



EL PATRIOTISMO CUBANO SOSTIENE ESTE PERIÓDICO PARA CIRCULARLO GRATIS.

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LA VERDAD.

POR CORA MONTGOMERY.

"LUZ Y PAZ"

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Cumpliendo con lo que en nuestro anterior número ofrecimos, publicamos hoy un extracto de la Historia de Venezuela, relativo a las dos expediciones que a principios de este siglo emprendió el General Miranda con objeto de liberar aquel país del duro yugo Español.

Los hechos narrados en este extracto, que recomendamos muy particularmente a la consideración de nuestros lectores, así como otro artículo sobre la misma materia que se halla en otro lugar de nuestro periódico, darán la idea completa de un caso sobre el cual parece casi exactamente calculado el del General Lopez que tanto ocupa ahora la atención de la prensa del Gobierno y del pueblo americano.

En vano los adeptos del Gobierno Español, desde que se emancipó de la tiranía los días, se esfuerzan hasta lo sumo por alejar del General Lopez las simpatías y el aprecio de este pueblo. Vomitando contra él — como gráficamente ha dicho el ingeniero Eco de Italia — todo lo más asqueroso que puede contener humana criatura y agotando el diccionario de los denuestos y las insolencias. Ya han gastado a fuerza de repetirlas, las palabras — "Píntas", "bandidos", "bucaneros" etc. Pero en medio de su rabia ciega no han considerado los mezquinos, que ese mismo desenfrenado denostar para en descredito de quien le usa, y hace tacitamente entre los hombres sensatos y honrados la apología del que por esos viles medios se ve atacado.

No es por cierto a ese linaje de venales órganos ni a la cohorte de agentes que lleva en la trailla el Ministro de S. M. Católica a quienes queremos presentar las observaciones que naturalmente se desprenden de una justa comparación entre el caso del General Miranda y el caso del General Lopez. Pero hay tal vez entre los mismos, verdaderos espíritus republicanos honrados y de buena fe, así en la prensa como en el pueblo, algunos que juzgan bajo la influencia de las mentidas aserciones de los Siervos del Despotismo, y a ellos nos dirigimos persuadidos de que reconocerán la razón que de sí arrojan los hechos y la justicia de nuestro raciocinio.

El jurado que juzgó al General Miranda como autor de una expedición armada contra un territorio perteneciente a una potencia amiga, declaró su empresa digna de aprobación y ayuda. El hecho es tal como se refiere, y fácil es verificar su autenticidad en forma legal.

Pues bien, ¿cuál es la diferencia entre el General Lopez y el General Miranda? La diferencia no es otra sino que entre ambas épocas ha mediado el acto de 1818 — la administración de aquella fecha tuvo a bien hacer una ley tal como pudiera dictar el mismo Gobierno de Madrid: el Gobierno americano después de ese pacto y así fue soberano, podrá a pero sólo en cuanto la Constitución de la permitiera oponerse, y castigar como delinquentes a los que

para redimir a su esclavizada patria, bien que proceder en oposición a la celebre acta. Pero esa acta, obra particular del Gobierno colocado en circunstancias "particulares" pueden trastornar completamente ni afectar siquiera el espíritu público ni el giro de las opiniones de un pueblo nutrido en el regazo de la Libertad, engrandecido por instituciones republicanas, nato enemigo de la Tiranía, amigo siempre de los pueblos que luchan por su redención política.

La ley que existe sin el apoyo de la opinión pública no pasa del libro en que esta escrita. Se respeta en la forma, pero se deroga en el hecho. Así sucediera con el acta de 1818.

Sucediera así porque hay una voz mas elocuente mas poderosa mas respetada que la letra de una ley que precisamente batrena los principios y las tendencias de la sociedad misma de quien se exige la observancia.

Esa voz es la voz de la Razon. de la Humanidad y del Siglo. es para la Union Americana lo que el Grito del Gólgota para la Cristianidad. halla un eco en los corazones de todos los verdaderos hijos de Washington, y altamente proclama ante el mundo que en el Santuario de la Libertad no debe castigarse al que por la Libertad trabaja!

EL GENERAL MIRANDA Y SU ESPEDICION A VENEZUELA.

Extracto de la Historia de Venezuela por Baralt y Diaz.

A principios de 1811 durante la administración de Lord Seymour, halló Miranda la ocasión de revivir el proyecto, y aun estaban ya muy adelantados sus preparativos, cuando nuevamente se les dio de mano por haberse firmado los preliminares de la paz de Amiens. Declarada guerra a Francia en 1805, el negocio del Sud-America entro en los planes del Ministerio inglés, y se tomaron medidas para llevarlo a cabo tan luego como la paz que aun subsistía con España, fuese interrumpida, lo cual ocurrió en 1814. Desde entonces otra vez Mirinda a la cabeza de la Administración. Lord Melville y Sir Home Popham fueron comisiones entonces para arreglar con Mirinda todos los procedimientos y pormenores de la empresa, y ya se liasonceaba nuestro instigable Venezolano de ver realizados sus deseos, cuando los acontecimientos de Europa y los empeños contrarios por la Inglaterra con motivo de la tercera coalición, le obligaron a poner a un lado el proyecto.

Miranda creyo entonces desvanecida en aquel país toda esperanza de buen éxito. Varios desterrados de Caracas y Santa-Fé que vagaban por los Estados Unidos y por la isla de Trinidad, ansiosos de volver a la patria, la instaron porque abandonase la Europa donde tan lenta en protegerlo se mostraba la fortuna, e intentase algun esfuerzo contando con la América sola. Cedió Mirinda a sus ruegos y a su propia impaciencia, pero antes de dejar la Inglaterra pareció oblturo la certidumbre de que, si no le daba aquel Gobierno una asistencia activa, por lo menos impediría el que ningún cuerpo de tropas francesas o españolas pasase el Océano para oponerse a sus proyectos.

Rehusase suscitado por aquel tiempo algunas diferencias entre la España, y los Estados Unidos, como motivo de la Louisiana, y esto inducía a creer que

no sería difícil a Miranda obtener del Gobierno Americano el auxilio suficiente para imponer respeto al pequeño número de tropas que habia en las guarniciones españolas y ofrecer a los habitantes de la Costa firme algunas garantías de seguridad: en cuyo caso le era dado esperar que el desarrollo de la opinion le suministraría los medios de completar su obra por medio del pueblo. Dirigióse, pues, a la América del Norte, y a su llegada tuvo la mortificación de saber que el negocio de la Louisiana se habia arreglado amistosamente y que no le era permitido contar con ayuda ninguna por parte del Gobierno. Pero no se desanimó, a fin de liberarse visto accedió judicialmente por el Presidente y Secretarios. Los cuales eran sabedores del objeto de su viaje, y porque muchas personas ricas y de influjo tomaban de su cuenta el ayudarle.

