contrayéndose á los ricos, nobles &c.—"tienen mucho que perder y nada que ganar. Los patriotas por excelencia, así como los verdaderos defensores del opriamiento, es de esperar se mantengan pasivos, pues el rico allí se hace poderoso: el hombre relacionado con familias de rango ejerce influencia y poder indirecto. Si no obtiene empleos como la nobleza, la mayor parte de ellos son mansos, contentados y dociles;" (parecéme estar oyendo a cierto escarabajo de quien Vnd's han hecho mención y de quien se me encargó guardarme); "se hallan contentos con sus titulos y con la importancia que ellos les confieren—por el contrario del improvisto Coronel del Oeste."

He aquí la pura esencia del egoísmo revuelta con la mas refinada malicia de la hipocresía. ¡Qué principios, qué lógica y qué fines! Conque "porque el rico se

hace poderoso, porque el hombre de rango tiene *poder indirecto*, y porque los *titulares* están contentos con la *importancia* que ellos les confieren" debe el "patriota por esclavitud" ser pasivo y abandonar á la esclavitud, á la estafadora opresión y á la miseria física y moral las demás 99, con temidas partes de sus compatriotas? Tal doctrina y sentimientos tales profesados y difundidos en Rusia por el *Journal* le elevarían á la más alta privanza del Autocrata Nicolás.

Pero aun no se desahoga con esto y todavía sube de punto la sana de ese periódico contra los Cubanos que se esfuerzan por sacudir el ignominioso yugo de su servidumbre, y esa pasión lo lleva hasta el extremo de poner en cuestión el derecho de los pueblos á rebelarse contra el Tirano, —"porque,"—dice él en todo el libro de su *sabiduría*,—"el Tirano no ha quebrantado sus pactos." Por manera que según esta nueva doctrina, el esclavo no tiene derecho á procurar su emancipación mientras el amo no aumente ó multiplique los rigores de su esclavitud! ¡Qué principios, qué filosofía y qué indumentas!

"La educación es la base de la Libertad,"—dice el Señor A. S. y dice una verdad eterna; pero es el caso que la toma en boca para dedicar á su amado la violenta consecuencia de que "deben educarse los pueblos antes de darles libertad."—A este paso, nunca ó muy tarde se emanciparán las naciones oprimidas, porque clara cosa es que tanto se guardarán los opresores de proporcionarles ese elemento indispensable, como él cree, de libertad.—Cuándo seremos dignos por merced el Señor "A. S." que tal consigamos en Cuba mientras estemos bajo la tutela de la tiranía Espana, si tan aferrados nos encuentra hoy á vueltas de tres y medio siglos que hace andamos á su escuela? No viene aquí fuero de camino recordar la ocurrencia *discretísima* de aquel padre que prohibió á su hijo "entrar en el gabinete antes que supiese andar."

Y ahora, por lo que t-e-n-a otros varios puntos del artículo del Señor "A. S." tales como el estado de atraso de los pueblos americanos independientes de Espana y otras observaciones generales, permitáname introducir un extracto del *Rock River Jeffersonian* de 31 de Octubre último, que es muy oportuno y conveniente para la ocasión. Es el siguiente:

"La reciente tentativa hecha por Cuba para constituirse en estado independiente ha sido causa de que el *Constitucional* de París produjese la aserción de que "nossotros estamos obligados por el tratado hecho en 1828 entre Francia, Inglaterra y los E. Unidos, á garantizar á España la posesión de aquella Isla, y asegurar á las naciones firmantes la neutralidad perpetua con respecto á dicha Colonia." Aquí venimos claramente la alianza formada con los poderes monárquicos para la supresión de las instituciones liberales, por el Gabinete Whig de Adams y Clay—escena de las grandes doctrinas fundamentales de la plataforma Whig.

