



EL PATRIOTISMO CUBANO SOSTIENE ESTE PERIODICO PARA CIRCULARLO GRATIS.

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LA VERDAD.

POR CORA MONTGOMERY.

“LUZ Y PAZ.”

NUOVA YORK, 4 DE JUNIO DE 1850.

We have prepared and will publish in our next number an extract of the history of General Miranda's expedition to Colombia from the U. S. and the result of his trial before the United States Court. We quote this as one among other precedents connected with the present case of Lopez's expedition to Cuba.

General Miranda was tried before the U. States Court and the verdict pronounced by the Jury declared his enterprise “worthy of praise and aid.”

CUBA.

Recordamos con dolor la desgracia que acaba de sufrir la causa de Cuba; causa tan enlazada con la de la Humanidad entera. Aménudo acontece que las menores circunstancias son bastantes a decidir del bueno ó mal éxito de las mas grandes empresas. La llegada del General Lopez á Cárdenas en hora de pleamar habria evitado la larga demora del desembarque de sus tropas: él mismo hubiera llevado á Matanzas la noticia de su victoria y Cuba hoy seria de los Cubanos. La Providencia divina ha querido retardar tan grande como benéfico acontecimiento. Respetemos sus sabios designios!

Ella ha permitido que continúe el tormento de Cuba; pero ella y solo ella pudo salvar y salvó á los que han de ser instrumentos de su eterna injusticia para que la administren á su debido tiempo. El cielo quiera que el plazo sea corto! Quiera él tener piedad de un pueblo desvalido, atormentado, horriblemente perseguido!

Los ilusos ó comprados partidarios del inmoral Gobierno de España, preguntan que al General Lopez le mueve el deso del botin y la ganancia; pero si las acciones de una prolongada carrera pública y notoriamente gloriosa pueden ser la guía para quien juzgue de ulteriores actos de un hombre, en la vida de Lopez se encuentran hechos de naturaleza tal que alejen toda sospecha de personal interes en sus procedimientos. Lopez nadaria en la abundancia si ambicionase riquezas por medio de una conducta que no fuese rigurosamente ajustada al honor y a honradez. Lopez pudiera aun ceñir su faja. Lopez ha desmentido, á toda prueba, en Cárdenas, y así públicamente lo declaran y aseguran sus compañeros, la infame calumnia con que pretenden denigrarle algunas almas ruines y miserables.

La incorporacion á Lopez de una gran parte de la guarnicion de Cárdenas, prueba que no hay tal acrisolada Lealtad de la tropa hacia un Gobierno absoluto que la convierte

en vil instrumento de su tirania. En vano pretenden los amigos del despotismo Español en Cuba introducir la creencia de la adhesion de sus soldados. Por otra parte, si el pueblo, en tan corto número como el que existe en Cárdenas,—pueblo acostumbrado al rigor de la servidumbre, poseido del terror que le inspira un Gobierno desautorizado y cruel, naturalmente indeciso en tan supremo momento de tribulacion,—no se lanzo todo entero á las filas de sus libertadores, no es por cierto una prueba de amor y lealtad al Déspota que los oprime, por mas que de ello se jacten sus satélites mercenarios.

Dicen tambien los defensores de la tiranía de España que no existe entre los Cubanos el espíritu de independencia. Respóndales esa cadena de conspiraciones eslabonada desde el año de 1823 hasta el presente: respóndales los pueblos de América y Europa donde peregrinan los Cubanos perseguidos y lanzados de su patria por causas políticas: respóndales los presidios españoles en que por esonismo gimen los hijos de Cuba: respóndales los castillos, las cárceles y los inmundos calabozos de todos los dominios Españoles donde por ese mismo motivo son atormentados nuestros hermanos: respóndales lo que hoy se ven acusados de conspiradores, que se ven llamados á comparecer ante un Tribunal de soldados, despues del secuestro de sus bienes: respóndales los que estan condenados á muerte en un suplicio vil por una causa noble: respóndales las esposas, los hijos, las madres, las hermanas de los que sufren hoy victimas de persecuciones políticas: respóndales las viudas, los huérfanos, de los que han perecido en tierras extrañas, en bartolinas y en cadalsos; y respóndales por fin desde la tumba los infelices sacrificados a la saña del cruel y sanguinario Gobierno que aun rige en Cuba para purgatorio de la humanidad.

Hechos, hechos auténticos son los que citamos. Aun en el corto número de Cubanos que acompañan al General Lopez, hay mas de uno que deplora en vano la pérdida de sus mas caros objetos, arrebatados por ese brutal Gobierno sin otra causa que aspiraciones políticas, sin otra ley que su inaudita crueldad.

En vano, pues, pretenden los mezquinos escritores mercenarios del “reyezuelo” de Cuba desfigurar todos los hechos y en particular, los que se refieren al desembarque en Cárdenas y su toma, por el General Lopez y el puñado de valientes republicanos que le acompañaban. Los esfuerzos de esos venales periodistas se dirigen á estraviar la opinion pública de este país; pero, solo han conseguido estrellarse contra los inquebrantables baluartes de la civilizacion y del espíritu liberal del pueblo de los Estados Unidos.

Pronto sabrá el mundo entero que ni los castillos, ni todas las fuerzas justas de mar y tierra que el ejército del pueblo mantiene en Cuba el Gobier-

no Español, y mal que le pese al necio orgullo de los MODEROS: Pelagos, ni es invulnerable la gótica Tirania, ni bastarán sus murallas y cañones para libertarla de ser conquistada y echada á tierra por la “invasion” del espíritu republicano.

El General Lopez, los cubanos y los americanos lo saben ya; y saben tambien que si el ensayo no ha correspondido al propósito, el mal éxito no ha consistido en imposibles que la empujeza, sino en contingencias que otra vez se evitarán seguramente.

El General Lopez, los cubanos, los americanos y todo hombre que de corazón aborrece la tiranía, se unirán como “uno” solo contra la que en Cuba impera; y el cielo que protege al justo lo ayudara en su gloriosa empresa.

Yo está herido de muerte el Despotismo. Ya, aunque por solo un día, asentó en Cuba la planta del hombre libre, y el grito de Libertad que por primera vez se lanzó en nuestros campos resonará siempre deliciosamente en los oídos del Cubano, desahogado un eco de pavor para sus déspotas.