Efectivamente, el Coronel W. Smith reclutó hasta doscientos jóvenes de buenas familia, entre los cuales se hallaba un hijo suyo, y Mr. Odgen, mercader de New York, puso a la disposición de Miranda dos corbetas armadas en guerra, y ademas fusiles y municiones de todo genero en gran copia. Uno de estas buques se hallaba en la sazón en Sto. Domingo y el otro en Puerto Rico. Una importaba al General tanto mas, cuanto que era el mejor de ellos y montaba treinta cañones poco más o menos. Pero la fatalidad que seguia ostinadamente los pasos de Miranda, no le abandonó aquí, antes bien ya próximo a conseguir sus deseos vino un nuevo contratiempo a embarazar su logro.

Fue que el Embajador español noticioso de estas apreturas, no se dio a complacer al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, y este no contento con negar el hecho, pretendió que se formase causa a los dos subditos suyos que accedieron a la empresa. Mas el jurato absolvió a los acusados a pesar del empeño que tomó el Gobierno en hacerlos condenar, empeño tanto mas injusto, cuanto que quedó probado haber tenido conocimiento de los manejos de Miranda, sin dejar siquiera entretener la mas pequeña desaprobación. No una sola vez sino dos se llevó este asunto a tela de juicio, y en ambas fue tan satisfactorio para Miranda el resultado, cuanto que los jueces declararon su empresa digna de aprobación y auxilio. Y eso que el Gobierno, negándose a lo que solicitaban los defensores de Odgen y de Smith, impidió que varios dependientes suyos sabedores del plan y sus preparativos se presentasen a declarar, (el lo cual por satisfacer a la Corte de España, no tuvo reboso el Gabinete de Washington en privar a dos ciudadanos respetables de un medio legal de justificación.)

El ruido de esta causa perjudicó sin embargo a la expedición de Miranda, pues el Capitan del buque que debía reemplarle en la duda de que su armador fuese condenado ó absuelto, y el General se vió en la necesidad de contratar en lugar de la Corbeta dos goletas pequeñas, que eran solo transportes.

Con ellos y la nave mayor que sacó de los Estados Unidos, sus doscientos jóvenes, americanos y pocos hombres negros que allegó en Haiti, guó a la Costa Firme, creyendo encontrar desamparados a los españoles. Mas no fue así, ya sucesos habia recibido avisos del Embajador de su nacion en el Norte America, y se habia prevenido al Jefe de sus fuerzas de mar y tierra, por lo que cuando Miranda llegó a las costas de Omaree el 25 de Marzo de

1806 se vió subitamente acometido por dos bergantines de guerra que despues de un reñido combate le apresaron las dos goletas, obligándole a huir con la corbeta a Trinidad. Grande alarde hizo de este insignificante triunfo el Capitan General. Las proclamas y el retrato de Miranda fueron quemados por mano del verdugo en la plaza Mayor de Caracas; su canoa puesta a vela por 30000 pesos que debían pagar los vecinos; y mas tarde la iniquacion de Cartagena lo declaró solememente enemigo de Dios y del Rey, indigno de recibir sual sueldo ni sueldo.

Pero mientras los Españoles peraban su tiempo en estas inútiles manifestaciones de odio, solicitaba Miranda en Trinidad el auxilio de las autoridades inglesas y muy pronto el del Almirante Cochrane que mandaba la Escuadra estacionada en las islas de Barlovento. Y aquí ocurrió justificar al General de haberse comprometido a poner al Gobierno de su país en manos de los ingleses, como lo propalo la calumnia. La única capitulación celebrada en aquella coyuntura por Miranda con autoridades Británicas, hecha en la Barbada a nueve de Junio, contenia que las provincias que se fueran libertando concedieran al Comercio británico los mismos derechos que a las que están en venta solo podrían hacerse estensivas a los Estados Unidos, que el comercio con las otras naciones quedaria sujeta a un derecho adicional de diez por ciento sobre las importaciones, y que las potencias aliadas entonces con Inglaterra y Gran Bretaña serian escluidas de toda comunicación y tráfico con el país emancipado. En cambio Lord Cochrane daría una corbeta y dos bergantines de guerra, haría frente a cualquier fuerza naval que aportase en aquellos mares, y permitiría reclutar a quienes para la expedición en la isla de Trinidad y otras. Convención esta que se cumplió en sí, pero que Miranda, colocado en una dura alternativa, aceptó con la cláusula de que seria cumplida hasta donde pudiera estenderse su autoridad, modo ambiguo si se quiere, pero que salvaba a un tiempo su responsabilidad y los derechos de su país.

Muy cerca de cinco meses despues de su descalabro frente a Omaree, arribó Miranda la Yela de Cora, llevando quarenta hombres a bordo de quince buques de diferentes generos y portes, algunos propios para proteger el desembarco. Liferido éste para treinta y seis horas despues de la llegada por efecto de las brisas, acaso por la ignorancia del piloto, tuvieron tiempo los agentes del Gobierno español para dar la alarma en toda la costa y preparar su defensa. El dia primero de Agosto por la noche remaron atrevidamente los botes hacia tierra, a pesar del vivo fuego que hacian sobre ellos 1200 bombas, indios y españoles, que estaban a pelear en la marina. No lo contestaron los agresores hasta que formados en la playa se avanzaron al aserrio y con dos descargas de los fusiles los pusieron en completa dispersion. Un forjin y mas de veinte cañones con sus almones y repuestos rayaron en poder del vencedor y este, libre de toda oposicion, entró en Cora al amanecer del dia siguiente.

Miranda tuvo el disgusto de no ver en aquella ciudad muestra alguna de lealtad o indirecta de cooperación por parte de los vecinos ni de las autoridades, acaso porque la provincia de su fuerza, no componer de sus habitantes y las autoridades españolas hacian de su intención que se les diera de su guerra la noticia y la confianza. Lara, desta

necer on lo posible esta mala disposicion de los animos, publico proclamas espouiendo el plan y el objeto de la expedicion, y abrio una correspondencia amistosa con el Obispo de Merida, que a la sazón se hallaba allí: tambien con el Cabildo y con los principales vecinos, retirados todos a un lugar poco distante, de nombre Buena vista. De nada sirvió esto para atravesar partidarios y asilios; como tampoco para engrosar sus filas los repetidos avisos que dio a las Islas Inglesas del estado de las cosas, pidiendo mas eficaces socorros.

