



EL PATRIOTISMO CUBANO SOSTIENE ESTE PERIÓDICO PARA CIRCULARLO GRATIS.

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LA VERDAD.

POR CORA MONTGOMERY.

“LUZ Y PAZ.”

NUOVA YORK, 25 DE JULIO DE 1860.

OPINION DE LA PRENSA INGLESA, FRANCESA Y AMERICANA SOBRE LA ESPEDICION RECIENTE A CUBA.

No poseemos los datos necesarios para cerciorarnos del curso que adoptaron en general los órganos de la prensa inglesa, francesa y americana cuando la expedición de Miranda a la Costa firme el año de 1806, que tantos puntos de semejanza tiene con la reciente de Lopez a la isla de Cuba. Pero si hemos de juzgar por el resultado del juicio que se siguió en esta misma ciudad a Miranda y a sus favorecedores, en que el Gran Jurado declaró su empresa digna de loa y ayuda; si juzgamos también por la protección que el Gobierno inglés le dispensó a las claras, y por el estado de los sentimientos del pueblo francés contra España en aquella época; vendremos a sacar en consecuencia que los órganos de la prensa se general marcharon de acuerdo con el espíritu del pueblo y de los Gobiernos de esos países, y que Miranda no encontró detractores mas que entre aquellos cuyo débilico poder en América se propuso socabar y destruir.

Del año de 1806 acá no cabe duda que la civilización ha marchado a pasos de gigante, que las ideas de libertad han multiplicado sus formas y extensión, que la causa de los pueblos ha predominado sobre la de los reyes, y que el rápido crecimiento de los americanos, junto con otras causas concomitantes, han emancipado para siempre a América de la política Europea, señalando en especial a los Estados Unidos del Norte una alta y sagrada misión:—la redención de los pueblos de la tierra por medio de los principios republicanos del yugo oneroso de los reyes.

Cualquiera a primera vista deducirá de estas premisas, que o son falsas las aseveraciones que acabamos de sentar, o la expedición de Lopez en nuestros días tuvo muy distinto objeto que la de Miranda en época mucho mas atrasada, cuando ha encontrado tan general y virulenta oposición no solo entre los órganos de la prensa americana e inglesa, sino tambien en los de la francesa.

Lejos de haber tenido otro objeto que la de Miranda, la expedición de Lopez ha llevado sobre la de aquel las importantes ventajas de haber sido el resultado de una previa combinación con la mayoría de los Cubanos, y una continuación de la conspiración que dicho General Lopez fraguó en la propia isla de Cuba el año de 1848, cuya prematura revelación al Gobierno colonial, le obligó a salir y tomar refugio en estos Estados Unidos. Donde, pues, haháremos la causa o causa de la oposición que se ha hecho a la reciente empresa del General Lopez? Preciso es que no veamos en esta cuestión mas que tres partes interesadas: España que es la actora, como para cumplir con su misión en América; y la astuta, la rapaz y la egoísta Inglaterra; porque por mas vuestras que le damos no descubrimos el carácter, pretorio u ocasión con que la Francia entrará en la contienda.

La Inglaterra que no ha perdonado medio, ni fatiga, para apoderarse de todos los puntos importantes de los caminos del comercio, la política y la civilización europea guardando la entrada del Mediterráneo desde Gibraltar, guarneciéndose a Malta, protegiendo a las islas Jónicas, cerrando las bocas del Elba desde Heligoland, y estableciendo atalayas en Sta. Elena, en el Cabo de Buena Esperanza, en la isla Mauricio, en Socotora, en Ceylan, en el estrecho de Malaca, en toda la Océania, en Terra-nova, en las Antillas, en las Bermudas, en las Bahamas, en Yucatan, en las bocas del San Juan, y en Demerara, la Inglaterra, pues, como ha de ver con indiferencia que pase a manos de sus únicos rivales sobre la tierra, los Americanos una isla como Cuba, que es la llave del Golfo Mejicano, y que esta destinada a ser el emporio del comercio del Nuevo Mundo? Ya que no para apoderarse de Cuba de alguna manera porque le es imposible, mas si para poder intervenir en los negocios de ella bajo algun pretexto que acalle los primeros gritos del mundo civilizado. el Gobierno inglés ha sabido ligar su política e intereses generales de su comercio, con los particulares de sus vasallos, acreedores de España; y no es extraño, antes muy natural que la prensa inglesa, representante de aquella política y de estos intereses se llene de horror e indignación a la nueva de la noble y arrojada empresa del General Lopez.

De parte de la prensa inglesa anticipamos está salida. Apesar de los cambios que han experimentado las ideas y el espíritu del siglo a favor de la libertad de los pueblos, la política rapaz de Inglaterra no ha sufrido ninguna alteración, antes con el tiempo se ha vuelto mas a tuta, mas previosa. Si en 1806 ella le aconsejó favorecer la empresa de Miranda con sus barcos de guerra, sus subditos y su bolsa, hoy le dicta oponerse a la de Lopez por medio de su prensa, y mas adelante integrará en España, en Francia y en esta misma Union, para ver de doblar los grillos de Cuba, y como en San Juan de Nicaragua, sugerar y ligar las partes interesadas con omisos e indignos tratados. Esperamos en embargo, que para bien de la América, de la civilización y de la humanidad, tan desapoderada ambición y malvados desiguos quedarán frustrados completamente. Porque que nos hace muy cuesta arriba creer que el escandaloso y barbaro ejemplo de la intervención Rusa en Ugría lo repita, la Inglaterra en Cuba a ciencia y paciencia del pueblo angio-americano.

Respecto de la prensa francesa, bien puede la mayoría condenar la expedición del General Lopez, pero nos atengamos a las justas e ilustradas opiniones de la Presse de Paris, de la cual traducimos y publicamos en nuestro número de hoy un largo y razonado artículo. Este representante de las ideas nuevas y avanzadas de la Francia republicana, sostiene que no está en los intereses políticos ni comerciales de su nación, intervenir en los negocios de Cuba, al paso que el Constitucional y otros representantes del partido legitimista-realista, quisieran que se mandase a Cuba otro Oudinot para salvarla del contagio de los Maximas, los Avesanas y los Garibaldís cubanos y angio-americanos. Tales disparates no merecen refutarlos.

Repetimos que nos atengamos a las opiniones de la Presse, porque fuera de otras consideraciones en que ella entra, la Francia ya no tiene colonias en América, como quiera que sus dos principales Guadalupe y Martinica, en el día, le son mas onerosas que de provecho, y los intereses de su comercio estarían mas favorecidos con que Cuba se hiciese independiente ó se agre-

gase a los Estados de la Union Americana.