CUBA.

We have to remember with a deep sorrow the misfortune which the cause of Cuba has just met with—a cause so intimately connected with that of all Humanity.

Petty incidents often happen to determine the good or bad issue of great undertakings. The arrival of Gen. Lopez at Cárdenas in time of high-water would have prevented the great delay he was subject to in the landing of his troops: he himself would have carried to Matanzas the news of his victory and Cuba would now have been under the dominion of her legitimate masters—the Cubans.

The Divine Providence has permitted a check to this doing so glorious and so beneficent in our sight—Let us revere His wise designs.

He has allowed the tyrants of Cuba to carry on their impious work. But He and only He, was able to save, as he has done, those who are destined to be the instruments of His eternal Justice, that they may administer it in due time. Would to God the time may be soon! May He commiserate a forsaken people; a community so horribly tortured, oppressed and inhumanly persecuted!

The abettors of the hateful Spanish Government,—either bribed or bribed minions of Despotism—vociferate, that Gen. Lopez is only moved by the interest of gain and plunder; but if the doing of a long military career publicly acknowledged as a most glorious one may be admitted as a guide to judge the conduct of a man and his succeeding actions, in the history of Lopez there will only be found such facts as will remove any suspicion of his being induced by personal interest.

Had Gen. Lopez been a man capable of aspiring to riches by dishonest means he would now abound in them. He would not have thrown off his sash of Spanish Generalship. Lopez, in Cárdenas, has given the lie to that cowardly calumny produced against him by some miserable and bribed partisans, of the Spanish Tyranny.

The desertion to Lopez of a portion of the garrison of Cárdenas is a most evident proof that there does not exist

among the Spanish troops that spirit of Loyalty to a despotic Government, which is so much talked of, in order to flatter them and make them the vile instrument of the most hateful Power.

On the other hand, if the people of Cárdenas, so few in number:—a people accustomed to the iron hand of Despotism, and naturally terrified by such oppression,—a people who would of course be irresolute in that supreme moment,—if that people, we say, did not rush in mass to join the ranks of their Librators, who can draw from this a proof of loyalty and love to their brutal Government, although its mercenary party so much boast of it!

They also say that there does not exist the spirit of independence among the Cubans:

Let them be answered by that chain of political conspiracies linked continually from 1823 unto the present day:

Let them be answered from hundreds of cities in Europe and America; where the unlucky Cuban exiles wander in toilsome pilgrimages; farther persecuted and banished from their native land, charged with revolutionary opinions and shows of republican sentiments?

Let them be answered from the Spanish presidios, where many a son of Cuba has been confined for the same cause:

Let them be answered from the fortresses, the jails and the filthy dungeons throughout the Spanish dominions, the walls of which have many a time echoed, as they now do, the groans of our unfortunate brothers, condemned as conspirators;

Let them be answered by those Cubans who are now persecuted and held to appear in a Court Martial, composed of unlearned soldiers, and whose property is confiscated by the Government:

Let them be answered by those who have been condemned to die on an infamous gibbet for the sake of the noble cause they advocated;

Let them be answered by the wives, the children, the mothers, the sisters and friends of the many victims of political persecutions in Cuba;

Let them be answered by the widows, the orphans, the families of those who have perished in foreign lands, on the gibbet or in awful dungeons;

Finally, let them be answered from the grave of the unfortunate Cubans who have been a prey to the merciless rage and inhuman cruelty of that blood thirsty Spanish Government, which still rules Cuba, to the shame of civilized nations and to the greatest scandal of Mankind.

Facts, and facts duly authenticated are those we quote. Even among the few Cubans who have accompanied Lopez, there are more than one who sorrowfully lament, in vain, for the loss of the dearest objects of their affection who have been sacrificed by that brutal Government, under no other charge but political conspiracies,—by no other law but the unheard of cruelty of a Spanish vice-roy.

It is in vain that the prostitute serfs and mercenary journals of the petty-city of Cuba exert themselves to the utmost in disguising every fact and more particularly those circumstances which attended the capture of Cárdenas by Gen. Lopez and a handful of gallant republican men.

The efforts of such mean journalists are only intended to mislead the public opinion of this country; yet, they have wracked before the inexorable beam of the truth and the Republican mind of the free community of the United States.

The whole world shall very soon know that, notwithstanding the castles and the forces of army and navy kept by old Spain at the expense of the Cuban people: and in spite of the foolish braggardism of the modern Pelayos, their fortresses, their ships and their guns shall be of no avail in protecting their gothic tyranny against the overwhelming invasion of the Republican Spirit.

General Lopez, the Cubans and the true Americans are already conscious of it; they also know that if this first essay has not been successful, it is not to be attributed to the impossibility of triumph in such an enterprise, but to some special circumstances, which will be most surely avoided in a succeeding attempt.

General Lopez, the Cubans, the Americans and every man who is a true-hearted Republican and an enemy to Despotism, will join as "a single individual" against that nest of deadly enemies of Humanity; and Heaven, the protector of the cause of Justice, will support them on their praiseworthy undertaking.

Despotism has now been mortally wounded in Cuba.

Although for only one day, the footsteps of the free man has already been impressed upon the Cuban land; and the cry of Liberty, which for the first time has been raised there, will for ever delightfully resound in the ears of our Brothers, echoing fearfully in the breasts of their tyrants.

CUBA.

Some of our cotemporaries of the American press, taking ground on an erroneous belief, draw out false consequences regarding the Cuban affair. Therefore, we have determined to make a slight sketch of it, which, although it has already been repeated a thousand times, shall not prove less forcible in favor of our holy cause.

The Courier and Enquirer and the whole American press admit a fact, which cannot be denied under any consideration; we mean the right of the oppressed against his oppressor; the right of the slave to conspire against a merciless master in order to obtain his freedom; they also acknowledge as a lawful and praiseworthy engagement that of helping those who endeavor themselves to put down the tyrant who crushes them. Yet, they think that Gen. Lopez and those who accompany him have no title to the considerations due to true patriots who are only moved by the most generous feelings and who have not deviated from those very principles, which the Courier advocates.