Retróse entre tanto a la Vela de Coro, queriendo evitar al vecindario de la ciudad, en caso de un revés, las venganzas del Gobierno, o por que, noticioso de los preparativos que hacia el Capitan General para salirle al encuentro, quisiese estar siempre al alcance de sus bajeles para llevar a otros puntos el ataque. Pocos dias despues se trasladó a la isla de Oruba, para aguardar allí los asilios pedidos, y una vez alcanzados, emprender una campaña en forma, entrando por el rio del Haucha; desengañado ya de lo poco que debia esperarse en una cooperacion ciega é irreflexiva de los pueblos. Los aquellos ingleses fueron por su mal insubordinales, pues consistieron solo en tres buques de guerra que le envio Lord Cochrane. Estos mismos do luego a luego se le retiraron, junto con los que anteriormente se le dieron, por haberse divulgado la noticia de una paz celebrada con España. Paises aya; pero mientras se descubria la verdad, Miranda, abandonado por todos, hubo de renunciar definitivamente a su malhadada expedicion, lo cual hizo embarcándose con los pocos amigos que le quedaban para regresar a Trinidad, de donde pasó luego a Europa.

TO OUR READERS.

According to a promise made by us in our preceding number, we publish today an extract from the History of Mirando fitted out in the United States by General Miranda in the beginning of the present century, with the glorious intention of liberating that country from the hateful Spanish thralldom.

The facts laid open in this extract—which we recommend to the consideration of our readers,—will furnish a thorough knowledge of a case that may be considered as the prototype of that of General Lopez, which now so strongly commands the attention of the press, the government and the people of the United States.

The deluded or mercenary partisans of the Spanish Government vainly exert themselves to the utmost in order to withdraw from General Lopez the sympathies and esteem of this people: it is in vain, as most graphically says the "Eon d' Italia," that they cast forth the most nauseous contents of a vile creature, exhausting the whole dictionary of shameless epithets and cowardly insults: "They have already used up the words 'pirates,' 'bandits,' 'buccaniers,' &c.; but in their blind rage, those mean beings have not been able to consider that, such a violent, villanous and stigmatizing passion prove injurious to those who possess it, and that, among honest and common sense people, it implies an apology to him who is attacked by such vile men."

Certainly, it is not to those mercenary organs, nor to the pack of hounds that the Ambassador of Her Catholic Majesty leads by the leash, that we would address those remarks which are naturally due from a just comparison between the case of General Miranda and that of General Lopez. But, there are, perhaps, among the very true, honest, and sincere republicans, belonging either to the press or the people, some who form their opinion under the influence of the false assertions set forth by the despicable sycophants of Despotism; and to that portion of the "people" and the press we now address our reasoning. We are fully persuaded that they will acknowledge the right and justice which stand by us.

The Jury who tried General Miranda under charge of fitting out an armed expedition in the U. States against a territory belonging to a friendly Power declared his enterprise to be worthy or

praise and protection. This fact is such as related in the above mentioned extract, and it can be easily authenticated in a legal form.

And now,—what is the difference between the question of General Miranda and that of General Lopez?—The difference is only marked by the enactment of the law of 1818, which took place in the intervening period between the cases. The Administration of 1818 thought it proper to enact a law which the very essence of the Spanish Government is imbibed: the present Administration, according to that law, are able (only in as much as is consistent with the constitution of the United States) to oppose and punish, as criminals those who are obliged to contravene that celebrated act, for the sake of the Freedom of their country. Yet that law, which have been the "particular" work of the Cabinet under such and such "particular" circumstances, is not mighty enough to overrun, or even to affect, the "public" mind, or change the "general" opinion of a people brought up in the lap of Liberty: raised to grandeur by republican institutions: a people who are the in-born enemies of Tyranny,—the faithful friends of every people who struggles for Liberty!

A law which is not supported by public opinion does not pass beyond the book wherein it has been consigned. That law may be acknowledged by formula; but it is repealed *de facto*. That will be the case with the law of 1818.

That will be the case, we say, because there is a voice more eloquent, more powerful, more sacred than the textuary words of a law which necessarily opposes, and comes in conflict with, the fundamental principles, as well as the political, moral and material interests of the very same society from which the obedience to that law is exacted.

That voice is the voice of Right, Humanity and Civilization: it is for the American Union as the cry of Jesus in the heart of every Briton of Washington; it loudly proclaims to the face of the world, that it is NOT IN THE SANCTUARY OF LIBERTY WHERE THOSE WHO TOIL FOR LIBERTY SHOULD BE PUNISHED!

GENERAL MIRANDA AND HIS EXPEDITION TO VENEZUELA.

About the beginning of the year 1801, during the Administration of Lord Seymour, Miranda found an occasion to set up anew his plan; and the preparatory arrangements had already been to a great extent carried on, when the undertaking was again laid aside as soon as the preliminaries of the Treaty of Peace of Amiens were settled and signed. War having been declared against France in 1803, the scheme respecting South America now came into the plans of the British Minister; and means were provided to carry it into effect immediately after the first interruption of the peace which was still maintained with Spain. That event took place in 1804 when Mr Pitt was again at the head of the Government. Lord Melville and Sir Home Popham were then commissioned to prepare in unison with Miranda, the course of proceedings and the fitting out of his enterprise. Our indefatigable Venezoian was already delighted with the cheering prospect, when he, once more, had to give up his design on account of events which then occurred in Europe and the engagements contracted by Great Britain in consequence of the third coalition.

Miranda now thought that every prospect of success was thrown forward to him in that country. "Some exiles from Caracas and Santa Fe who wandered through the U. States and the Island of Trinidad, anxious wishing to return home, urged him to leave Europe; where fortune appeared to aid him but slowly and rather unwillingly, with a request to try his exertions under no other patronage but that of America."

was assured that in case that Government would not render him an active assistance, it, at least, was determined to prevent the passage across the Ocean of any french or spanish forces intended to oppose his undertaking.

Some serious differences had taken place about that time between Spain and the U. States on account of the Louisiana affair; and this was a strong inducement to believe that Miranda might easily obtain from the American Government aid enough to keep back the small number of troops in the spanish garrisons, and present to the inhabitants of Costa-firme some appearance of confidence as in such a case, he had reason to hope that the popular opinion, once declared in his favour, he should be provided by the people themselves with the necessary means to finish his work. He therefore, proceeded to North America, and on his arrival was much disappointed by learning that the Louisiana question had been settled on friendly terms, and that he was no more allowed to expect any public assistance from the American Government. Yet he was not disheartened, as he met with a cordial reception from the President and his secretaries who were aware of the true object of his errand, and, because a large number of wealthy and influential persons in this country took upon themselves the task of aiding and encouraging his undertaking.

In fact, Col W. Smith enlisted about two hundred young men belonging to the most distinguished families, his own son being among the recruits, and Mr Odgen, a merchant of N York fitted out at the disposal of Miranda two frigates of war, together with a large stock of muskets and ammunition of every kind. One of those vessels was at that time in St Domingo awaiting the arrival of Miranda in order to join the expedition in that same place, which circumstance was highly important to the General as that vessel was the best of all he had, and mounted about thirty guns. Yet, that ill luck which unnecessarily retarded every step of Miranda still followed him: a new misfortune met him on the way when he was about reaching the coast of his enterprise.