Pero tambien ha condenado gran parte de la prensa Americana. Esto merece considerarse. Que los Estados Unidos tienen un interés vital en la posesión de la isla de Cuba, para poner su comercio y su política a cubierto de la opresion con que los aborraz a activa y poderosa rival, escocamente habra quien se atreva a negarlos. Aun mas, que la cuestión de los destinos futuros de Cuba, ya es mas angio-americana que cubana, tampoco creemos que haya muchos que lo nieguen o para quienes no aparezca claro; y si todo esto es cierto, como lo es, ¿que debemos pensar de la parte de la prensa americana queha condenado la expedición del General Lopez? Debemos pensar que no solo no ha expresado el espíritu de este pueblo, sino que se ha hecho culpable del feo pecado de la hipocresía condenando a riamiento un público, mientras en secreto alzaba y aprobaba la atrevida empresa. Y no de otro modo han considerado su conducta los órganos de la prensa inglesa, francesa y española. En el mismo empeño que ha puesto en justificarse todos han lanzado su culpa.

Ahora, si pasamos de la charla y especulaciones vanas de la prensa tanto americana como europea, a las medidas que el pueblo, degradado de Cautenas puede y debe originar, veremos que hoy mas que nunca los Cubanos están a pique ó de acabar su independencia, ó de hundirse para largos años en los abismos de la opresion y la tiranía española. Es muy probable que la astuta y egoísta Inglaterra prevalea sobre la Francia con trage de república, de sumos de monarquías y a pesar del gran interés que esta pueda tener en el asunto, la haga entrar en un tratado con España para asegurarle su trozo de la América y pacifica posesión de la isla de Cuba, como mas de una vez se ha intentado. Para temer que en todo ó en parte se realicen semejantes designios, deben tener presente los Cubanos que la política y los destinos de los Estados Unidos han caído en las manos de una administración whig-débil, tímida y conservadora, la cual con tal de que se conserve la paz, elemento del comercio, le importará poco sacrificar la suerte futura de un pueblo víctima. Verdad es que la Constitución y el espíritu y principios del pueblo americano sirven de garantes contra cualesquiera tratados que puedan celebrar Inglaterra, Francia y España, y contra cualesquiera medidas en que respecto a Cuba pueda consentir la presente administración whig; pero todavía eso no podrá impedir, antes origina, que una vez ramolados los grillos de Cuba por Inglaterra, Francia y España, su independencia y libertad sean mas inciertas y sangrientas.

Así que, al entrar en la consideración de los motivos que hayan podido tener los órganos de la prensa americana y europea para condenar la expedición del General Lopez, nuestro objeto ha sido explicárselos meramente a los Cubanos según nuestro leal saber y entender, y prepararnos contra los resultados que necesariamente ha de traer el alago degradado de su revolución. Si ellos ahora con mas veras que antes no favorecen y ayudan a una vez ramolados los grillos de Cuba por Inglaterra, Francia y España, su independencia y libertad sean mas inciertas y sangrientas. Así que, al entrar en la consideración de los motivos que hayan podido tener los órganos de la prensa americana y europea para condenar la expedición del General Lopez, nuestro objeto ha sido explicárselos meramente a los Cubanos según nuestro leal saber y entender, y prepararnos contra los resultados que necesariamente ha de traer el alago degradado de su revolución. Si ellos ahora con mas veras que antes no favorecen y ayudan a una vez ramolados los grillos de Cuba por Inglaterra, Francia y España, su independencia y libertad sean mas inciertas y sangrientas.

cia y la Inglaterra, son seguras, como cogidas con la mano, su libertad e independencia del yugo colonial.

OPINIONES DE LA PRENSA FRANCESA SOBRE LA SITUACION Y DESTINO DE CUBA.

(Traducido de La Presse del 20 de Junio.) De un mes a esta parte, la prensa Europea y Americana se han ocupado mucho de la expedición del General Lopez. Esta atrevida empresa ha despertado la atención de los papeles de Paris; pero los de Washington, Nueva York y Madrid, ya han estudiado la situación de la isla de Cuba y las cuestiones a ella anexas. La palabra anexión, adquisición de esta isla, tiempo hace, fue pronunciada, y desde el principio del año 1848, Mr. Yulee de la Florida ofreció en aquel sentido una proposición formal en el senado de los Estados Unidos: la cual retiró porque Mr. Calhoun observó, que era imprudente, por un ardor impetuoso y un proyecto muy distante de su madurez, exponer la feliz terminación de este negocio importante. Era cosa entendida que la anexión ó adquisición de Cuba figuraría en el programa del partido democrático en el programa de la lucha electoral. Desde esa época la cuestión no ha dejado de ventilarse repetidas ocasiones por los diarios de Madrid, de Washington y de otros puntos; y en especial los Americanos han declarado que Mr. Polk habia iniciado con el Gobierno Español negociaciones de naturaleza capaz de satisfacer a todas las partes. Este hecho puesto en circulación por los papeles de los Estados Unidos y ya confirmado, ya contradicho por los de Londres y Madrid, hoy no hay quien dude de su veracidad. Mr. Polk realmente hizo tales declaraciones, y a saber, que se reunía con despojo por el Gobierno Español, y es fácil concebir que la expedición del General Lopez no habrá inclinado sus disposiciones a un rumbo mas favorable.

Semejante intenciona ha producido la mas enérgica, y al menos del lado acá del Atlántico, la mas unánime reprobación. Y no pudiera ser de otro modo, mas esta no es la cuestión. Nosotros razonamos como políticos, no debemos dejarnos llevar de la indignación; y por consiguiente, haháramos apreciar los caballerescos sentimientos en su justo valor, se hace necesario que examinemos los hechos, tal cuales son. En el estado presente de la cuestión, los hechos se reducen a dos incuestionables puntos. La Union Americana esta destinada a absorberse todo el hemisferio septentrional,—la isla de Cuba tiende rápida y necesariamente a libertarse de la pesada dominación de su Metrópoli. Se puede discutir la utilidad general de esta doble tendencia, pero es imposible negar su realidad.