"Ni aun fué esto el todo. En el año de 1828 se celebró en Panamá el Gran Congreso Americano en el cual tanto se interesó Mr. Adams por nuestro Gobierno, ó mas propiamente hablando, por las tendencias whigs que habían de representarse. Decidióse en ese Congreso la invasión de Cuba y Puerto-Rico por las fuerzas combinadas de México y Colombia, pero quedó sin efecto por causa de la oposición que encontró de parte del *Gobierno de los E. Unidos* por medio de su Ministro en Colombia y las notas de Mr. Clay á los representantes de la Unión en las Cortes europeas. . . . El mismo Mr. Adams en su mensaje dice:—"La condición de las Islas de Cuba y Puerto-Rico es de grave importancia, influyendo muy inmediatamente en los intereses presentes y en el porvenir de nuestra Unión. La correspondencia adjunta demostrará cuán cuya mente ha llamado este asunto la atención del Gobierno. La invasión de ambas Islas por las fuerzas unidas de México y Colombia es manifestamente uno de los objetos de los Estados beligerantes en Panamá. Las convulsiones á que, con motivo de los peculiares elementos que componen su población, se verían expuestas en caso de tal invasión, y el consequente peligro deque por último cayesen en manos de alguna potencia Europea que no fuese Espana, no nos permiten que miremos con indiferencia las consecuencias á que pueda llevar el Congreso de Panamá. No es necesario estendernos mas sobre este particular, ó decir otra cosa sino que todos nuestros esfuerzos con respecto á estos intereses serán encaminados á conservar el actual estado de cosas."

"Diplomacia como ésta es digna de Richelieu ó de Metternich en sus mas notables días, y jamás debió haberse escrito en lengua inglesa, que es el idioma de los hombres libres. ¿Cuán diferente del enérgico estilo de su señor! "Venga lo que vine, la explicación que demanda Francia jamás podrá concederse, y ningún preparativo de guerra por mas poderoso y

formidable que sea, ya cerca, ya lejos de nuestras costas, nunca podrá, lo sé, retrotraernos de cumplir los altos deberes que nos han sido impuestos con respecto á nuestros constituyentes, y lo que debemos á nuestro carácter nacional y al mundo entero." Pero Jackson jamás se había nutrido en monárquicas cortes ni aprendido la doblez de epistolares estadistas en lengua gallega con caíres ni emperadores: su lenguaje se parece mucho á la penetrante detonación del rifle del guerrillero, en contraste con la descarga rotunda de los pulidores mosqueteros de los gendarmes.

"Desde aquella época so han traido de la costa de África á aquellas Islas solamente, más de 500,000 esclavos y la maldición de la servidumbre, los geníos en el pasaje y el horror de ese inicuo tráfico de tantos seres; el sacrificio de vidas humanas y de propiedades, manteniendo ese mercado de carneírica—todo eso lo debe África al modelo y espejo de los Whigs, simpatizadores de los caítes de la *Anistia*, á John Quincy Adams, y al político de bancarrota, Henry Clay. Expresiones son éstas que saldrán garantizadas si se examina el asunto, tanto por las instrucciones comunicadas al Ministro de Colombia cuanto por la triple alianza hecha para manejarnos hermanos en esclavitud bajo el despótico Gobierno de Espana, asesino de almas. Vease el caso del Comodoro Porter, juzgado en un Consejo de guerra y arrojado de la Armada, por haber rescatado á su teniente de las manos de una hora de piratas y tomar bizarramente su fortaleza; y esto á causa de que debía haber precedido, según las estipulaciones de los tratados, el consentimiento de Francia e Inglaterra. Comparada con hombres tales, la traición de Burr es una virtud relentora y los designios de Arnold nada mas que una conversión á la lealtad. Estos son los nombres bajo los cuales quiarán sus huestes en estos días de liberalismo, y osarán decir á sus constituyentes de la Unión que son opuestos á la esclavitud."

En lo que precede claramente se presentan, entre otras muchas, dos verdades apoyadas en hechos auténticos. Es John Quincy Adams en 1826 siguió una política contraria al espíritu de las instituciones de aquella República, y contraria también á los sentimientos liberales que animaron á los fundadores de la Unión y que en todos tiempos ha inspirado el pueblo Americano. Que la maniera con que procedió fué arbitraria e injusta ante todo tribunal republicano y humanitario, porque ni existió ni en razón existir puede tratado alguno que le confriera el derecho de oponerse á Colombia y México, naciones ámbas á dos cuya independencia y soberanía estaban reconocidas por la Confederación y por varias potencias de Europa, y que, hallándose en guerra abierta con Espana, no hacían mas que proveer á la natural defensa al tratar de llevar sus armas á Cuba, posesión española y por consiguiente arsenal de su enemigo, casi sobre sus mismas costas.