Our observations in the course of this article will show that, if Lopez and the Cubans may be considered as violators of the law by fitting out a military expedition to free their own country, it is not an unprecedented fact, in this and in many other countries; and if this very Government has not justified it, at least, has not pronounced it "an act of piracy." Remember the words of Mr. Webster in regard to the McLeod case.

By our observations we shall also bring to light a fact a thousand times more worthy of proof in the eyes of the whole world; a fact perpetrated by the United States Government against the right of peoples and the republican principles which appear to be its guide; a fact, no doubt, which is the cause, the only origin of those indescribable evils and most shocking outrages which the people of Cuba have been subject to, since 1827, together with the damages and cruelties inflicted on the very American people, the South-American Republics, the African race and all Humanity!

In 1827 the Republics of Colombia, Mexico and Chili, were ready to gloriously decide the fate of the Island of Cuba, as they were supported by the Great Congress convoked in Panama. The American Government opposed to it, and, preventing the achievement of so glorious a design, assumed the responsibility of the present and future destinies of Cuba. We have said it and repeated it a thousand times, as it is an undeniable fact, a fact which is the basis of the anti-republican policy of the present proceedings of the Administration.

against the cause of our unlucky country. We say it is an anti-republican principle, because in its tendency and consequences every body may see the work of a liberal and mighty Government reduced to the mean character of an instrument of a tyrannical power which oppresses a brother people.

We declare that not to be contrary to the right of peoples, because Colombia and Mexico were at that time at war with Spain; they were free and sovereign States and they had a right to fight her in Cuba, the head-quarters of Spain, and the destruction of which would have assured to them the peace and tranquility of which they were in such a great need.

We pronounce it an anti-humanitarian act, not only because of the slavery to which it condemns the unfortunate inhabitants of Cuba, but also for the torments, the destruction of human beings, who are dragged from Africa in great numbers and who die by thousands every year in Cuba.

This inconsiderate policy of the Cabinet of Washington is the principal cause of the great expenses and the innumerable misfortunes which have fallen upon the Spanish-American Republics during the war between them and Spain, since 1826, when the Spanish dominion should have been put to an end in Cuba and Porto-Rico, the only posts left to Spain, and from which she was continually threatening the peace of those States, fitting out expeditions against them, and kindling among their people, by means of a machiavelic policy, the infernal torch of civil discord.

This erroneous policy of that Administration produced a great loss to the interests of the American people as it has deprived them of the immense advantages which the trade and intercourse with free Cuba would have afforded to them.

Colombia had the right and the might to invade Cuba. She had the right, because she was a sovereign state, recognized by the American Government, and then at war with Spain. Besides this she was authorized by the Great Congress assembled in Panama. She had the might, because she was supported by a strong army; and the Spanish garrison in Cuba only consisted of 5000 regular troops. The Colombian Navy was far superior to that of Spain, as the ports of Cuba, Havannah not excepted, were very often blockaded by the fleets of Colombia. The very port of Cadiz was more than once subject to this same fate. Mexico and Chili were allied to Colombia, and the army of the latter amounted to about 20,000 patriots, brave soldiers accustomed to the fatigues of war, and many of whom were the triumphant liberators of Colombia and Peru.

We pay due respect to the memory of the dead, but those men of the Administration of 1827 have left nothing to us, unluckily Cubans, but a sad remembrance of their exertions against the Freedom and well-being of our community. We might say to them: You, who professed to be the fathers and defenders of Liberty, have carried on a deadly war against ours.

You have gone hand in hand with the merciless tyrants of Europe.

You have aided Spain in keeping us in the most atrocious thralldom and unrelenting oppression,—the end of which is now perhaps protracted for a long time.

You have been the cause of those sufferings of a people who by their sanguine wishes for Liberty, have been obliged to conspire unceasingly against their tyrants, even within reach of their grasp.

You have been the cause of the sacrifice of so many victims by the hands of Spanish Despotism.

You, by opposing the liberation of Cuba projected by our sisters Republics, allowed Spain to continue and even extend the iniquitous slave-trade with Africa, a trade which, no doubt, would have ceased immediately upon the achievement of our Liberation.

You have, in consequence, aided that infamous concern in Brazil, as it is evident that the introduction

of slaves ceased in Cuba, the attention of all the English, American and French cruisers would have been exclusively turned to the coasts of that country, thus making impossible the escape of every slave.

You have upon your consciences the pungent remorse of having efficiently contributed to the enslavement of about one million of human beings during these last thirty years.

You have been the most powerful supporters of that bloody market of human flesh, where there are offered for sale thousands of men robbed for their native shores and carried like cattle to the butchery in Cuba, Brazil &c.

You, therefore, have been the cause of those insurrections of slaves which have taken place in Cuba since 1826 converting that rich country into a theatre of the most horrible scenes, in which the Spanish Government and its agents have excelled in cruelty, plunder, butchery and every kind of unheard of iniquities!

We wish that the press, the people and the government of the U. States would particularly devote their attention to the things we have brought to their consideration; as well to the policy of the Administration as in regard to the authenticated facts we have quoted. Let them decide whether the conduct of the Government is according to the Republican principles of this Confederation; let them pronounce those statements true or false; let them judge upon the justice of our observations and complaints; let them declare whether it is just or unjust to conspire against that brutal, immoral and despotical Government of Spain which is the source of so many evils in America; let them, finally, manifest if those who are engaged in the extermination of such ominous power, may be justly called "Pirates!"

And what is the cause of such a policy so adverse to the principles which are the basis of the Government of the United States? It is no other than the fears entertained by them of troubles which, they think, would be the consequence of our struggle for emancipation; or rather, the mean idea of preventing all danger of losing that Island,—the possession of which they expect to hold, at any day, without the least trouble or disappointment.

Mr. Webster, the eminent orator, the unrivalled statesman, the most celebrated champion of the rights of man, adds to this, that "there exists, since the Administration of Jackson, a sacred engagement between this and the Spanish Government which binds the United States to support Spain in her Cuban dominion," and, consequently, to maintain her tyranny and contribute their part in inflicting the most atrocious wrongs upon the unfortunate Cubans, as long Spain will not carry on foot the transfer of Cuba!