La historia de la Union propone en cada página abundantes pruebas de su irresistible atracción ejercida sobre los territorios y pueblos circunvecinos. Desde contra todo absorber esos pueblos y esos territorios y gradualmente asimilados a si misma. Esta asimilación es completa como se ve en la Luisiana, al principio tan francesa, y en la Florida, cedida por España. La Union, caminando con pasos de gigante a su glorioso destino, ha empujado sus fronteras hasta las costas del Pacifico; sus libres instituciones han penetrado en Santa Fe, y ya están en ejecución en S. Francisco. El Canada está oprimido, y a despecho de Inglaterra, el movimiento contenido por un momento, tendrá un resultado feliz. ¿Como, pues, la isla de Cuba, la gran fortaleza, que domina las entradas del Golfo Mejicano, puede escapar a esta ley común?

Sabemos muy bien, que en España, el espíritu público es opuesto a la entrega, aun por negociación, de esta magnífica colonia, cuyos recursos son tan abundantes. Pero creemos que el Gobierno Español al cabo sacrificara el orgullo castellano a la política y dirijirá el público interés. Sabe perfectamente que no es de ahora que Cuba piensa seguir el ejemplo de Méjico, y de las otras repúblicas Sud-americanas, las cuales por fuerza de armas se separaron del dominio Español. La

independencia de esa isla es uno de aque-
llos sucesos para el cual un Gobierno en-
tendido debe estar preparado. — por que es
inevitable y porque es mas ventajoso sa-
cargarla hoy de buena voluntad, y bajo
buenas condiciones, que perderla despues
violentamente y sin compensacion de nin-
guna especie.

Largo tiempo hace que los habitantes de
Cuba sueñan no solo en su independencia
sino en su anexión a los Estados Unidos,
el Gobierno Español sabe muy bien, los
motivos de esta tan noble inclinacion, la
cual ya ha producido varias insurreccio-
nes.

La poblacion de la Isla está compuesta
de tres elementos: el nativo, el estrange-
ro y el Europeo. Entre los Criollos y los
Españoles Peninsulares reina una anti-
patia que se explica por la conducta del
Gobierno Superior. Todos los empleos
están ocupados por funcionarios mandados
de Madrid, y la guarnicion está compuesta
exclusivamente de oficiales y soldados Eu-
ropeos. Aquellos funcionarios por lo ge-
neral desplegan en la isla maneras desgra-
ciadas y altivas que mortifican los senti-
mientos de los habitantes; tanto mas,
cuanto que comparando su estado politico,
comercial e intelectual con el de la madre
patria, ven que esta rigurosa tutela es de
todo punto injustificable.

Ciertamente la isla de Cuba en grado
mayor que España posee las ventajas de
un inmenso comercio con todo el mundo,
y las fuentes de su riqueza jamás se han
visto agotadas como en esta. Posee una
instruccion pública mas liberal, una ad-
ministracion mas sólida, mejor organizada,
y la hacienda mejor regulada. Estudia
con mas actividad, e imita con mas perse-
verancia y feliz suceso todos los progre-
sos de la ciencia y la industria europea.
En 1880 habia completado nueve caminos
de hierro, y otros dos se están ahora cons-
truyendo. En estas varias empresas ha
empleado mas de cinco millones de pesos,
cuando España todavía no ha salido de su
apatia, ni consolidado los imperfectos
fragmentos de sus caminos de hierro. Sus
transacciones comerciales suben a mas de
\$ 60,000,000 anualmente y sus impuestos
no bajan de \$ 12,000,000, de los cuales la
mayor parte es absorbida por el Gobierno
superior.

Este estado de cosas ahora ó luego debe
producir una explosion. Ya, en varias épo-
cas, algunos intentos han ocurrido, y aun-
que contenidos severamente, son vivas
amenazas para el futuro. La guarnicion
de la Isla, compuesta de veinte mil hom-
bres está desmenuada por toda la vasta ex-
tension del territorio y la Habana es el
único lugar temible. Las otras ciudades
casi están protegidas contra ningún ataque.
Acabamos de ver la prueba en Cárdenas.
Consecuentemente, por su posesion geo-
gráfica, por su distancia de España, — a
la cual es la mayor parte de sus recursos,
y porque, en caso de una lucha se hallarán
muy embarazados, — el día que esos recur-
sos se corten, Cuba será libre, si es que
los Cubanos abrigan formales deseos de
obtener su libertad.

Lo único que hasta ahora ha contenido
a los criollos es el temor de una insurrec-
cion de los negros; que a no ser por este
peligro, tiempo hace que la independencia
y la anexion de Cuba fueran hechos com-
pletos. Pero el rápido aumento de la po-
blacion blanca, remueve cada día el único
obstáculo que ha contenido la explosion. El
Gobierno de España no cabe duda que mas
pronto de lo que piensa se verá forzado a
negociar la cesion de una colonia que está
obligado a entregar, y quizás, como ya
dijimos, sin suficiente compensacion.

De todos modos, los Estados Unidos no
perderán seguramente de vista este terri-
torio, cuya adquisicion les es tan importan-
te. Cuba produce azúcar, café, tabaco,
cañil y algodón; y donde el cultivo es im-
posible, minas de cobre, hoy explotadas
por compañía Inglesa, dan una venta
considerable. Cuba también es de gran
valor como posicion militar, y como los
Estados Unidos lograsen establecer asti-
lleros y arsenales maritimos en la Habana,
dominarían todo el comercio del Golfo.
En cuanto a la Francia, no podemos per-
mitir el interés que pudiera tener en con-
servar el desarrollo gigante de los Estados
Unidos, a menos que nuestros hombres
de estado, de evolucion en evolucion, se
hayan ahora convertido a la doctrina de el
Ejército Americano.

UN JUEZ COMPETENTE.

Se nos ha permitido leer y copiar,
dice el Delta de N. Orleans, una carta
de un oficial francés a un su amigo de
esta ciudad (N. G.) en la cual se trata
largamente el asunto de la Expedicion
a Cuba: "El escritor ademas de haber
ocupado un alto rango en el ejército
francés, está bien enterado de la topografía
y del pueblo de la Isla. Su opinion,
por consecuencia tiene gran peso."

Hablando del plan de operaciones del
General Lopez, dice: "Su misma au-
dacia es elogiada para el desembarco en

punto tan cerca de la Habana como
Cárdenas se le ve de un momento
destruido. Si lo hubiese hecho por el
extremo occidental de la Isla, sin duda
se hubiera encontrado el Pinar del
Habano, y el resultado no queda ima-
ginario.