The Spanish Ambassador being informed of those arrangements remonstrated against the U. States Government with the charge of connivance, the administration not only denied the accusation but ordered the arrest and trial of the two american citizens who had tendered their help to the enterprise. However, the Jury discharged them notwithstanding the earnest desire of the Government to have them condemned.—A desire, indeed, which was very unjust as it was clearly evinced that the administration had been fully aware of the movements of Miranda, without showing the least mark of disapprobation. The case was twice brought before the court, and the result proved both times so favourable to Miranda that the tribunal honorably acquitted him, declaring his enterprise to be "worthy of praise and protection."—And this was so, notwithstanding that the Government, refusing the claims of Odgen and Smith's counsels, prevented some of those gentlemen's witnesses to appear before the court, who were fully informed about the whole plan and its preparatory arrangements. However, the noisy rumors produced by that case proved greatly injurious to Miranda's undertaking for the captain of the vessel who was to join him at St. Domingo refused to do so as he doubted whether the owner of the ship should be discharged or not, and General Miranda was obliged to engage two small transport schooners instead of that frigate.

With those two vessels and the larger one which he took from the U States with his two hundred americans and a few men whom he recruited at Haiti, he proceeded to Costa-firme, expecting to find the Spaniards unguarded against his landing. But it did not prove so.—Vasconcelos, the Spanish Governor, had been advised of the danger by several communications from the ambassador of Spain in the U. States, and was prepared to meet him with troops and fleet. Thus, when Miranda approached the coast of Ocumare on the 26th March 1806 he was unexpectedly attacked by

two brigis of war which, after a very hard contest, captured his two schooners, forcing him to escape to Trinidad with his frigate. The Spanish Captain General boasted a great deal of this trifling and cheap victory. The proclamations issued by Miranda, as well as his portrait, were burnt at the Plaza Mayor of Caracas by the hands of the executioner, and for his head a reward was offered amounting to \$30,000 to be paid by the inhabitants. Afterwards, the "Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition" at Cartagena declared him "a fiend to God, and a man unworthy of food, fire and shelter."

But, while the Spaniards were thus losing their time in such useless show of their hatred, Gen Miranda procured at Trinidad the help of the Admiral Cochrane, who commanded the naval station in the windward Islands. And now a reasonable occasion is offered to discharge General Miranda from the slanderous accusation brought against him of having put the Government of his country into the hands of the British, as it has been falsely asserted. The only agreement held on that occasion between Miranda and the english authorities, dated at Barbadoes the 9th of June, only contained a clause stating that the Provinces of Costa-firme, immediately after their liberation, would grant to the British commerce those same exemptions and privileges allowed to their national trade; that this preference would not be extended to other people except the U. States; that commerce with any other nations should be charged with an additional duty of 10 per cent on importations, and that the Powers then forming the coalition against Great Britain would be excluded from any intercourse and trade with the liberated provinces. In exchange of that, Lord Cochrane would furnish Miranda one frigate and two brigis of war. He would oppose any naval force on those seas, and permit the recruiting of english subjects for the expedition, as well in Trinidad as in any other of the Islands under his control. A strange contract, indeed, but Miranda, urged by his critical situation, was obliged to agree, provided that the fulfillment of his engagement would not go farther than the authority with which he should be invested. These were very ambiguous terms for such a pact, but by this means, he was able to put in safety his own responsibilities and the rights of his country. (*)

About five months after his defeat on the coast of Ocumare, Miranda came in sight of Vela de Coro, carrying with him five hundred men on board of fifteen vessels of different kind and burthen, some of which were intended to protect the landing.—This operation being deferred about thirty six hours, on account of adverse winds, or the unskillfulness of the pilot, the agents of the Spanish Government had time enough to give the alarm along the coast and prepare for defence. On the evening of the 1st of August, they daringly rowed their boats to the land, despite the tremendous firing of more than twelve hundred indian and spanish soldiers who were engaged to fight from the sea-shore. The invaders did not return the firing before been drawn up on the landing place, then they rushed against their enemies and after two volleys of muskets they completely dispersed them.

A small fortress with more than twenty guns, with the store and ammunition attached to it, fell in possession of Miranda, who entered Coro the next morning, without encountering the least opposition. The General was greatly disappointed on seeing that the inhabitants and the officers in that city did not show, either directly or indirectly, any disposition to aid him. The cause of this was, perhaps, that the scanty number of his troops, their being mostly

(*) Let the American Government know that propositions have been made to the Cubans, as they were made to Gen Miranda, by the agents of Her British Majesty; and that, as Miranda was obliged to accept them, so may be the case with the Cubans. They ought to consider themselves free from any moral hindrance as regard to the U. States Government, if they take into just consideration the anti-republican course of the Washington Cabinet respecting the Cubans since 1827

composed of foreign soldiers, and the clamorous reports circulated about his intentions in that enterprise, withdrew from him the sympathies and confidence of the people. In order to remove, so far as it was possible, this bad disposition of the public mind, he entered into a friendly correspondence with the Bishop of Merida, then residing at Coro, and also with the City Council and a number of the most distinguished citizens who had withdrawn to a place called Buenavista, not far distant from Coro. This means, however, proved of no avail to obtain the adherence and help of the people of the country, nor did he obtain any good result from the reiterated remonstrances he addressed to the authorities of the British Islands respecting the actual state of things, and asking from them more efficient help.

He, in the meanwhile, withdrew to Vela de Coro, either in order to save the inhabitants from the revenge of the Spanish Government, in case he was defeated, or because, being aware of the preparations and equipments made by the Captain General to meet him on his way, he preferred to be within reach of his vessels and carry the attack to some other places along the coast. A few days after, he removed to the Island of Oruba, in order to await there the reinforcements he had asked for and then to engage in a regular campaign, entering the country through Hacharivero, as he was already persuaded that there was but little reason to trust on a sudden and simultaneous cooperation on the part of the people. The English reinforcements were, unfortunately, insufficient, as they only consisted of three vessels of war sent by Lord Cochrane. They immediately retired from the spot together with those who had been formerly furnished to Miranda, as soon as the report of a treaty of Peace with Spain was spread. That report was false; but, while the truth was to be ascertained General Miranda, forsaken by every body, was obliged to lay aside, in a definitive manner, his unluckly enterprise; he embarked with the small number of friends who still remained faithful to him, and arrived at Trinidad, from whence he proceeded to Europe.

CUBA, the United States,

GENERAL LOPEZ, and "La Cronica."
 We quote from "La Cronica" of the 5th inst. some of the extracts from Vattel published by that paper for the purpose of making appear as pirates, before the public, those individuals, people, or nations that perpetrate certain acts against some nations, people or individuals; and to show, too, (on the authority of Vattel, whom we acknowledge to be a good one, as "La Cronica" does,) that the right of nations enables those Princes whose subjects are plundered, murdered &c. to take their revenge upon the whole nation which the perpetrators belong to. Nay, that all nations have a right to coalesce against such a people in order to restrain its trespasses and to treat it as a fiend to mankind; thence deriving a motive to say that the U. States Government should have been more severe in its proceedings in regard to those engaged in the Cuban Expedition.