Y aun con tal razonamiento mayor procedió el Presidente Adams al amenazar con una declaración de guerra á aquellas infantes y débiles repúblicas, vástago del gran árbol plantado por Washington, si no desistían de su empeño de reducir la esclavitud á sus hermanas Cuba y Puerto Rico. Noble y grande empeño, que daría por fruto no sólo la completa emancipación de todos los países americanos aliados por la opresión española, sino el liberar á los otros ya emancipados, del padrastro que han tenido constantemente en Cuba como colonia de Espana, donde ésta, puesta en acecho como el bulto, se ha provisto de todos los medios de inquietar y desgarra á esas jóvenes naciones. Anidados en Cuba los esmeritos españoles han mantenido vivo el partido metropolitano en sus antiguas colonias; desde allí se han lanzado las semillas de la zizania entre aquellos pueblos; desde allí se ha encendido la tea de la discordia para abrasar a aquellos países; de allí, por ultimo, se ha sacado el oro y la plata para fomentar la guerra civil y hacer derribar a raudales, durante una generación, la sangre de hermanos por hermanos. Hechos son la prueba de todo esto y hechos inconcusos, indiscutibles. Expediciones de Cuba por el Gobierno español; espías y esmeritos, por fortuna sorprendidos y castigados; proyectos de invasión fraguados en Madrid y frustrados en Inglaterra; gruesas sumas de dinero libradas por la intrigante, codiciosa y (según público fama) trascilante principal de carne humana, la augusta Doña Cristina de Borbón, contra las cajas del Erario de esa misma Cuba con objeto de llevar á cabo los sueños de reconquista que alimenta Espana en las dos posesiones que aun conserva en este hemisferio, lo cual responde no solo por el atraso que indica el correspondiente del *Journal*, sino que prueba el poder de la Libertad, que luchando con fan adversos elementos, se sobrepone y triunfa al cabo.

Todos esos males son infinitos mas, cuya enumeración sería interminable, no se habrían experimentado á no existir en

esas dos Islas el dominio español; porque Espana, careciendo de ese apoyo, tan escasa de recursos y sobretodo tan pobre de marina, que los cruceros colombianos y argentinos apresaban las naves españolas ya en la boca del Morro, ya á la vista de la misma Cádiz,—Espana, digo, habría renunciado a sus esperanzas de restaurarse en América y se habría transido sinceramente con los pueblos independizados; por cuya medio, desembarcados todos estos á que también Cuba y Puerto Rico, de todo temor extranjero, se habrían ocupado exclusivamente de los asuntos domésticos; por donde se viene á la razonable conclusión de que entonces habría marchado rápidamente hacia su consolidación y prosperidad, y hoy serían poderosos e ilustrados, y lo que nun es mas, no espuestos á los insultos del jesuitismo de *ignis suizo*.

La segunda verdad, que, no menos palpable que la primera, se desprende del extracto arriba inserto, es que Cuba y Puerto Rico, independientes, o incorporadas á Colombia, o anexadas á los Estados Unidos ó arrebatadas por una nación extranjera, [caso tan difícil y remoto que solo por suposición le admitimos para distinguir.] cualquier enfoque que fuese el destino de esas Islas, bastaría que se desprendiesen de las manos de Espana, para que cesase en ellas la trata de esclavos, lo cual debió haber sucedido mas de 22 años ha, y no se habrían arrancado de su país y condenado á perpetua y dura esclavitud mas de 500,000 infelices negros que de entonces acá se han importado en ambas colonias. Pero ¿qué está sucediendo hoy?—Sigue todo lo contrario; sucede que la trata continúa con perniciosas y lamentables consecuencias ya en aumento aún, porque en ello, como repetid' vez se ha dicho y se ha probado hasta la saciedad con argumentos y hechos positivos, se halla interesado el Gobierno de Espana; porque segun de pública voz y fama es notorio á todos en Inglaterra, Cuba y Espana, entre los empresarios del infame tráfico de negros son parte muy principal algunas personas de la Sacra Real familia de Borbón, y porque ese tráfico se halla legalizado por el Gobierno de Cuba bajo la condición única de que los artificiales de los buques aseguren que los cargamentos de esclavos proceden del Brasil.