"Las mas hábiles y mas alhajadas
combinaciones a menudo se ven desar-
radas por los mas insignificantes accidentes,
y por la pérdida de unas pocas
horas, a veces de pocas minutos. La
dilacion que ocurrió en Cárdenas, en
relacion a la toma de Matanzas, que quedó
abierta y presta a recibir a Lopez.
Una vez asegurada esta posicion, la re-
volucion hubiera comenzado bajo las
mas favorables circunstancias, y con
ventajas que no podían haberse ob-
tenido de ninguna otra parte, salvo de
la Habana misma. La mitad de la obra
podria haberse rematado desde el primer
golpe."

El único motivo del Gen. Lopez para
desembarcar en Cárdenas fue sorprender
el importante y única plaza de Ma-
tanzas de la cual solo dista cuatro o
cinco horas de camino. La bahía de
Matanzas está no solo reforzada por
fortificaciones, sino que sus bajos son
tantos que no permiten que los barcos
se acerquen al muelle, y tienen que an-
clar a gran distancia de él y comuni-
carse con la costa por medio de botes.
Cárdenas no tiene ni baterías y los va-
pores pueden atracar directamente en
los muelles. El plan fue sorprender a
Cárdenas por la noche, asegurar las
autoridades y la sola compañía del Re-
gimiento de Leon, que era la que el
calculaba componia la guarnicion, co-
locar patrullas al rededor de la plaza,
para impedir la partida de mensajeros,
y entonces caer sobre Matanzas por el
tren diario que corre entre las dos ciu-
dades. También se proponia el
desesperado con un desembarco en un
punto cerca de la Habana, para volver
no sólo los puentes, retornar inmediata-
mente a Matanzas, despues de escapar
proclamando por el camino, que llevasen
al oeste de la isla las nuevas de su
llegada, las cuales esperaba fuesen la
señal de un levantamiento general por
aquella region.

Tal fue el atrevido y bello plan del
General Lopez, sobre el que, el correspon-
diente antes mencionado, añade: "No
hay diferencia de opinion entre los mili-
tarios aqui, en cuanto a los indudables
resultados que pudiera haberse obte-
nido." Tal fue su objeto al desembarcar
en Cárdenas, plaza que no ofrecia otro
atractivo, pues ademas de ser una ciudad
nueva comercial, casi toda se compone
de Españoles, contiene muy pocos criollos,
y de ellos ninguno conocido de él como
amigo.

La toma de Matanzas hubiera sido
una cosa segura y facil. La parte prin-
cipal de la ciudad está entre dos rios,
que se cruzan por puentes de piedra.
El cuartel queda fuera de aquellos
puentes, en la parte opuesta del camino
de Cárdenas. Sin atacar el cuartel, su
misma posicion pudiera salvarle de
ataques, como que su defensa estaba
hecha con cubrir los puentes con unos
pocos rifleros, teniendo entre tanto, lo
que el principalmente deseaba, una
oportunidad de comunicarse con las tropas.
El resultado, bajo toda probabili-
dad hubiera sido la adhesion del re-
gimiento destacado allí, una compañía
del cual ya se le habia unido en Cárdenas.
Con los medios asegurados en Ma-
tanzas, grandes recursos en dinero,
caballos y armas, hubiera extendido el
fuego de la revolucion por todo lo ancho
y lo largo de la isla, evitando mas bien
que buscando peleas, hasta que ya a la
cabeza de grandes fuerzas, pudiera en-
contrarse en capacidad de combatir
cualesquiera que el Gobierno mandase
contra él.

Todo este plan se frustró por la sen-
cilla aunque fatal batadura durante
dos horas del Creole, cuando se aproxima-
ba al muelle, a diez varas no mas de
distancia. Esto dió la alarma, el Ge-
neral se preparó para la defensa, y
despues de mensajeros a Matanzas, y or-
denes a los vecinos capitanes de Parti-
do para que rompiesen el camino de
hierro, a fin de impedir que el General
penetrase en el interior.

Habiéndose perdido por un accidente
casual el único objeto del desembarco
en Cárdenas, el General, por consecuen-
cia, se vió compelido a variar de plan

de operaciones. Aquella inmediata re-
gion no era la mas propia para él, sin
los morales y materiales ventajas que
le hubiera asegurado la presa de
Matanzas. Cárdenas era una ciudad
casi compuesta de Españoles, a pocas
horas de la Habana, y el pais circunve-
nido no le ofrecia facilidades para la
defensa, en caso de ser atacado, como
esperaba seria bien pronto por grandes
fuerzas antes de haber tenido tiempo
de dar a su pequeña partida aquella
organizacion y disciplina, que, no obs-
tante su inferioridad, los sucesos del día
mostraron tenían gran falta. Tanto el
Departamento Central hacia el Este,
como la Vuelta Abajo hacia el Oeste,
podrian haberle proporcionado un fa-
vorable campo para variar según el
sistema bajo el cual se proponia hacer
la revolucion de la isla. Para cual-
quiera de las dos direcciones, el Creole
le ofrecia un rapido transporte. De aqui
el desembarco. Dio la preferencia a la
Vuelta Abajo sobre el Departamento
Central, porque al paso que estaba se-
guro del levantamiento de los patriotas
allí, el primer movimiento sobre Cárdenas,
debía atraer todas las fuerzas dis-
ponibles del Gobierno hacia el este, y
algunas semanas se hubieran pasado
antes de ser alcanzado y perseguido en
la montañosa region de la Vuelta Abajo.
Entre tanto, su valiente e indisciplinada
tropa, unida al pueblo del pais, hubiera
tenido tiempo para disciplinarse y
aguirrarse a toda satisfaccion. Unica
negará pues que estos planes muestran
al General Lopez en su verdadero ca-
racter, como un prudente y habil General,
al mismo tiempo que valiente soldado,
que todos le conceden ser.

Nos han inducido a hacer estas ob-
servaciones, las injustas e incorrectas
criticas que últimamente han aparecido
en varios papeles, con el unico objeto,
según parece de mortificar al valiente y
generoso soldado. Ouyos solos crímenes
han sido aquellos de que sus persegui-
dores jamás serán culpables — brava-
tura, patriotismo y amor de Libertad.

We return our most sincere expressions
of gratitude to Messrs. Soule, Bissell,
Buel, Corwin, Yulee, Baldwin, Hale, et
members of Congress, for their kindness
in favouring us with valuable official do-
cuments.