Nothing that we can think of, is more in accordance with Reason and Humanity than those opinions set forth by Vattel. But we fully and firmly deny their being applicable to those connected with the liberating Cuban movement, or to the course followed by the present Administration against them as "La Cronica" means. We, on the contrary, and most rightly, indeed, apply that tenet against the Spanish Government, (especially to its delegates in Cuba); against the Captain Generals of that Island (General Valdes only excepted), and against their minions and agents there and abroad. Hence our right to declare them as belonging to that rank which Vattel assigns to those nations and their members who, by gross mental principles, use, or enable their subjects, to plunder and injure foreign citizens, or to maraud in neighbouring countries &c.

Indeed, it looks quite strange in the eyes of every sensible man that "La Cronica," being so warm a defender of the Spanish Government and so enthusiastic and devoted a sympathizer of the wise and moral policy of the Cabinet of Madrid and its dependencies, may be bold enough to venture upon to have a task as that of playing the part of accuser, without seeing the beam in his own eye.
 "La Cronica" well knows that the slave trade in Africa is contrary to the right

of nations—"La Cronica" knows, also, that such a trade is declared as a piratical one; yet further know that those engaged in it are considered as real pirates and that, as such pirates, they are persecuted by the English, French and American cruisers. "La Cronica" well knows that the Spanish Government is bound by solemn treaties to prevent the introduction of slaves of negroes brought or robbed from Africa. And in the senseless "Cronica" ignorant that the four fifths of the slaves in Cuba have been imported after those solemn treaties by which Spain bound herself to prevent such importations and to punish those of her subjects who would engage themselves in such a trade? Is "La Cronica" ignorant that all the slaves who have been imported in the Island (more than 500,000 in number) have been carried by Spanish vessels owned and equipped by Spanish subjects? Is "La Cronica" ignorant that it is generally asserted (and no body has dared to deny it) that some members of the Royal Family of Spain are deeply interested in that infamous slave trade with Africa? Is "La Cronica" ignorant that the Captain Generals (Gen. Valdes excepted) exact and receive a fee for the importation of every slave imported from Africa, which fee has progressively been raised from \$ 8. 50 to \$ 51 with an additional charge, sometimes, of \$ 4. 25 for the Captain General's children to buy pins? Is "La Cronica" ignorant that negro contracts has been made to import in Cuba 40,000 negroes from Africa and to have them sold for cattle in the market, the Captain general having a share of \$ 204,000 in the profits, and that almost as large a sum falls to the lot of the Government's agents in so humanitarian a business? Is "La Cronica" ignorant that the Spanish Government, in order to elude the treaty and to carry on the importation of slaves has had recourse to make it appear that the vessels loaded with those wretched slaves arrive to Cuba from Brazil and not from Africa, and that this fraud is the basis of the contract regarding the 40,000 negroes who are to be imported in that Island by the GREAT COMPANY?

If "La Cronica" and its adherents, slavishly devoted to the Government of Cuba, or the agents of the Captain General, are able to show any proofs to exculpate that Government from the charge generally brought against it of connivance with the human-flesh-dealers in Africa, in full violation of its covenants with other nations,—let them do it. If not, the anathema pronounced by Vattel will fall on them as it is most justly due.

Let us now glance at the situation of the United States Government to which so many remonstrances and threatenings are addressed by the Ambassador of Her Catholic Majesty through his genuine and worthy organ, "La Cronica" of N. York. We receive as true that the American Government is bound, by a law of the country and by the international rights, rather than by any treaty with Spain to prevent the enlistment of men and the fitting out of armed expeditions against Spain; but, at the same time, we believe that its duty prescribe to it not to advance a single step farther than the line marked to it by the U States Constitution which together with the laws of the States composing the American Confederation, dictate the supreme law of the whole Nation. And would to God that the American Government had not exceeded those bounds!

On the other hand, we must note the difference between *preventing* and *persecuting*, to which purpose we think very suitable the classification made by the most eminent men of the Northern States in regard to the law respecting the restitution of runaway slaves from the Southern slaves.—The law orders the restitution of those men and authorities, but do not compel, any body, to persecute them, nor a single person may be found to do so voluntarily. This is the case respecting the act of 1818, because it, as well as that referring to the fugitive slaves, is fully contrary to the political and moral principles of the country. Thus, there are no other persons to execute that law but those employed by the Government, and even this never takes place except when there is no way of excuse or interference.

If we turn our mind to the right of Nations and to the opinion of Vattel, quoted by "La Cronica" we shall find it fully contradictory to the persecution carried on against Lopez. Vattel maintains that "it is lawful to restrain and to treat as a fiend to mankind any such Government as that which either by practice or by its maxims is accustomed, or allows its subjects, to invade foreign countries in order to plunder, maraud, &c." We now ask whether the Government of Cuba, that, in spite of the laws and compacts with Great Britain, allows the equipment of vessels by its subjects within the jurisdiction of its authority, and permits those

vessels to go to the coasts of Africa and come back to Cuba with full cargoes of negroes there bought or abducted,—do or do not deserve to be ranked among those whom Vattel points out as fiends to Humanity? And this being so, what are the reasons of "La Cronica" complaint that the United States Government has not been very severe against General Lopez who has only tried to chase away from Cuba "a deadly fiend to Mankind." We only observe want of energy on the part of the American Government, and particularly in its late proceedings, alluding to the Spanish Ambassador, perilling under the impression of his threats, the Right of Search which in a former occasion led to a war between the United States and Great Britain. A Government which debars all foreigners on deck of an American vessel from the protection of the American flag; a government that leaving to the discretion of the Spanish authorities the distinction to be made between foreigners and Americans and the declaration of their culpability or innocence, exposes its native and adoptive citizens to be the victims of merciless and revengeful Tyrants!

Yet, the system of threatening and imposing upon this people with stories about arming corsairs and sundry other scare crows, has proved successful to "La Cronica" and its Editor, as well as His Excellency the Ambassador of Her Catholic Majesty act most wisely while they go on boasting, bragging and threatening.—Beware, Gentlemen; lest the family awake!

What is the situation of General Lopez and his companions before the world in regard to the Governments of Spain and the United States for his doings in that most noble enterprise of liberating Cuba? Will they lay open the facts, and let the public decide?