Laying aside the immorality, the anti-republicanism, the injustice of such arguments, prescinding also the evils which we have slightly sketched and those which will be inflicted on Cubans as well as on the wretched African race,—who can think of an act more cruel than that of their not having declared to the Cubans and to the whole world, in clear and explicit terms, that there existed such a compromise between the United States and Spain? The Cubans, had they been conscious of that honest league, would have regulated by it their revolutionary spirit and schemes they would not have been taken by surprise, nor been persecuted in their conspiracy in 1822, nor would they have requested the help of Bolivar, nor would Bolivar have agreed with them, nor would the design of driving

out from Cuba and Porto-Rico the deadly foe of Free America, have met the approbation of the Great Congress of Panama.

And is it Daniel Webster who sanctions that compromise,—a compromise which has been the cause of the sacrifice of one million of human beings;—a compromise which is the true source of the hard sufferings of the Cuban people unto the present time, and of those which the future presents to them? Is it Daniel Webster the same who spoke to the English Ambassador in the following terms?—

"If Majesty's government are pleased also, to speak of those American citizens, who took part with persons in Canada, engaged in an insurrection against the British government, as 'American pirates.' The undersigned does not admit the propriety or justice of this designation. If citizens of the United States fitted out, or were engaged in fitting out, a military expedition from the United States, intended to act against the British government in Canada, they were clearly violating the laws of their own country, and exposing themselves to the just consequences which might be inflicted on them if taken within the British dominions. But, notwithstanding this, they were certainly not pirates; nor, does the undersigned think that it can advance the purpose of fear and friendly discussion, or hasten the accommodation of national difficulties, so to denounce them. Their offence, whatever it was, had no analogy to cases of piracy. Supposing all that is alleged against them to be true, they were taking part in what they considered a civil war, and they were taking part on the side of the rebels. Surely England herself has not regarded persons thus engaged as deserving the application which her Majesty's government bestows on those citizens of the United States."

It is quite notorious that, for the greater part of the past two centuries, subjects of the British Crown have been permitted to engage in foreign wars, both national and civil, and in the latter in every stage of their progress; and yet it has not been imagined that England has at any time allowed her subjects to turn pirates. Indeed, in our own times, not only have individual subjects of that crown gone abroad to engage in civil wars, but we have seen whole regiments openly recruited, equipped, armed and disciplined in England, with the avowed purpose of aiding a rebellion against a nation with which England was at peace.

It is well known to Mr. Fox that authorities of the highest eminence in England, living and dead, have maintained that the general law of nations does not forbid the citizens or subjects of one government from taking part in the civil commotions of another. There is some reason, indeed, to think that such may be the opinion of her Majesty's government at the present moment.

For our part we protest against the persecution of General Lopez and his companions by order of the Spanish Government in Cuba, and we make the Government responsible for the evils which may follow such persecution.

And we finally declare that as long as free press and free speech are allowed in this country,—as long as we shall be supported by the sympathies of this republican people, we will exert ourselves to the utmost in advocating the cause of the Freedom of Cuba, and of every people, who, like our own, are laying under the unrelenting grasp of Tyranny and Oppression!

TO OUR READERS.

We have noticed so many and so contradictory apprehensions respecting the American press in regard to the Cuban Expeditions and to the political conduct adopted on this occasion by the present Administration, that we have thought it a reasonable time as well as a convenient instance for reproducing in our paper a series of articles and extracts from various journals of different political shades, in order to afford our readers an easy way to judge upon this topic. We commence to-day with those articles belonging to the neutral organs,

among which the N. Y. Herald holds the first stand, because of the wide circle of his relations, the republican principles he professes to advocate and his claims to a high and important character as a leader of public opinion.

Startling Intelligence from the South—Projected Revolution in the Island of Cuba—Armed Expedition Fitting Out in the United States—Proclamation of the President.

The highly important intelligence which we communicated to the public a few days since, in relation to a grand movement at New Orleans, and other points in this country, having for its object the fitting out of an armed expedition, to be employed in effecting a revolution in certain provinces of Mexico or Cuba, has just been confirmed in the most emphatic manner. We received yesterday, by telegraph, and publish in our evening edition, the following important proclamation, by the President of the United States

In all quarters where this document was seen by the public, the effect was quite startling. Prepared as the community was, in some degree, by the information furnished them in the columns of this journal, with regard to the remarkable movement thus formally denounced by the Executive at Washington, the official confirmation of the truth of that information came upon many like a thunderbolt. Before night the news had spread like wildfire throughout the city, and formed the all-absorbing topic of conversation, inquiry, and conjecture. As for ourselves, we had not for a moment lost sight of the matter, from the hour on which we first received an intimation of the movement, and, therefore, this proclamation did not at all take us by surprise. Yet we must confess we were a little astonished to find that the cabinet at Washington are evidently a good deal in the dark with respect to the true character and objects of the movement which they thus deprecate and denounce. The language of the proclamation is very loose and indefinite. It speaks vaguely of the fitting out of an armed expedition for the purpose of "invading the island of Cuba, or some of the provinces of Mexico." It is obvious that the information in the possession of the government is somewhat indefinite; ours is more precise, and we shall now proceed to lay it before the public

The armed expeditions, as they are styled, alluded to in the proclamation, are intended to aid in revolutionizing the island of Cuba. That is their object—their sole object. The movement has been long contemplated, and originates not in this country but in Cuba itself. It has been set on foot by a number of the most influential and wealthy planters in that island. For years, the leading Creoles of Cuba have been oppressed by an anxiety to deliver themselves from the Spanish yoke, and, at the same time prevent the possibility of the island falling into the hands of England—a result which has been repeatedly threatened. The fate of Cuba has, indeed, been most uncertain for a considerable length of time. For almost a century and a half, Spain has been convulsed by intestine quarrels and difficulties. She now sits, a poor imbecile among the nations of the earth, holding Cuba in a palsied grasp, from which at any moment, it may be liable to be torn. Possessed of all the elements of great prosperity, this island, in consequence

of the corrupt and despotic system of government to which it is subjected, has been reduced to a state of great depression, shorn of its strength and been obliged to lag far behind in the great march of commercial prosperity. All this has, from year to year, been exciting serious reflections in the minds of the wealthy and influential men of Cuba; and we now see the first fruits of these reflections.