POLITICAL ERRORS OF THE WHIG ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

A Whig administration has com-
mitted the first political infraction of
the principles of republicanism as pro-
mulgated by the fathers of the Union,
the immortal Washington, Jefferson,
Monroe, &c. in opposing an enterprise,
the result of which, would have been
the emancipation of a neighbouring
people from a yoke that has cruelly
held it enslaved and oppressed for cen-
turies. It was reserved for a Whig
administration to permit the dignity
of the American people to be outraged
by approving that in the midst of peace
and with impunity, vessels at whose
mast-heads wafted the glorious banner
of the American Union, were captured
in a neutral sea, were like prizes of
war conducted into foreign ports, and
inoffensive American citizens dragged
from aboard there to be buried alive —
in some black dungeon.

"Our own preservation," say this con-
servative party (retrogressive party
would be the more appropriate sobri-
quet) "dictated that measure," — a mea-
sure forsooth that perpetuates the ser-
vitude of Cuba and Porto Rico. What
man of a just and liberal mind, what
true American is able to assign a reason
for the justification of such a benighted
course? We discover nothing therein,
than chilling egotism, covered with
the mask of virtue, setting at naught
all international laws in a most scan-
dalous manner and with it the judg-
ment of the good of the whole world,
and above all the interests of humanity.

It was the fear of an other Whig ad-
ministration that in Cuba and Porto
Rico some 300,000 Africans might be
emancipated, or that Cuba might pass
into the hands of some other European
power, stronger than degraded Spain,
which was the true cause of that un-
politic and anti-republican conduct,
which trampling under foot all rights
of independent nations prevented three
sovereign republics, strong by the ties

of friendship, which leagued them to-
gether, and having an unquestionable
right to wage war against Spain wher-
ever they thought proper in any part
of her extended dominions, from car-
rying their war into the island of Cuba,
granted to annihilate an enemy who
threatened them no repose and compelled
them without cessation to stand ready
with their arms, but who its power
once broken there would have been
deprived of all means of interfering
with the happiness and prosperity of
seven republics, then in their infancy,
with a population of more than
18,000,000 millions of souls, and more-
over would those rendered free and in-
dependent the islands of Cuba and
Porto Rico, redeeming them from an
ignominious servitude.

That mortal prospecting to Spain
her dominion over Cuba, has sacrificed,
as we justly avow, the cause of huma-
nity: for this same domination of
Spain over Cuba has been the only
cause which has swelled into its present
overwhelming dimensions that torrent
of an abominable traffic, which, rising
on the coasts of Africa and setting
against the shores of America, has
within that period (1827) thrown
millions, yes, millions of wretched
human beings on the islands of Cuba
and Porto Rico and the extensive coast
of Brazil. The greater part of these
miserable African creatures has died
under the weight of their chains and
there is no hope that the lot of those
will be improved, whose evil star
destines them to be dragged there from
their native home to fill the daily galleys
which a fearful mortality causes in the
numbers of their predecessors.

Much might be said in addition of
this rapid sketch of the numberless cala-
mities which that anti-American
policy has engrafted on the face of the
whole world to the opprobrium and hu-
miliation of the fair name of America,
but, besides that, we consider what we
have just said sufficient for opening the
eyes of a just world to our cruel dis-
appointments and at the same time to
the justice, with which we accuse the
Whig administration with the first in-
fraction of all fundamental republican
principles, which has caused such in-
numerable evils to the island of Cuba
in particular, the narrow limits of our
periodical oblige us to suspend for to
day this fruitful theme, for the purpose
of reserving some space to say a word
or two on the scandalous outrage and
disgraceful humiliation which the flag
of the American Union has been per-
mitted but recently to undergo. But
indeed no less palpably imbecile nor of
any less calamitous consequences are
all the other proceedings of this govern-
ment at Washington, which, while they
discredit this administration at home,
vitally affect the national dignity of
the Union abroad and by lessening the
latter's well-earned moral influence in
foreign countries, invite even third and
fourth-rate powers with impunity to
insult the nation. But what other re-
sults have we had a right to expect,
when we consider the utter want of
energy and the perpetual hesitation
and culpable vacillation in the present
government and its never-ceasing pusil-
lanimity on occasions, in which firm-
ness and unwavering decision ought to
have been its distinctive character!

It is but two months ago, that a small
Spanish steamer, incredible as it ap-
pears, in neutral waters seized two
American vessels, brought them into
ports of Cuba as prizes of war, with
the cognizance, in the presence and per-
mission of American vessels of war,
from on board them were dragged a
considerable number of American citi-
zens of the United States and abducted
to places easy to imagine of what de-
scription they may be, but where none
but their oppressive dungeon-keepers
are able, with certainty to assign. It
is said that instruments of torture have
been employed on them on board the
vessels, and that some of these unfor-
tunate men have expired in the hands
of their cruel, inhuman torturers: it
is also affirmed, and there are certainly
reasons for believing the worst, that
many of these prisoners have already
perished, victims of the foul atmos-
phere they were exposed to breathe in
the swampy black-holes into which
they were thrust, and of the murderous

treatment they receive at the hands of their oppressors: that the representative of the American people in Havana is treated with indignity by the authorities of Cuba, and his just protestations in favour of those wretched prisoners, his fellow citizens, have been spurned with scorn; moreover, that the resident minister of her Catholic Majesty in Washington, availing himself of his honeyed phrases of loyalty has made a laughing-stock in the diplomatic circles of the Secretary of State of the United States of America, by sending him around—new to Roncali and again to Armero, according to the suggestions of his supercilious caprice, and that the latter two officials, soft-sawdaring in the same manner the public envoys of the American government (the American Consul Mr. Campbell, alone excepted) with splendid festivities and banquets, have turned them over to Narvaez in Madrid, with an appropriate reference as it suits them, to the Spanish Minister in Washington, in order that they there may first have an occasion of addressing their obeisances to that astutely grovelling toady and consummate courtier Don Angel Calderon de la Barca.

Can any one in the history of nations find an example at par with the criminal indifference which in this business has been exhibited by the actual administration of this republic? How many honours would England have required honorably and with dignity to put an end to transactions like these, in which national honor is so much involved, a business, we say, in which a single life of those might be imperilled, whom she would, naturally, feel called on to protect and defend, and being as the United States are, at so small a distance, a mere step from the aggressive party?

