





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 we may be justified in looking upon it.

In whatever point of light we consider the general bearings of the political position of the island of Cuba, we cannot harbor any doubt as to the magnitude of its importance, whether we direct our attention to the dangers and precipices, which her actual 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 conciliation of its various antagonistic interests and parties. By it the even balance of federal representation will be restored, and the South will not be overwhelmed by the preponderance of the North, the owners of slaves in the Southern States will have a complete guarantee for the security of their property, and the enjoyment of their privileges as they actually exist, until the same can be brought to a determination by a gradual emancipation of slavery; the enemies of slavery and abolitionists will see the ports of Cuba, of Porto Rico, and by a necessary consequence also those of Brazil closed at once, and for ever again 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 extorsions 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 alimony to the insatiable avarice of Donna Christina de Bourbon de Muñoz, duchess of Rianzas, 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 extorsions, 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 islands.

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 Cronica* of New York, the recognised organ of the colonial government of Cuba, and sustained by feeding on the money that properly belongs to the treasury of that island, and in matters of Spanish colonial policy, the 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 adducing as the only motive for the same, the difference which exists there of races, it is evident, that it will persevere with inflexible determination in its policy of maintaining and fomenting this unhappy division, as the best foundation and justification of its tyranny.

3. That consequently [setting aside all other considerations,] it will do its utmost for the purpose of importing into Cuba as many African slaves, as possible, the very antipodes to an immigration of a white population, and maintain a traffic, that is sure to enrich those in power in the shortest period.

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

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

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

What ought to be done by the men who direct the affairs and destinies of

this continent, and particularly of this glorious republic, when instead that the perils which threaten their best interests physical as well as moral, from the part of the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico as slave-holding colonies being 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 beneficent solution, which we hope for a complete triumph of the holy cause of liberty in all America.

#### THE SOUTHERN STATES, CUBA AND THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

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

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

I will confine myself for a little while to the *but*, with which he proceeds. "But," says he, "I dare deny 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, and 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 virtue? 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 nobleman, &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 at the nobility; but the greatest part of them are tame, easily contented and docile, ("it appears to me I am hearing a certain creature, whom I have been mentioned, and against whom I have been much cautioned,) they are much satisfied with their titles, and with the importance which they procure, differently from the new Colonel from the West."

Behold the pure essence of selfishness, mixed with the most refined malice of hypocrisy! What principles, what logic, and what objects! Then because the rich becomes powerful, because the man of rank becomes indirectly influential, and because the titled men are contented with the importance which their titles procure, the excellent patriot must be passive, and give up to slavery, to deceitful oppression, to physical and moral distress, the other 99 portions of his countrymen. Such a doctrine and such sentiments disseminated in Russia by the Journal, would raise 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, that because the slave 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 tutelage, 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, until he knew how to swim."

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

ROCK RIVER JEFFERSONIAN, OCTOBER 31st 1840. 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 monarchial powers, for the suppression of liberal institutions, by the Whig Cabinets of Adams and Clay—the essence of the great fundamental doctrines of the Whig platform.

"Nor was this all. In the year 1825, was held at Panama, the great American Congress, and in which Mr. Adams was so much interested, for our government, or more properly speaking, the Whig views to be represented. In the Congress, the invasion of Cuba and Porto-Rico was resolved upon, by the combined forces of Mexico and Cuba, and was to be set 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