Ahora bien, recapitulemos lo dicho. Me parece tan palpable la injusticia cometida por la Administración de 1823 contra todos los países encaprichados de Espana en América y contra las Islas de Cuba y Puerto Rico, cuanto que ella ha sido el inigualable manantial de los males que he indicado y que han de continuar si no se pone el único remedio que puede hacerlos desaparecer. Y no se alegue por disculpa de la crudelidad de semejante acto, el subterfugio con que algunos, a falta de razones, se preparan, suponiendo que á ello autorizó el "derecho de propia conservación," derecho en verdad mil veces mas exigente entonces para México y Colombia que para los Estados Unidos, á menos que se prefiera "el derecho del mas fuerte." Admiten algunos, yo lo sé, que la propia conservación autoriza á un individuo para lanzar al agua á su compañero de la tabla del naufragio si en ella no pueden salvarse entrabados; pero por ventura estaba en ese caso la Union Americana, para sacrificar como sacrificó las Islas de Cuba y Puerto Rico, y las Repùblicas del Sur, y mas de 1,000,000 de africanos, y los principios de libertad, de humanidad, de justicia, abiriendo una fuente de calamidades sin término aun.

Y qué política observa la Administración actual, hoy que la causa de esas desventuradas Islas se agita ante el Tribunal del pueblo del Gran Washington?

Callemos para oír la voz de los defensores de la Humanidad en el sagrado recinto del Templo de la Libertad, erigido por el elevado espíritu de los inmortales Washington, Jefferson y otros padres de la Union.

MARCELO ETNA.

A quien Dios se la dió, San Pedro se la bendiga.

En uno de los últimos números del "Correo de ambos Mundos" hemos leído un artículo en que se da la noticia de que el justo y agradecido Gobierno de Espana ha concedido ó se propone conceder á uno de los Sres. Editores de *La Crónica* la cruz de Carlos III, y el consulado Espanol en esta ciudad. Si cierta es la noticia, no cabe duda en que el Gobierno de Madrid de una muestra de su munificencia recompensando así los méritos contraídos por *La Crónica* en la desesperada defensa del Bajalato de Cuba, cuyo despotismo, barbarie y degradaciones escandalosas trata de justificar ó disimular ese periódico, órgano de Roncali y camarilla.

Por consiguiente, será necesario deducir que un Gobierno, á quien tal li-

beralidad y justicia caracterizan, tendrá largamente pagados á los agentes que proveen a varios periódicos americanos de ciertas noticias *fidedignas* sobre la esclavitud, benevolencia, sapiencia y demás del patriarcal Gobierno de Roncali—Baja en Cuba, y que con larga mano los surten de encarecidus alabanzas por los incalculables bienes que producen sus sapientísimas disposiciones el enviable contenido en que viven los cubanos como angelitos en la gloria, y en que se trata de cómo aquellos *leales* subditos de S. M. Isabel II aborrecen a los *yankies* y sus instituciones y todo lo que á yankee huella, con otras noticias y datos no menos *exactos* que dejamos a la averiguacion del curioso lector.

Y necesario es tambien deducir que á iguales muestras de la Real Munificencia de la Corte Matritense tienen merecidos titulos otros Editores de la misma laya que los del "Journal of Commerce" que tales artículos prohíban; no cabiendo menos derechos, o siquier esperanzas, a otros celosos adictos y devotos servidores de la Reina de las Españas y las Indias, Jerusalén &c como el comandante Randolph y otros, que el dia mismo pensando van y reciben la gran cruz del Gato ó la laureada de Isla Redonda.