So imbecile a policy has already brought forth its natural results—a diminution of respect for the flag and the national character of the Americans. The former has already been evidenced in the detention and search to which American vessels have with impunity been subjected on the high seas by English and Spanish cruisers. The latter—besides the insulting mockery, which the representatives of the Spanish government in Cuba and in this very Union have had the effrontery officially to play off on the American government—is still more clearly and disgracefully palpable in the tricky insolence with which those same representatives of decrepit old Spain humiliate the magistrates and officials of this government, not excepting the department of State in Washington, availing themselves of a periodical in this city, which, without any denial on the part of the agents and authorities here about of the Spanish government, is reputed to be the organ of the Captain General of Cuba, of the resident minister of Her Catholic Majesty, and consequently of the policy of General Narvaez. Let it not be alleged in discharge of the employees of Spain in the United States and Cuba, that this free country enjoys the largest liberty of the press—no! For it is well enough known that a single frown from the brow of the minister Calderon, or a genteel hint from Señor Roncali is sufficient to make every agent of Spain in these parts of the world shake and tremble, and consequently the slightest insinuation on the part of any one of their numerous employees would suffice to cause the pen to fall from the hand of the editor, who so frequently in an insolent and brutal manner heaps insults upon the American nation.

What would be said in Spain, how much would the Spanish bluster and swear if the "Republic" of Washington, which is considered as the organ of the present administration, should publish against Spain the slightest fractional part only of the gross insults, with which the Spanish periodical in question in this city incessantly fills its columns? Only look at the treatment which is measured out in Havana on the individual, who there so worthily represents the American Union, in compensation for the decisive energy and sincerity, which he there expressed and interposed in favor of his unfortunate countrymen.

And there it will not stop as we have already often predicted. The evil appears to us an incurable cancer requiring a heroic remedy! Until a short time ago the respect which the American Union everywhere enjoyed bordered on veneration. It is hardly a year ago, that the Austrian empire had patiently to submit to a reproach administered to it by this country in the true republican spirit for the cruelties it practised against its rebellious subjects—but now the hirings of a corrupt worn out, wasted European government libel incessantly in most opprobrious terms the followers of glorious Washington, and the government of the Austrian empire!

(From our foreign correspondent.)

The only one who can rightly judge of the true feelings of the Cubans, rich and affluent, either old or young, is Roncali and his predecessors, in consequence of the study made upon this matter by every one of the ancient Captain Generals either by themselves, or by means of spies, or by what is learnt from the results of the causes of conspiracy since 1823. But it is a mistake on the part of the foreign correspondent to believe that those Cubans whom he alludes to with a few exceptions, may be sincere with him nor with any body who does not think like them, or who is not entitled to their confidence.

The correspondent, who confessed that there are a great many Cubans disgusted with their Government: that their property shall double its present value, and that they can only be secured by means of the Annexation; the correspondent who also avows the tyranny with which they are treated,—and to this we add that he should know that the Cubans are conspiring since 1823, and that their raising in arms has twice failed because of their conspiracy being discovered.—the correspondent, we repeat who know all this, incur a contradiction in supposing that those causes shall not prove enough to compel them to arm themselves in order to conquer the desired political change.

We do not deny to the correspondent the knowledge he says he has about the Cuban question; although we do not believe that knowledge to be a thorough one; but with regard to pronounce a judgement about these affairs, we would like the public to peruse his report, and then decide.

Who can be so devoid of prudence or common sense as to think that the officers of the Spanish army would put their fortune and their lives in the hands of a stranger, although he be an American, were it but to say to him, "we are not loyal to Spain."

Has he not witnessed the desertion of more than half the garrison at Cardenas? Does he not know that the Spanish soldier of Cuba suffers a more brutal flogging than his fellows in old Spain? That he is forced to re-enlist after having served his time? That although his pay is nominally greater than in Spain, he is robbed of it by the cupidity of his chiefs and the government? That a large number of them are entitled to the pardon granted by the late amnesty, but instead of being sent home to join their families they are forced to continue in the military service? And finally, that there is not a single section of the colonies emancipated from our Metropolis in America, where the Spanish soldiers have not deserted in large numbers to the banner of Liberty? And is it right to think that those soldiers will not join the liberal invaders of Cuba, under identical circumstances, and for the above mentioned causes?

It is not less worthy of wonder the candor with which he endeavors to persuade his readers that the majority of the Cubans believe what the press says about the expedition. It is all the contrary: and neither friends or enemies of the government believe a single word from those journals with regard to Cuban politics, because they know very well, as well as the correspondents, that no newspaper of that country is allowed to publish anything that is not strictly according to the will and meaning of that government. However we do not intend to deny that the re-

port of General Lopez from Cardenas has been a sad misfortune. Had it not taken place, Cuba would now be in the hands of the Cubans, and there is cause enough for us to deplore; yet it has not produced so many evils as the correspondent may think. The confidence of the Cubans with regard to the success of this enterprise, has perhaps, been lessened, and a greater effort shall be required, for this purpose; but they know that it is an evil, very easily remedied, and which is advantageously counter-balanced by their having ascertained the practicability of the landing of an expedition in Cuba; the desertion of Spanish troops to join the liberal invaders; and the agony and confusion of the Captain General and all his subordinates, as long as the news did not reach him, that the expedition numbered no more than 800 men. They knew that but for the arrival of Lopez at Cardenas in the time of low water, thus affording his enemies time enough to unfit the rail road, he would have proceeded to Matanzas, meeting on his way, and defeating Governor Falguera, who led no more than four hundred men; they have noticed the enthusiastic reception of General Lopez in this country; notwithstanding his bad luck: they know that the whole South, and a great portion of the North, were ready to prompt themselves in support of free Cuba, had General Lopez held the possession of his landing place or any other part of that island for a few days more; and, finally, they do not doubt that the people of this country is the true sovereign, and that every American sympathises with the cause of free Cuba.

The correspondent is undoubtedly influenced by passion or particular interest against General Lopez. The fact of half the garrison of Cardenas having joined him as soon as the light of day allowed those soldiers to know who he was, and the declaration they made publicly and loudly that they would not have fought against him had they been aware that General Lopez was the leader of the invaders, would be enough for our purpose. With regard to the Cubans we believe there is not a single one of them who is ignorant of the high reputation of General Lopez as a popular man and a brave soldier. Besides this, who were the supporters of Lopez in the movement attempted at Cienfuegos in 1848? Not to mention the unknown ones who, as the correspondent knows, always belong to the most influential class,—let him name six persons out of a hundred or more of those arrested and persecuted, in consequence of that political conspiracy, who are not distinguished for wealth, learning, high standing, &c. Who were the supporters of General Lopez in the enterprise which failed in last August? By whom is he actually supported? May be, in a short time we will be able to declare it to him: but he cannot be ignorant that these supporters are Cubans of distinction under any point of view, and that his judgement is unjust and false.