In one word, a revolution has been resolved upon in Cuba, and those at the bottom of the movement have gone to work like determined men. For five or six months past, agents of the revolutionists of Cuba have been engaged in enlisting the services of citizens of the United States, to aid them in their efforts to become free and independent. Several officers of the volunteer portions of our army, who were engaged in the war with Mexico, were approached on the subject, and their services secured. No mere adventurers have been enlisted in this movement. We have every reason to believe, that the personnel of these organizations, which have been effected in this country, for the purpose of assisting in the revolution of Cuba, is of the highest order, as regards the respectability honor and talent of the individuals, both officers and men, who are engaged in the movement. It is no invasion of Cuba, in which those citizens of the United States are to be called on to engage. They simply give their services, as they have a perfect right to do, in aid of this revolutionizing movement; and in doing so, they violate none of their obligations as citizens of this republic, or compromise in any manner the honor of this government.

In Cuba, the progress of republican principles has been hardly suspected. But it has been steady and unremitting for years. The sons of the wealthy planters have almost all, for years past, received their education in the United States, and have thus become thoroughly imbued with liberal principles. An unconquerable determination to substitute free government for the present vassalage to the crown of Spain, has obtained possession of the opulent classes. The first blow struck in the revolution will be the signal for a tremendous and irresistible uprising of the influential masses of the island. Five hundred armed men from the United States, under competent leaders, would probably suffice to make the work of revolution complete. The military force on the island amounts to seventeen thousand men, of which nine thousand are in Havana. It is believed that the fidelity of a great portion of this force is by no means certain. The Captain General himself entertains serious doubts on that subject. Not long since, a formidable insurrection broke out at one of the fortresses on the island, and several soldiers were shot. But the spirit of insubordination is unchecked, and only awaits an opportunity to manifest itself in the most formidable manner. Meanwhile there are hundreds of planters who are in readiness to contribute abundant pecuniary means to effect the revolution, and anxiously await the commencement of the movement for independence and liberty.

There cannot be a doubt, then, as to the fact that the most decided steps have been taking to effect a revolution in Cuba. These steps have been taken with remarkable prudence and sagacity. Large sums of money have been already expended in the enterprise. Arms and munitions of

war have been purchased and shipped to a well selected rendezvous. A formidable body of men has been collected and organized beyond the limits of the United States, and await the appropriate moment to strike the decisive blow. All this has been effected with great secrecy and the most skilful management in the island itself, the revolutionists have proceeded with equal judgment and determination. It is impossible to exaggerate the intensity of the desire which animates the Cubans who are embarked in this revolutionary movement to shake off the iron despotism which now presses them to the earth.

This is really one of the most important movements of the age. Its results, in connection with the prosperity and progress of the United States, will be of the utmost importance. It is well known that England has long had her eye upon Cuba. Great Britain has more than once demanded Cuba, either in absolute conveyance, or as a mortgage for the payment of the debts due her people; and also to satisfy the claims she herself had for the expenditures made on account of Spain, in the struggle with Napoleon. During the administration of Mr. Van Buren, the subject came formally before our government, and the then Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, was directed to communicate with the representative of the United States, at Madrid, and impress upon him the fixed determination of this government not to permit Cuba to be transferred to any other foreign power. There is no necessity for our entering into details to show the paramount importance to this country of preventing Cuba from passing into the hands of any other government. A mere allusion to the geographical position of the island, and considerations connected with the domestic institutions of the Southern portion of this Union, sufficiently indicate the course of policy which it is incumbent upon this government to pursue in relation to Cuba. In the present agitated state of Europe, it can hardly be supposed that Spain will continue in her present condition. Suppose that, in some of those convulsions which now shake the world, events should take such a turn as to lead to the abolition of slavery in Cuba, what would be likely to be the effect upon the interests and rights of the Southern States of this Union? It can be readily imagined.

For our part, we hail, with the highest gratification, all these preparations for a revolution in Cuba; and we cannot but regard the proclamation of the President as uncalled for, and contrary to the spirit which should, and we are confident does, animate the great body of our people. No armed expedition has sailed from the United States to "invade Cuba." Sundry of our citizens have, it is true, gone individually beyond the limits of the United States, and connected themselves with an armed force, intended to aid the revolutionists in Cuba. Of course, in this procedure, our government is not at all implicated. There has been no violation of treaty obligations. The proclamation is vague and incoherent. It is clear, as we have already said, that the cabinet have been stumbling about in the dark in relation to this matter. We have stated the facts, and await with great anxiety further developments. We fervently trust, that before six months, Cuba may be, what she desires to be, a free and independent nation. Meanwhile, this grand movement will engage our anxious attention, and our

readers will be kept advised of any step taken in its progress.

In another part of to-day's paper will be found highly interesting letters from our Washington correspondents, in relation to this matter, together with the comments of the leading journals at the seat of government. In connection, we refer to a telegraphic despatch from Washington, which states that the U. S. steamer Alleghany has been ordered to sea, under sealed orders, supposed to be destined for the Gulf, near Cuba.

Highly Important from Habana—The Projected Revolution in Cuba.

What an awful fuss certain Whig journals are making about the projected revolution in Cuba, that has just come to light but of which we gave our readers significant hint some time ago! Echoing the proclamation of the President, or rather setting upon that document as authority for their objurgations, they denounce this movement as "nefarious," "abominable" and every thing that is bad. Now, all this is quite characteristic of those presses, which, in general, are as blind as they are bigotted, in the attachment to what they call "conservatism" which, being interpreted means an utter abhorrence of progress and genuine liberty. Just so it was with the same journals when the people of Texas arose against the tyrannical, cruel and imbecile government of Mexico. It was a terribly wicked thing, they said to rise in rebellion against Mexico, and the brave Americans who rushed to the succor of their brethren, were scoundrels, engaged in a most "nefarious movement," as the Philadelphia *North American* designates this projected revolution in Cuba. For our part, we trust that this "nefarious movement" may be speedily triumphant, and that Cuba may prove herself to be worthy the name and privileges of a free State.