Some years ago a plan was conceived, at Cienfuegos (Cuba) by General Lopez and a number of Cubans for the purpose of redeeming Cuba from the brutal and tyrannical domination by which the inhabitants of that Island are oppressed, humiliated and plundered in the most barefaced manner. Then, a great many Cuban patriots who for long years before had been toiling for the same purpose, associated themselves with General Lopez. They sounded the opinion of the people, and finding it to be generally favorable to their design they determined to put it into effect. Being in secret connection with many other Cubans in different parts of the Island, they made their preparatory arrangements, and though wanting arms and a regular military organization, they resolved to strike the blow, and day and time were appointed. All being arranged, they thought it convenient to give notice of the movement to the Cubans then residing in N York that they might communicate it to the Cabinet of Washington in order that the Administration would take the proper measures to protect the interests of both countries. The mission was faithfully executed, and afterwards the events and the results, however unlucky, have shown the truth of every thing that had been announced by the patriots. Some unavoidable circumstances rendered useless Lopez's cautious behavior, and the Spanish Government put a sudden stop to it by succeeding in arresting some of the leaders and persecuting a great many of them, among whom were General Lopez, Sanchez Izaga and others who took refuge in the U States. Those patriots, never shrinking from their purpose and earnest desire of finishing their once attempted work, and finding in the American people the sympathies which the sons of Washington never deny to the victims of Tyranny, they redoubled their exertions, and being as it has been published in communication with the friends they had left in Cuba, they organized the expedition that, as it is publicly known, was to start from New York, last summer, and which endured the same fatigues that of Cienfuegos, from circumstances that are known to almost every body in this country. Yet, this check did not discourage Lopez and his friends, who for the third time went to the work; their unceasing efforts led them to Cardenas and placed them almost within reach of their glorious object.

Every body knows how General Lopez behaved at Cardenas; he fought most gallantly; he conquered; he set at liberty his prisoners; he caused the property of the inhabitants to be respected; he did not allow the least outrage to be committed, and every thing provided for his men was liberally paid for.

These are the doings of General Lopez since 1847. (When he commenced his noble work of liberating Cuba) up to the present day. Is there any thing false or exaggerated in these statements? We firmly believe; that not a single person will come forth to give us the lie under any admissible appearance of reason or justice.

My dear General Lopez has always been accompanied by men who have nothing to

envy,—with regard to honesty,—to such folks as those contemptible slanderers, that dare to deny General Lopez's virtues. He, in all occasions, has numbered among his fellow helpers, men of learning, wealth, influence and high standing in society. And is there any reason to bring the charge of revengeful and plundering intentions against that very man who caused this Government to be informed of his movements at Cienfuegos and who has never deviated from the path he first traced to himself, in union with so many and such respectable persons? The public, we repeat, will be the impartial judge upon this matter.

We, for the present, will close this article by calling the attention of our readers to the account given in another part of our paper respecting the expedition of General Miranda, which, like that of General Lopez, began to be prepared and organized within the jurisdiction of the U States, they were directed to a similar object. Miranda landed at Occumense, a small village, on the coast of the country he had determined to liberate; he vanquished the Spanish troops there; but the scanty number of his army was the cause of his being unsupported by the people; he, thus was obliged to give up his plausible undertaking. Let the name of the Chief and the landing-place be changed and the enterprises will coincide.

Thus, in the beginning of the present century, General Lopez would not have been considered as a "bandit", nor is such the case now-a-days, despite the deprecations of "La Cronica" & Co.—It may be that Lopez has contravened the act of 1818, and even other laws of this country as it was the unavoidable consequence of his undertaking, and the same fate has been formerly shared by Miranda, Mina, Bolivar &c.—But the Republic world will not make any difference between the character of General Lopez's expedition and the preceding ones carried on by those celebrated Heroes of America; he, like them, too, if he has a persevering mind, shall obtain the prize awarded to him. A glorious death, or, in crushing down of his enemies,—and, in either case, the immortality of his name!

(Correspondence of "La Verdad")

Habana July 3d, 1850.

Dear Sir,

I presume you have not given credit to what has been published in the news papers of this Capital concerning the landing which took place at Cardenas, and the sentiments of nationality which are attributed to the Cubans, on considering their origin. The editors are entitled to some excuse, as according to an order of Roncali, all that is to be published must be examined at the political Office (Secretaria politica). These articles to be published are altered, mutilated, and new articles written which are ordered to be published as editorials.

Nevertheless in spite of the bad character with which they have disgraced the invaders and the object of their undertaking, nothing could subdue the patriotic enthusiasm of the Cubans, which is particularly remarkable among the ladies, as they wear dresses the mixed colours of which represent the American flag.

You very likely know that the island is declared to be in a state of siege, according to the meaning of which the penalty of death is inflicted even for breathing freely.

The expenses of the navy, of the squadron of lancers and of the line infantry, incurred by the Government have amounted \$ 1,900,000 and 1,500,000 dollars more are wanted, which must be furnished by the land-owners and merchant already the Government has despotically fined upon the sum which must be paid by each of them in order that they may perform what they have voluntarily offered; soon their lives and estates will be required, no doubt as a voluntary offer.

This makes the peninsula men very contented; nevertheless the best harmony does not prevail among them.

It is certain that 4,000 volunteers have organized themselves; but it is also certain that the Cubans who have enlisted themselves, did so in order to take away some arms from the hands of the Government.

Those who were made prisoners, in the Island of Women remain imprisoned in the ship of the line the "Sovereign." One of them who speaks a little the Spanish language, was tormented by General Armero, in order to compel him to make declarations, by offering that a rope should be thrown round his neck,

and he suspended from a yard of the ship, with an ingot tied to his feet.

It is intended to suppress the disciplined militia of Infantry and cavalry, the greatest part of whose chiefs and soldiers are natives of this country.

A quantity of new negroes has just been landed in the vicinity of Cardenas, about which as a criminal case the Royal Tribunal has instituted a summary information, being compelled to do so, by the complaints of the English Consul. It appears from the informant on that by means of the River of La palma a landing was effected of 500 African Negroes, [*] one hundred and seventy four of whom were captured, and the greatest part of whom according to the assurance of the Government, died in their transit to this City, the name of the vessel which brought the negroes, and the person to whom they came consigned are unknown. The ship owners will pay dearly for the purpose of eluding the researches of the English Consul; but the business is profitable enough to meet all expenses.

[*] This accounts for the suspected ships seen in the vicinity of Cardenas, and other parts of the northern and southern coast of Cuba and the 600 invaders landed at Sagua. These six hundred wretches stolen in Africa by subjects of her Catholic Majesty do not enjoy any protection against the demoralization and the aversion of the rulers and the ship owners of Cuba. The public authority by exercising justice against them; should lose 1800 doblones which form the trifling sum of 80,000 dollars, and deprive besides its satellites of twice that sum which is the least that the ship owners will spend to elude the inquiries of the English Consul, causing the name of the vessel to disappear, and giving as dead or lost the wretches, who how are in chains on the sugar plantations and destined to a hard and perpetual slavery. We call the attention of the Spanish authorities who show themselves so zealous in requiring of the Government of the United States, with regard to international treaties the fulfillment of their public and private duties. Similar to this case we might present many others and not of distant dates, stating the names of vessels, captains, places of embarkation, number of negroes, fees &c—but this would be preaching in the desert—and with respect to the Spanish Government as well as to that of Washington. It suits to the Spanish Government to declare the people of Cuba to be savages and that of Washington to be at peace with Spain. Sublime morality!