Indeed, it is very funny that the correspondent, after boasting of being a judge in this matter, asks what is the reason to believe that the Cubans hate the Spanish Government? Does he not consider as a powerful reason the numerous and unceasing conspiracies carried on in Cuba since 1823? Does he not reckon the number of those who have been put to death, condemned to it and obliged to take refuge in foreign countries? Is he ignorant of the arrests, persecutions, banishments, confiscations of property &c. which have taken place in Cuba since that time?

We believe that, notwithstanding the information which the correspondent displays about Cuban affairs, and although he occasionally speaks with some accuracy, he does not always behave himself impartially, or at least he is grossly mistaken.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM HAVANA—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 Presi-

dent, by rather spinning upon that document as a pretext for their obnoxious and arbitrary movement as "unfortunate," "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 SUPPORT OF THEIR BROTHERN 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 especially 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 neighbouring country free? THE HONOR OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT INVOLVED IN THIS MOVEMENT. No treaty obligations with Spain are eviolated. 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.

ISLAND OF CUBA.

ON ANNEXATION.

ANSWER TO THE ARTICLE OF EL REVISOR.

We dislike very much to touch again a point already fully discussed, but we cannot pass by in silence the novel reasons and arguments which our opponent has brought forward in his 23 number in support of his politico-geographical theory, as being the one most in accordance with nature and the designs of the Almighty, as having created mountains, seas and rivers, for the purpose of separating the various races and nations which people the earth. Hear the Revisor.

"If I wish to be informed, what limits shall be set to Annexations? I find the answer in the fact that the works of man throughout the earth accords with the works of nature. I see civil policy existing in harmony with geography. I see Great Britain bifurcated by the ocean. I see France separated from Great Britain by an arm of the sea, from Spain by the Pyrenees; and other nations bordered by the Alps and the Rhine. I see Spain bounded by two seas, rugged mountains and deep rivers." All this looks very fine, but the Revisor will permit us to remind him that he has kept one half of the truth behind

the scene and we have only to bring it on the scene to manifest how monstrous and forbidden it appears as a whole. How does the work of man harmonize with that of nature? How does civil polity accommodate itself to the geography? When and where are these agreements and harmonies to be found? We may forgive the *Revisor* for only noticing that Great Britain, France and Spain are geographically divided, as well as other countries and nations; but truth requires us also to notice them as relating over countries, nations and races; in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, which have been annexed by the superior power of Europe.

One of two things is true; either the *Revisor* only sees so much as is convenient and suited to his theory, or he imagines that others will look at them only through the medium which he chooses to present to them—facts, in past history and present time; which the *Revisor* praises as superior to doctrines and theories, all unite in demonstrating that the civil polity of these three nations is not in accordance with geographical limits, and that on the contrary they have in opposition to the designs of the Creator, annexed to themselves as many countries and nations as they were able by their superior power and civilization. But such annexations are not the most monstrous and horrifying fact in the history of these nations, but this: that after having fattened at the cost of foreign countries and races, they have fed and do still feed on the blood and life of their own sons. What does the *Revisor* say to these Saturns of Christianity? How do these political-geographical monstruities appear to one whose sensibilities are so refined "that any thing contrary to the order of nature fills him with horror." But since our friend the *Revisor* has given us the trouble of bringing upon the stage that half of the truth which he left behind the scenes, it is but just, that he should permit us to take our revenge, and we recommend to him to take and accommodate these facts in politics to the geography of England, France and Spain, or to the theory of natural boundaries which the same divine hand has placed to divide the earth into fixed and determinate parts. And if the *Revisor* applies these principles of compression and accommodation to Spain (since true justice and charity ought to begin at home) by shutting her up yonder, and confining her to her two seas and rocky mountain—limits, he may rely that from this day forth we shall be converted to a theory, which would bring so much good and tranquility to the world. But if this theory is to continue to be as elastic as hitherto, and Spain is to be allowed to girdle the circumference of the earth, to annex to herself, rule and tyrannize over countries and nations on this side and that side of her seas and rocky mountains; then the "*REVISOR*" will not convert us to his theory or assertions, and we shall persist in our own views of annexation.

Fixed in this belief we proceed to consider the question put by the "*Revisor*." We have very little confidence in the prophetic spirit of politicians and philosophers and for our own part we plainly disclaim any such faculty. We shall venture in all plainness to state our own opinion on this point. We believe that annexation will extend as far as the power and civilization of the United States and the Anglo-Saxon race shall reach. Perhaps this will be for many very melancholy and disastrous, but for our own part it appears to be a natural and necessary consequence and

inevitable result of the growing power of the republic and of the principles and doctrines of that Christian democracy, which constitutes the basis of the political, religious and social institution of the Anglo-Americans. And as these doctrines are antagonistic to the old forms of society; more new, more strong, more attractive than those of the Spanish race; it is clear that they are destined to triumph and predominate in this hemisphere either by consent or by force. According to our conception the only resource which policy and philosophy offer to any race, which may come in contact with the United States and the Anglo-Americans is either to march as they do, or to march with them. Neither the declamations of philanthropy, nor the aversion and antipathy of races, nor national prejudices, nor religious fanaticism, nor the artifices of European powers will achieve any other result against the aggrandisement of the United States than to hasten and make more glorious their triumph. To pretend to cut short or withstand the confederated republic and the American people in his career appears to us as senseless as to try to hem in the Niagara with dikes of paper.

This explains our confidence in the annexation of Cuba to the United States. We look upon Cuba as subjected to a law of political attraction, from which it is very difficult if not impossible to withdraw her. It is in this point of view, that we propose to consider the question as decided; in the mean time we shall continue to discuss one by one the different points, which are connected with the principal question, and we shall now examine the most delicate of all those which the "*Revisor*" has presented to dissuade the Cubans from annexing themselves to this republic.

The "*Revisor*" maintains that annexation would be advantageous neither to the United States nor to Cuba, because they both had slaves, a circumstance which in case of annexation would be fruitful in dangers, alarms, and fatal results, and would lead of all tend towards the security of the island.

We look upon the subject in a different way. We judge that the annexation of Cuba to the United States is the only resource now left the Cubans to protect against their dangers, and to give them time to save themselves, to soothe their fears, and to give them power to labor without apprehension, in avoiding these fatal results, and in producing those which shall be most salutary in every sense, whether political, social or material, results in a word, which shall be as advantageous for the ruling race as well as for that which is ruled.