Is there, indeed, anything so specially awful and reprehensible in citizens of the United States individually lending the aid of their stout hearts and strong right arms in a movement which is to make a neighboring country free? The most of the United States is not involved in this movement. No treaty obligations with Spain are violated. No armed expedition has sailed from any of our ports to invade the territory of a friendly power, notwithstanding all the representations of the timorous and respectable old gentleman who represents the court of Spain at the seat of the government of the United States. THE WHOLE FACTS IN THE CASE AMOUNT TO THIS—THAT NUMBERS OF GALLANT, BRAVE AND ENTERPRISING MEN, CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY, HAVE TENDERED THEIR SERVICES, AS INDIVIDUALS, TO AGENTS OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS IN CUBA, AND HAVE TAKEN THEIR DEPARTURE FOR A POINT BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES. WHERE THEY WILL BE ORGANIZED AND EQUIPPED. NO POWER COULD RIGHTFULLY RESTRAIN THESE INDIVIDUALS FROM THIS COURSE OF ACTION. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THEY WILL ACQUIT THEMSELVES LIKE MEN, AND WE AWAIT WITH INTEREST THE SIGNAL THAT THE REVOLUTION HAS IN GOOD EARNEST BEGUN.

OBSERVACIONES QUE HACEN LOS SEÑORES DE CUBA A LA CONTESTACION
Que el Sr. Don J. A. SACO ha dado desde Calais, a los
Cubanos Anexionistas

Este *Erämen* contiene naturalmente las partes la primera tiende a demostrar el estado y esperanzas políticas de Cuba bajo el gobierno de España; la segunda trata de la emancipación de esta Isla. En la una y la otra procuraremos ser exactos e imparciales.

ESTADO Y ESPERANZAS POLITICAS DE CUBA.
Todos los hombres pensamos en nuestro porvenir, y anhelamos constantemente por nuestra seguridad y bienestar; los pueblos, lo mismo que los hombres, tienen que pensar tambien en su porvenir, y buscan la seguridad de su existencia y prosperidad futura. En la Isla de Cuba hace tiempo que algunos han pensado en ese porvenir tan interesante, mas tal pensamiento no se ha generalizado sino de poco a poco. Una multitud de causas han librado este pensamiento

entre ellas la mas principal ha sido el gobierno mismo: sin quererlo ni advertirlo ha influido de mil maneras en promover ese anido de mejora futura, y en fijar las ideas sobre el porvenir para calcular las probabilidades de seguridad y bienestar que pudiera darnos el estado presente.

El gobierno ha tenido tan poco fido para granjearse partidarios, que si siquiera ha sabido contentar a los hispano-peninsulares: y si los ha favorecido algun tanto y unicamente en la provision de empleos, esto ha sido tan solo porque los ha creido adictos suyos y sostenedores de su dominacion en la Isla: así ha procurado fomentar la desunion de aquellos y los Cubanos, temiendo por instinto que algun dia chocasen la identidad de sus intereses, y llegasen a hacer causa comun.

De modo que si exceptuamos esta especie de privilegio, que se favorece a algunos, por su dinero con frecuencia, los Peninsulares se hallan tan mal tratados como los Cubanos, y aun los extranjeros no se escapan de casi las mismas vejaciones. Lo mismo gime el Peninsular que el Cubano y el extranjero bajo el azote de un gobierno egoista y estafador, que con el pretexto de buen orden y policia, ha organizado un tegido de prohibiciones y preveniciones humillantes, cuyo cumplimiento ocasionan pasos, dilaciones, y sobre todo gastos en pro de los gobernantes; y su infraccion, aunque inocente, da lugar a una infinidad de multas y otros perjuicios y molestias. No podeis moveros de vuestra casa ni de vuestro domicilio sin licencia del gobierno, que os cuesta pasos, tiempo y dinero: no podeis transitar ni ejercitar vuestra industria en ningun sentido, y a veces ni usar de vuestras propiedades, sin el propio requisito: el sagrado derecho de aplicarse al trabajo y de buscar honestamente la subsistencia, derecho cuya libertad es tan necesaria, tan justa y tan util, es un delito si se practica sin licencia del gobierno y bajo las prevenciones, frecuentemente absurdas, que le plugo establecer, algunas veces sin mas objeto que sacar dinero, ya en provecho de algunos empleados, ya del mismo erario, ya de aquellos, y este. No se escapa al Peninsular ni el extranjero de las inhumanas exacciones que con maña les imponen bien amedunados nuestros gobernantes y empleados, con el nombre de gratificaciones, o bajo algun pretexto, en los varios asuntos y prevenciones tocantes a sus respectivas atribuciones y ministerios. Ni aquellos ni el Cubano dejan de sufrir el peso enorme de semejantes y otras estafas, y en general de los abusos e inhumanidad de una administracion viciosa y sin responsabilidad mas que para el real erario.

Los unos y los otros, habitantes todos de la isla de Cuba, estan sometidos a las perniciosas consecuencias de una legislacion viciosa, de tribunales arbitrarios, regidos por jueces sin responsabilidad, por un sistema de enjuiciamiento ruinoso, y que abre una anchisima puerta a la mala fe, y ademas al criminal por un regimen penal, y de cárceles que seria capaz de demoralizar al pueblo mejor constituido.

Prescindamos de garantías y derechos políticos, en los cuales tambien estan nivelados los hispano cubanos y peninsulares: de modo que, ni los unos ni los otros son ciudadanos españoles, como habitantes de la colonia de Cuba: prescindamos de la existencia de las distinciones que cada dia van en aumento y que a todos tratan con la propia medida: prescindamos del trafico negro, de los ostaculos que se oponen por el gobierno a la colonizacion blanca, y esfuerzos que hace para introducir en su lugar nosolo Africanos, sino Asiaticos, Indios y cuantas castas diferentes de la raza nuestra le sea posible encontrar, para dividir mas y mas la poblacion, y poner miedo a los blancos: pues es esto, con la desunion de los ultimos, y con la preponderancia despotica con que a todos procura avasallaros, es como cree poder conservar su dominacion en la Isla a despecho de la razon y justicia, y con ludibrio de los adelantos del siglo. Triste y miserable politica, digna solamente de un gobierno ignorante y perverso, no del que pretende ser estimado en el número de los civilizados.