Editors.

(Continúan las observaciones a Don J. A. Saco.)

Peró continúan la historia de nuestros comisionados, y espongan como otras, tan gratuitamente como las demas, que el Gobierno se contenta con reprenderlos, ó que á pesar de todo, siguen ellos y sus comitentes con tenacidad en su propósito, mas no teniendo estos pacíficos representantes el poderoso argumento de una resignación de bayonetas, cual sería el talisman benéfico de que se valdrían para reducir á buena razon la "Metropoli". La imprenta, se dirá. Pero la imprenta, respondo yo, se ha preto en todos biena mudado en favor de la isla de Cuba; ya ha tronado en folletos y periódicos contra las arbitrariedades de sus gobernantes; ya reclamado derechos políticos, reformas, y el cumplimiento de la Promesa de leyes especiales, y nada ha conseguido, ni mandado por organos de "hull", ni por la oposición alla. Ni aunque hubiera trabajado con mas tenacidad y combinada en sus esfuerzos, hubiera logrado mas ventajas; el Gobierno tiene tambien organos en la imprenta para sostener sus ideas; tiene los medios eficaces para transgredirse á hacer y deshacer de enemigos políticos, y tiene sobre todo, poder suficiente en España para seguir por periodicos y cartas de varias "hijas" los vuelos de la libertad de escribir, ya lo haga el Gobierno por sí, ya le ayude tambien de las Cortes, en las cuales halla una mayoría más segura en cuestiones "públicas" y "políticas" coloniales.

Peró la oposición dice Don José Antonio Saco, "se apoderaría de nosotros" para "causar" el despotismo; que nosotros "seriamos" sus "manos" para "ejercer" el "poder" contra el Gobierno, "y cuando intentase resistir, y acudiría á los golpes combinados

dos de la opinion de Cuba, y de la "oposición peninsular." El Sr. Saco tendrá la bondad de advertir en primer lugar, que la opinion de Cuba no podría dar otros golpes que los que descargase por medio de sus mandatarios, los cuales quedarían bien pronto desechados en los términos absolutos que ya hemos visto, y obligados á acogerse al poder de la imprenta para avanzar en su noble mision, cuando no le impusiese silencio de un modo mas energico. Este poder de la imprenta manejado en la Peninsula es la otra clave con que la opinion de Cuba descargaría sus golpes; mas como ya he demostrado su impotencia para el caso, creo que se me dispensará de repetir las mismas reflexiones. En segundo lugar advertirá el Sr. Saco, que la oposición se apoderaría de nuestra causa, o no, según conviniese á sus miras y á sus propias opiniones sobre regimen colonial en Cuba, y por ultimo, que muy probablemente estas opiniones nos serian contrarias en el seno mismo de la oposición, y solo tendríamos á nuestro favor una parte mínima de ella. Recuerde el Sr. Saco lo que pasó en la célebre discusion acerca de la admision de los Diputados por Cuba. ¿Cuántos fueron los que se mantuvieron firmes sostenedores de la bandera de la razon? Y eso que se trataba nada menos que de cometer una escandalosa injusticia, un acto de verdadera tiranía, despojando á la isla de un derecho de que estaba en posesion, y que le habian reconocido y consignado todos los códigos anteriores. ¿Que esperaremos ahora, en cuestiones en que nuestra justicia, si bien innegable y determinada, pues tratamos de conquistar lo que no tenemos, y entonces solo habia que conservar lo que poseiamos de hecho y de derecho?

Si, por tanto, nuestra posicion es hoy mas desventajosa que entonces, ¿con que vergüenzita podemos pensar en combatir con buen éxito en ese campo, en que la experiencia nos ha demostrado la impotencia de nuestras armas, y que solo podremos alcanzar lo que nuestro adversario quiera concedernos? Se sostuvo entonces, y se doró la enorme de la injusticia, como siempre se ha hecho con el pretexto especioso de que la concesion de libertades, de derechos políticos, era la escala por donde los habitantes de Cuba intentaban subir á la independencia del poder de España; y no solo se proclamo así en pleno Congreso, sino que hubo diputado que, para mas convencer la certeza de este aserto, dijo que el mismo haria otro tanto si se hallase en igual caso. El mismo Sr. Saco fué parte, y parte activa, en aquella interesante ocasion, y que conseguimos con sus esfuerzos, y con los de una fraccion de la oposición que le ayudo, con los de la imprenta y la opinion, y con la fuerte y plausible de la intencible razon que nos asista? Nada, porque donde la fuerza impera, la razon y la justicia sucumben.

Gobernase el Sr. Saco de, que donde quiera que se enuncio aquella idea de buena ó de mala fe, para sostener y ocoonestar el sistema despotico en Cuba, muy raro será el Español peninsular, Diputado ó no, que se haga superior á su influjo, y vea la realidad de las cosas, como no sean los ya domiciliados e identificados en el país; porque se necesita un esfuerzo de razon, una desocupacion poco comun para jugar con acierto de los hechos y sus consecuencias, sin que el temor de perder el divino Eden que se posee, venga á trastornar la inteligencia, y confundir la más sencilla realidad, cubriéndola de terribles fantasmas.

Y si la oposición no es bastante á hacer predominar en el Congreso sus opiniones, en puntos relativos á las políticas interiores de la Peninsula, misma, en los cuales sus ideas con mas uniformidad y mejor combinadas y en fuerza mayor de fuerza, se dentro como "nos" podremos combatir con la ilusion de que, no solo se podrá de nuestra "justicia", sino que, podrá, ventajas de la isla. El Gobierno, apoyado por la mayoría, según con paso seguro la embates de la oposición, no aviré sino para contentarse y moderar, impidiendo, á manera de un dique benéfico,

que se desborde el torrente de sus aspiraciones. La oposicion, o sea la minoría, solo consigue ventajas en cuestiones secundarias, en que el Gobierno no transige por allanarse el camino, si se ve atacado fuertemente. ó en que por otros motivos llega la primera á formar una mayoría momentánea, pero no en cuestiones trascendentales, en que se juega el sistema político del gobierno, la existencia del Ministro, y la preponderancia de su partido. Esta es la indole de los gobiernos representativos, y según ella, muy poco ó nada podríamos esperar de los esfuerzos de la oposición, aun cuando estuviera decidida por nosotros, lo cual he demostrado ya que no debe esperarse.

Bien se yo que la cuestion de política colonial no es por su naturaleza de las trascendentales á que he aludido, pero no deja por eso de ser vital en las circunstancias especiales de España respecto á Cuba, y lo que es peor aun, de serlo tan solo en cuanto á la permanencia de su dominación sobre esta; lo que hace que se miren con indiferencia por el gobierno, y aun por el público peninsular, todas las cuestiones coloniales que no sean esta, y se desprecien ó rechacen cuantas reclamaciones de reformas hagan los habitantes de la isla. El Gobierno, creo ó no, hará entender siempre que estas reformas conducen á la perdida de la Colonia, ó de las grandes capitales que saca de ella anualmente. Y quien retrará este argumento que confunde porque espanta?