Tambien algo hemos oido sobre que "La Crónica" se halla en gran favor y alta privanza con el Gabinete de Washington, y que hay grandes probabilidades de que uno de sus Editores sea escogido para confidente y consejero íntimo del Viejo Zácaras, quien altamente aprecia el tino y profunda ciencia con que nuestro sabio colega ha derramado torrentes de beneficio suyos sobre las varius intrincadas cuestiones internacionales que en estos últimos meses se han agitado en este pais; y particularmente con respecto al caso del español García (rey), poniendo freno á la licencia y osadía de los Jueces de N. Orleans; sucediendo otro tanto con el negocio del Rey de Mosquitos, en que a no haber sido por la perspicazima vista y profetico don de "La Crónica" que desde mucho antes columbró la tormenta y la anuncio con tanta seguridad como un almanaque, se hallaría hoy Mr. Clayton y el Gabinete entero en las astas de John Bull. Lo que pude la ciencia!

Si cierta es la noticia de estas graciosas concedidas á "La Crónica" de mil amores felicitamos por sus buenas venturas á nuestro apreciable colega, y, en prueba de nuestra cordialidad, á la felicitación añadiremos un consejo.—Guardese de los *yankies*, nosea que tire de la capa del diablo y lo demás que sabeis!

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 over 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 reflect with impartiality and without prejudice and it only wants yet 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 dejecting in-

to 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 on, 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 at large, in whatever sense 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 condition 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 occasions we have prompted to state on this subject. The political emancipation of Cuba, whether the same result in independence or in annexation, is for the United States the surest means of a cancellation 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 determination by a gradual emancipation of slavery; the enemies of slavery and abolitionists will see the ports of Cuba, Porto Rico, and by a necessary consequence also those of Brazil closed at once, and for ever again to that infamous trade in human flesh, which now-a-days has its chief supporter 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 luxuriance and virgin soil will be thrown open to the enterprise of hundreds of thousands of strong arms of freemen, with a safe prospect of realising large fortunes.

And moreover no small share of these 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 race to the other, not alone for the purpose of dividing and domineering over us without any risk, but also for the purpose of enriching the agents and satellites of the metropolitan government, and of giving aliment to the insatiable avarice of Donna Christina de Bourbon de Munoz, duchess of Rianzares, and august mother of her catholic majesty, Donna Isabella. The compilation shall also exhibit for the last time, how it is literally true, that Cuba is delivered by the home government to the secular arm of its Bashaws, and Emirs without any further condi-

tion 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 it is the case just now, in order to cover the debts, which the metropolitan imbecile cabinet continually contracts for purposes of dilapidation and luxury.

We will also speak superficially 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 illimitated powers, or to express it more concisely, of their being the absolute irresponsible masters of those unfortunate lands.

But why tire our readers by continual repetitions and enumeration of the evils, which oppress our beloved and adored unhappy country? Is not every act, every victim of that government here and every where a living witness proving its mournful history, its iniquity, and our disgrace?

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 Cronaca* 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 mouthpiece 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 adding 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 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 that the peril which threaten their best interests physical as well as moral, from the part of the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico as slaveholding colonies becoming decreasing, the door is closed against every liberal reform, which would impede the propagation of the evil, that under the present system sprouts luxuriantly on all sides, and threatens to spread its contaminating influence over the continent, as it 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 beneficial 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, 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, flock 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 fails 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 wail 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 influential of 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 deprived 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 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, ("if 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."

Bethold 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 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 fullest 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 a 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 educate 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 are continuing to live under the discipline of tyrannical Spain, if 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 *appropriate*, and suitable to the occasion, it is the following:-

ROCK RIVER JEFFERSONIAN, OCTOBER 31ST 1849. THE PRINCIPLES AND ACTS.

The recent attempt of Cuba to take her place as an independent State, has brought forth from the "Constitutional" of Paris, the assertion that "we are bound by the treaty entered into in 1826, 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 party, 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 beligerent states at Panamá. 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 admit of our looking at the consequences to which the Congress of Panamá 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 Mitternich in their palmiest days, and never should have been written in the English language, that idiom 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 thrill report of the backwoodman's rifle, in contrast to the round train fired from the polished muskets of the Gen'ls.