Prescindamos tambien del gran numero a que elevando la poblacion de color comparten con los blancos, lo que no es solo un mal politico, sino tambien

economico, y muy grave: prescindamos de los excesos de nuestros gobernantes, de los excesos perpetrados con verguenza, impunidad, y sin que nos quede ni el consuelo de alzar el desagravio, porque el sistema que siguen la Metrópoli y el gobierno superior de la Isla, niega o duda de hecho la facultad de reclamar en tales casos; y si llegá a ponerse alguna vez en ejercicio, hace de modo que siempre quede bien el que manda, y aun castigado el rebelde que se atrevió a usar de su derecho contra los depositarios del poder. Prescindamos por ultimo de tantos otros males de que está plagada toda nuestra administracion, y de sus consecuencias fatales para todos los elementos de prosperidad pública, y consideremos tan solo el resultado general; por un lado la invencible remora de nuestro bienestar y progreso, y por otro una serie de injusticias y agravios que hacen pensar al menos pensador, y revelan al mas sumiso y obediente vasallo. Este estado social satisfaría por ventura, no ya a los Cubanos, pero ni aun a los Peninsulares? Mucho agravo seria menester hacerles para creer la afirmativa. No sienten unos y otros las profundas heridas de la injusticia y demasias del poder, en sus personas, en su industria y en sus bienes? No las sienten tambien los extranjeros domiciliados o establecidos aqui, y aun los transeúntes?

Y si a esto se agrega el avance de las ideas del siglo, que no ha podido menos que introducirse y fructificar tambien en la Isla, y el ejemplo vivo y poderoso de la gran republica Norte-americana que tenemos delante; ¿quien podría contener el impulso de los pensamientos, y de los deseos de remedio, de mejora, de emancipacion de tantos males y abyeccion que yo yacemos? ¿Quien impide, o detiene siquiera, la revolucion de las ideas, las nuevas necesidades que ella crea, en suma, el desarrollo social de los pueblos, despues de dado el impulso por la fuerza de las circunstancias? Por el contrario, al hacer esfuerzos para contener, muchas veces lo que se logra es precipitar. La sabiduria de los gobiernos que no se identifican con los pueblos consiste en transferir con las necesidades de los tiempos, ir concediendo sin violencia las mejoras y garantías, y sobre todo, no ser jamas injustos ni opresores. Si hubiera España seguido esta politica con la isla de Cuba, ni una sola voz se habria levantado contra su imperio; y si algun dia llegara a levantarse, muy largos y pacificos años habria de pasar primero.

Todavia, y a pesar de los males que nos rodean, habria podido esperar la Metrópoli muchos años de dominacion en Cuba, si hubiésemos tenido para lo futuro siquiera la seguridad de la existencia, aunque debil y viciada, pues acaso habriamos preferido esta seguridad plena de miserias, a los azares de un cambio politico: a la manera que suele un enfermo preferir una vida angustiada de crueles padecimientos, por no esponerse a los riesgos de una operacion peligrosa. Pero ¿existe acaso esta seguridad? Prescindamos de que un estado social devorado por la gangrena de tantos males camina siempre y por necesidad hacia el desorden y a la revolucion, violenta y dentro por cierto cuando es producida de este modo, sin direccion ni concierto, por la sola fuerza de las cosas: ese mismo gobierno que nos oprime y nos impide a esta especie de trastorno terrible, compromete torpemente nuestra existencia provocando una guerra estrangera por su mala fe y sus intrigas. Los hechos recientes que provocaron la cuestion sobre el ex-carcelero Garcia, en los cuales han mediado mas supercheria y falsedad de lo que parece a primera vista; las cuestiones con varios consules extranjeros, y la nunca terminada del trafico negro, y sus consecuencias, en que nuestro supremo gobierno y el de la Isla se han portado de tan mala fe, y con tales mañejas y falsas para engañar al ingles, que avergonzarian al particular menos escrupulosos; ¿no son ejemplos que nos ponen a las claras la falta de garantía, de paz y estabilidad, en que nos hallamos bajo un gobierno que no teme, la opinion, ni respeta el derecho de gentes? ¿Y prescindimos de los ejemplos de la guerra de independencia de la Isla, de los sucesos de la guerra de Cuba, de los sucesos de la guerra de la independencia de esta guerra?

cualesquiera declarada a la Metrópoli con razon o sin ella? No haot mucho que las agras contestaciones habidas con el representante ingles en Madrid, Mr. Bulwer, pudieron ocasionar consecuencias graves; y aunque se digna que de parte de este hubo algo de exceso, por haberse metido en cuestiones de la politica interior de España, las respuestas del ministro español debieron dirigirse con decoro y dignidad. A hacer patente al ingles su falta, y no a zaherir a la nacion britanica y a su gobierno, que no eran culpables, convirtiendo en ingrata y trascendental una cuestion insignificante. Tales imprudencias agenas de los hombres ilustrados y practicos en la politica y la diplomacia, suelen traer por resultado contiendas funestas entre las naciones.

Y nosotros, habitantes de Cuba, Colonia de España, ¿no estamos sujetos a correr la suerte de semejantes vicisitudes, con tanto mas peligro cuanto menos seguro es nuestro estado social? Como barquilla que sigue en silencio al bajel que la lleva atada tras si, ¿cual sera su suerte cuando estalle sobre aquel de una vez la tempestad que hacemos de 40 años le amenaza? ¿Que será de Cuba entregada a su propio destino, sin guia ni concierto? Entonces no será la ocasion de pensar en lo que se hara, porque no habra tiempo de pensarlo, y la catastrofe es segura cuando no es prevista y evitada.

Este acontecimiento no es improbable. La Metrópoli agitada por discordias intestinas, causadas en gran parte por la ambicion de caudillos y de partidos que se disputan el mundo, sacrificada todavia por el despotismo a pesar de la institucion de las Cortes; devastada por un sistema economico destructor del progreso industrial y mercantil, y por otros vicios de administracion y preocupaciones nacionales, yace sumida en un estado de abatimiento, que si por un lado se resuelve en una debilidad tal que hace olvidar casi a España en la politica europea; por otro se convierte en una ruina de materias volcanicas, inflamables de un momento a otro, y capaces de producir un trastorno fundamental, una desorganizacion lamentable; y en tantos años que ha se agita convulsivo ese desgraciado pais, aun no vemos que alumbra en su conturbado horizonte ni un rayo de la bella aurora de la paz, estabilidad y verdaderos progresos politicos y economicos.