Los golpes combinados de la opinion de Cuba y de la oposicion peninsular solo conseguirian efectos parciales y muy secundarios, como la mudanza de alguno de nuestros mandarinos, la de alguna institucion por otra igual, ó por cual se hizo convirtiendo los guardas en carabineros, los tenientes asesores generales en alcaldes mayores y otras por el mismo estilo. Semejantes reformas y otras, que condujese á afirmar aun mas el poder, á sacar de la isla mas utilidad, ó á embarnarnos y entretenernos, y acaso tambien alguna vez á consolarnos un tanto y superficialmente, han sido y serán las unicas que podrán restarce del Gobierno, en el sistema que sigue tenaz y constante, y de esta verdad nos convenceremos con solo abrir los ojos á la realidad, en vez de deslumbrarnos con ilusiones de la fantasia.

En vano reclamarían nuestros Comisionados el cumplimiento de la promesa de leyes especiales, la Metropoli contestaría:—ya las tenéis. No son bien especiales las leyes que os gobiernan? En efecto, bien podría burlarse de nosotros de este modo la tal promesa no concede nada, porque no determina la indole de las leyes que debian establecerse, ni si debian establecerse algunas. Ya se ve que racionalmente hablando debe entenderse otra cosa, que, como dice el Sr. Saco, "estas leyes no pueden ser las que hubiera" "podidos ardear el tirano Felipe II" "sino las que son conformes al espíritu del siglo, á las libéres instituciones de que goza España, y á la civilización y progreso de Cuba." Pero se avendrá á eso de los dictámenes de la razon y de la justicia, y á las inspiraciones de la civilización y espíritu del siglo, quien sacrificará todo está arrancándonos la representación en las Cortes, unico resto, aunque incompleto y débil, de libertad y garantías políticas; y quien solo mira en estas cuestiones el peligro de perder su soberanía en Cuba, ó la utilidad que saca de ella? Quien á esta idea, con razon ó sin ella, le subordinará todo, podrá padecer por aquellos móviles? Habrá ni siquiera un átomo de esperanza, cuando se le ve seguir con tenon un sistema contrario? Gordo se ha hecho hasta ahora, y sordo se hará en adelante, con tanto mas motivo, cuanto que las fuerzas de las exigencias de Cuba consistirán en que las hijas de valen por decisión y energía los Cubanos y Peninsulares de común acuerdo, y esto es muy difícil, por no decir imposible. Me explicare.

Esta misma idea terrible de la emancipacion política de la isla, que al Gobierno tira con frecuencia como de un seducible humelete para bajar toda pretension de reformas, y para acrecentar su poder, también la presenta á la imaginacion de los Hispano-americanos como el profundo abismo en que serian irre-

mediablemente confundidos, si el tuviese la debilidad de suavizar el régimen de Cuba, pues aprovechándose de ello los hispano-cubanos para lograr su independencia, despojarían á aquellos en seguida de su influjo y participacion en los empleos, y aun se desjarían llevar de un ciego resentimiento, hasta perseguirlos y expulsarlos de la isla, como ha sucedido desgraciadamente en otros Estados de América. Y bien, los Peninsulares que tengan en su imaginacion este resultado espantoso, podrán jamas reunirse á los Cubanos para formar causa comun en la reclamacion de instituciones libérales?

Se detendrán á reflexionar sobre la probabilidad de semejante idea, y en los medios de evitar su realizacion? Delirio seria el pensamiento, y delirio es tambien pensar en esa union, mientras no se deshaga y disipe el monstruo feo que la impide. Esta cuestion es vital, y mas adelante volveré á ella. Las leyes especiales no serian, pues, mas que un argumento, una exigencia racional, impotente contra quien no quiere entrar por ella. El Gobierno rechazaría esta y cualesquiera otras razones, del mismo modo que hasta aquí: diria que la isla de Cuba ha permanecido tranquila bajo el régimen paternal que la bondad de sus Soboranos ha establecido en ella, y que con él ha prosperado y sigue engrandeciéndose con envidia de otros países, que lapron españoles y hoy yacen en el desorden, por haber pretendido emanciparse de tan suave y benéfico yugo, y que la generalidad de los habitantes de Cuba vive contenta y feliz con ese régimen saludable, y solo unos pocos, mal avenidos con el sistema de orden que allí reina, son los que procuran introducir el descontento, y poner embrazos al Gobierno en su marcha firme y magestuosa, y excitar á la desobediencia á aquellos fieles súbditos, para saciar á favor del desorden sus intentos criminales.

Bien sabe el Gobierno que este y otros razonamientos mil veces peores que emplea, no son mas que una perfida palabreria para aluzinar á incautos y dar mejor colorido á su sistema, concertado y arbitrario; y poco le importa que los clamores que se levantan desde el corazón de la grande Antilla sean ó no la expresion sincera de imperiosas necesidades reconocidas por la mayoría de sus habitantes. El siempre fingirá otra cosa, porque creo que así le conviene, y porque en esta idea le sostiene todos los que viven y se enriquecen á la sombra del poder y de los abusos. Por eso cuando algunos Cubanos, y aun Peninsulares, han alzado la voz en favor de la isla, han sido titulados unos de insurgentes, y perseguidos otros como revolucionarios, no porque "asistidos todos en sus esfuerzos" e impotentes por sus desventajas positivas, el Gobierno, en vez de considerar sus clamores como la expresion verdadera de los sentimientos del pueblo Cubano, los ha escuchado como el ahullido de unos facciosos, dignos solo de la indiferencia del desprecio. Muy plácidamente juega el Sr. Saco, y mucho se aluzina imaginándose lo contrario. Éran ahullidos de facciosos las representaciones que como la de los noventa y tres vecinos de Matanzas, se han dirigido ó tratado de dirigirse al Gobierno sobre puntos importantes y dignos de pronto remedio? Éran ahullidos de facciosos las voces que se han levantado hasta en el augustó recinto de la representacion nacional? Éran por fin ahullidos de facciosos las exigencias y reclamaciones del mismo Sr. Saco y demas Diputados electos por la isla en 1836? No eran sus clamores la expresion, no solo genuina, sino legal, de los sentimientos del pueblo de Cuba? Despojado no solo genuino, sino legal que otece sus ojos, sea los hechos con aquella claridad que le ha iluminado tantas veces, y no es espante de los sucesos que puedan sobrevivir á su patria, porque de todos modos ellos sucederán: ahora ó luego, á la fuerza de causas poderosas é imponentes por el tiempo, y administradas en gran parte por ese mismo régimen desatentado y tiránico que nos gobierna.

Continúa.