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 horror of a stealthy traffic to so many beings—the sacrifice of human life and property, in guarding that charnel house of foreigners the African coast are all indebted to the Paragon of Whigs, the hypocritical sympathizer 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 triple alliance to keep human beings under the despotic, soul-destroying government of Spain. Look at the case of Com. Porter, court-martialed and driven from the navy for resuming his lieutenant from the hand 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. 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 independence 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 defense, 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 Porto Rico, 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 culture lying in wait, furnished with all the means of wounding and disengaging all these young nations. The Spanish emis-

saries 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; firebrands 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 sometimes 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 Porto Rico 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; which by all the latter as well as Cuba and Porto Rico 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 political writers.

The second truth which, 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 supposed 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 should have taken place twenty two years ago and upwards, and more than 500,000 unfortunate negroes would not have been snatched from their country and condemned to a perpetual and harsh slavery, who since that time have been imported into both colonies. 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 the 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 impounding the cargoes shall assure that the slaves proceed from Brasil.

Now let us recapitulate what we have stated above. The injustice committed by the Administration of 1823, 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 mitigating 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, 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.

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 with its recent decree of a general amnesty, has for a thousand 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 lauding 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 rosette colors the eloquent discourses, with which it had been gratified by some of the progressists-members; and yielding all that was said and dissented in explication of some questions put, and dissatisfaction shown by a certain member of the opposition; extolling the excellent results which a measure was likely to secure, and finally getting into extacies, in displaying the superlative magnanimity of the royal heart of her majesty queen Donna Isabella II. which all were causes for us here in America of unbound uncertainty and doubts.

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 fall short of the shores of the Island of Cuba, where that very moment two causes of political complicity, after much apparent elat 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 on 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 Captain-General."

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 overlook, 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 crime 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 us, 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 levied all charges and contributions, but when the hour of well tempered justice, or clemency appears—there is no justice, no clemency for Cuba. Haughty govern-

ment 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 expect, whose faces are ground into the dust by all manner of oppression, in order to rise as one man, and to shake off a galling, a maddening yoke? Haughty government of Spain, we repeat it once more, thou thyself hast with this 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 act of tyranny, with which thou never didst cease treading them in the dust, and if their self preservation threatened by the cruelty and insatiable greediness did not stimulate them powerfully to work out the destruction of thy decrepit domination in America.

In order to make this signalized affront stalk forth into the open light of the 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 hearts of their mothers, their sisters, and their friends; but the patriots of Cuba without a gleam of hope remaining for these, of ever returning home to embrace their families on the soil of their nativity. Let no body 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 really 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 *famosas revelaciones*, the latter disclosed to him in respect to plans which were on the topic against Cuba; but we do not believe him to be possessed of sufficient brass, nor that he so far plumb on 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 chieftains, or will throw themselves into the ranks of the patriots in the hour of their common redemption. Bad luck to who deadly than their 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 comprehension and complete amnesty; for by it has it 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 just in the moments precisely, that we receive on the part of the American people the most explicit proofs of the sympathy our holy cause inspires.

Dos CUBANOS, comunicantes del *Correo de los dos mundos* dicen en el numero 44, de ese periodico lo siguiente:

"No sabemos, por mas que nos hemos informado, donde se hallan situadas en Cuba las propiedades de los Sres. Redactores de la *La Crónica*, e ignoramos por tanto los nombres de sus cafetas, ingenios, potreros, haciendas, hatos, &c."

Nosotros responderemos a los Sres. Dos CUBANOS. Esas propiedades consisten en los mismos hatos, haciendas, potreros, ingenios y cafetas de los comunicantes y de todos los patriotas Cubanos a quienes Roncali-Baja (agente de la Crónica en Cuba) ha obligado a suscribirse a "La Crónica," y a los cuales escribe para tener con que regular en premio de sus buenos servicios. Así vean los Dos CUBANOS que la lista de esas propiedades no cabria en un número de *La Verdad*, aunque fuese doble el tamaño del papel.