Si esa mina, llega a reventar y envolver a la Peninsula en un trastorno violento, que convulsiones no sufrirá o podrá sufrir Cuba? Y si la mina que esta tiene en su seno se inflama, ¿cual es la garantía de salvacion que tenemos? En el estado actual, ¿cual es el escudo que nos cubra del golpe? Tal es la condicion en que se encuentra la Isla, que una sola chispa arrojada o encendida en su interior, en la numerosa poblacion de color que encierra, seria bastante para producir de un momento a otro la total ruina de nuestra riqueza, y convertir este precioso vergel de America en un campo de escombros y desolacion. Quedaremos, si, lo creo firmemente, duenos del teatro de tan espantosa escena; pero diezmos y reducidos a miserable indigencia. Horaremos muy tarde nuestra imprevision y descuido.

Garantirnos pues, la seguridad futura de nuestra existencia, hoy tan precaria, es la primera necesidad que debemos remediar. ¿Y cuales son los medios con que contamos para conseguir tan sagrado objeto? Ningunos en el sistema que nos rige, así como tampoco los tenemos para mejorar nuestra condicion politica. Enteramente sometidos los habitantes de Cuba, europeos y americanos, a la mano ferrea de un gobierno despotico, que les niega hasta el derecho de representarle en comun sobre las necesidades del pais, o cualquier otra materia, pudiendo solo haber sobre asuntos particulares, individualmente y por conducto del Capitán General; siendo tambien prohibida impracticable toda reunion numerosa y el concierto de muchos, puse se califica de asonada, en especial si versa sobre reformas de gobierno, o mejoras sociales; es un sueno pensar en representacion; y a la Metrópoli, en reunion y acuerdo de los habitantes para este fin; o para constituir comisionados que representasen ante el gobierno supremo cualesquiera reformas.

En vano se esfuerza Don Jose Antonio Saco en persuadirnos que nada hemos hecho, que, "en nuestro olvido, ni siquiera hemos procurado imitar a los colonos de las Antillas francesas, quienes, no obstante de tener sus consejos coloniales hasta la revolucion de Febrero de 1848, nombraban a ademas, de entre los miembros de la Camara francesa, dos apoderados, con una asignacion pecuniaria, para que defendiesen sus intereses en el mismo seno de la representacion nacional." Parece que el Sr. Saco ha olvidado la enorme diferencia que hay entre el estado politico de las colonias francesas y el de la isla de Cuba, cuando se figura que puede hacerse en esto lo que se hace en aquellas. Allí se puede constitucionalmente tomar ese medio; y porque se puede constitucionalmente, tambien se puede de hecho, sin temor de que se frustre por el Gobierno, y sean burlados y penados los promotores de el, allí se puede discutir las cuestiones de interes publico, reunirse libremente y entenderse sobre ellas los ciudadanos, hacerse reclamaciones directas ante el gobierno de su Metrópoli, y constituir legalmente apoderados que representen ante el mismo, y exijan remedio para las necesidades del pais; en Cuba todo esto, y aun mucho menos es un delito, y muy grave, que el gobierno procura evitar, y persigue con encono.

Pero supongamos deshecha por enalgamo la dificultad practica, y que lleguen a entenderse un gran número acerca del asunto, y a constituir y enviar ante el Gobierno Supremo uno o mas comisionados para solicitar reformas y derechos politicos, sin que lo comprenda por supuesto el gobierno de la Isla; porque de otro modo el intento quedara frustrado, y reprendidos cuando menos muy severamente los solicitantes. Supongamos tambien que nuestra Metrópoli se despoje de su caracter y hábitos despoticos sobre Cuba, y quiera por un momento tener la bondad de entrar en reflexiones con nuestros apoderados. Ella les dira, pues que venis en nombre de un pueblo entero a pedir reformas, veamos la legitimidad de vuestros poderes. ¿Quienes son vuestros patronos titulares representantes de la Isla de Cuba, o practican actos de tales? ¿Quien os ha constituido una pequenissima fraccion de sus habitantes? Pensais que quinientos o mil personas, o cinco o seis mil que fueran, pueden formar el voto de la mayoria, ni hacer peso en las altas consideraciones de mi Gobierno? Los que os envian a mi, ¿con que derecho se han constituido interpretes de la opinion y de las necesidades de aquel pais? ¿Que caracter legal es el que tienen para renunciar y dar poderes en nombre de la Isla? No saldais que ni por si mismos podrian darnoslos, porque segun el saludable regimen que mi gobierno apoyado por las Cortes, ha tenido a bien adoptar para la tranquilidad y bienestar de aquellos fieles habitantes, solo les está concedido representarme sobre sus asuntos e intereses particulares, y por conducto del Capitán General? No veis que infringiendo este regimen, y dando un ejemplo pernicioso a aquellos subditos pacificos, os hacéis doblemente criminales? Vuestro caracter en la mision que os trae no es otro que el de unos rebeldes, dignos de castigo, que so pretexto de saludables reformas pretendéis minar el poder de mi Gobierno para preparar la emancipacion politica de la Isla de Cuba, que prospera pacifica y feliz en mis manos paternales.

Yo no sé lo que a esto responderian los tales comisionados, pero si se que a ellos y a los principales de sus comités les sucederia lo que al joven de tan generosos sentimientos, que se puso a la vanguardia de los noventa y tres vecinos de Matanzas que firmaron la representacion respetuosa, solicitando la represion del trafico negro, y lo que está sucediendo actualmente a muchos vecinos de esa misma Ciudad por la importante cuestion de asistencia a un baile, que se ha tomado por fundamento para prender y espartir en la forma tiranica que aquí se acostumbra. Cuando estos hechos, y otros mil, nos están sucediendo a los ojos, es menester ser muy seguro para alimentarse en el vacío de esperanzas quiméricas.