In respect to the United States, it appears to us that nobody can doubt their ability to determine these matters independently. It is to say that the American people and government possess full liberty and full power necessary to decide for themselves and of themselves, all the questions which are interwoven with the African race, whether slave or free in the republic, and to take those measures which the government and the white race may think suitable. This is sufficient for our proposition, without inquiring into the justice or injustice of the measures, which they may take in this respect. Our conscientious opinion is, that as long as the existence and security of the Union is consistent with just and liberal measures, they will employ them. That which is important for the present question is, that the American government and people should be free enough and strong enough to decide independently, and to be just and liberal without compromising the existence and tranquility of the republic.

To decide satisfactorily whether the United States would or would not consent to the annexation of Cuba; it is only necessary to suppose the case of its being proposed as a peaceable negotiation like Cuba, Florida and Louisiana. Would not Cuba be received into the Confederation with the consent of all the states, as a rainbow of peaceful promise for all? Undoubtedly, without opposition from any quarter of the country. Consequently it is not the abstract question of annexation which would create the least hesita-

tion on the part of the government or people of the United States, but simply the means and measures which should be employed for the acquisition and annexation of Cuba.

After all, the true dangers that threaten the tranquility of the Southern States are not that Cuba should be subjected to the will of a European monarchy, or to the action from any other government. We should certainly consider this point and take a view of the geographical and commercial importance of Cuba in the Mexican gulf, and then we shall easily understand how important the possession of Cuba is to the United States, as regards the interests and situation of the Southern States.

The acquisition of Cuba would be in our view of such utility and importance to the United States, that we do not hesitate to call it the perfection of the American constitution, the guarantee and security of the republican system of government throughout America. Isabella the second and Faustina the first are the two obstacles which the United States must rid themselves of for their own security and that of this whole hemisphere. If we examine the actual situation of Cuba, we shall see that the impetuous laws of self-preservation compel her to seek her salvation in the strongest and freest power within her reach.

It is well known that the actual policy of Spain consists particularly in depriving the inhabitants of Cuba of liberty, of any participation or intervention with the government of the island, and also in increasing the slave population by introducing from Africa as many negroes as the dealers can import.

By the first measure of this Colonial policy, the Cubans are entirely at the mercy of a government, which outrages them, which disowns them, which condemns them to unconditional submission and obedience. By the second it aggravates the evil by fomenting its causes within and without, and in a manner that the consequence cannot remain doubtful and indecisive. Augmenting the number of African slaves in Cuba and provoking the antagonism or counter influence of England by a continued violation of existing treaties, are sure means of precipitating Cuba into ruin, which sooner or later must hurl her into the same abyss of despondency, in which we encounter all her colonial neighbours whose destiny and interests were fatally intrusted to the safe-keeping of mother countries in Europe. To confide the existence and security of Cuba and its inhabitants to a government so discredited and immoral that laughs at obligations contracted by the most solemn treaties; that scandalously protects the traffic in African slaves; that permits its agents to enrich themselves by the bribes they extort from the slave importers, and which through the medium of the public presses in its pay, declares that it would rather employ the negroes for the devastation of Cuba than permit her inhabitants to be free, or instead of gaining their hearts by making political concessions, adequate to the demands of civilization, and the progress and wants of society, in Cuba, is the greatest delusion, the most palpable contradiction, the most senseless measure which could be devised for the preservation of Cuba. It is so gross, that it makes one doubt, the good faith of those who advise the Cubans to submit themselves to the Spanish colonial government as a means of preservation. The policy of Spain and its measures of government, partly by aggravating the evil and partly by exasperating the Cubans, through the tyranny and systematic oppression practiced in the colony, cannot fail to bring Cuba to its immediate and speedy downfall. Annexation to the United States, is the only means that can save the island from the fate which has overwhelmed the other European colonies in the American Archipelago; because when

Cuba shall be free to make her own laws and to provide for her actual interests by developing those powers and resources which she might employ for her preservation; and also being linked by the collective power of the Union, she would not be at the mercy and caprice of any power, as she is now, in respect to Spain and England.

If Cuba were annexed by the United States she would solve the question of her domestic policy, without force, and without any fatal result. She would have an ally whom she would consult, and not one who would deceive, and bid her to be silent; she would have one to defend her, not one to threaten her through the means of the elements of her existence; one who would direct her in the path of liberty and social progress, not one who would condemn her to perpetual political and domestic slavery.

The political anomaly, which the "*Revisor*" finds in the existence of a democratic republic, is like other political anomalies a "*fact*" which has existed in the ancient republics, and which exists in the most democratic of modern republics: a fact, which necessarily exists, because democracy has encountered it as an existing and formidable system. A legal inheritance from monarchy and aristocracy, which it is obliged to receive into the inventory of its assets, but which, as a venerable and ancient heir—from democracy, uses and supports only until it should be able conveniently to rid itself of it, and replace it by some other more adequate and suitable to its necessities and instincts. Cuba then as a sovereign state of the Union would receive her laws from Cubans, and her support from the United States. Cuba would take care that no more slaves should enter her from Africa, and the ulcer, which is devouring her substance would be stopped in its progress, and could be cured in her own time and at her own terms. Cuba would neither attract the ill-will of England, nor provoke her, except in the way of an honorable rivalry; and, by means of the freedom of her institutions, would attract more English men and their capital, and an increased commerce, which would receive the good will and to the same degree the protection of England. Cuba would see thousands of Europeans of every nation landing upon her soil, and this is the only means that can save Cuba to the Cubans and the civilized world. As millions of foreigners, who might come in a single year, if you please (would they were already there) would be the most sure guarantee of the lives, the property, and the rights of Cuba. But whilst Cuba is a colony of Spain neither life, nor property, nor progress, nor wealth is secure in Cuba; for they cannot be, while the government aggravates its evils by its policy, and prohibits or disallows the remedy. What is the great danger which all see in Cuba?

The slave population. What is the great remedy, which all point out as the means of rescuing Cuba from her danger? A white population of all nations. And what is the policy of the Spanish government? To favor the introduction of African negroes and by its laws and practice to prevent the immigration of strangers, and even that from Spain and the most necessary follow?

The speedy ruin of Cuba. Neither policy nor philosophy, nor logic, can draw any other consequence from these premises.

The annexation of Cuba to the United States is then so far from being an evil, is a great benefit, and it is so in various aspects, whether considered in relation to her material interests or those of policy, religion and social economy, it is so in view of the present and of the future; it is so as regards the interests of the white and those of the colored population, whether slave or free.

In the following article we shall examine, whether according to the assertion of the "*Revisor*," the free colored man would lose much by the annexation of Cuba, or whether it would gain a portion to the white race in its property and security and in prosperity. We shall see.

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