

have frightened her back. They have succeeded in exciting a strong patriotic feeling in Spain, and in stimulating a determination on the part of the Cubans not to be "bullied" even into an advantageous alliance. Their line of advocacy has, in fact, been at once shortsighted and ruinous to their own cause. Their bluster has caused Spain to send out more troops to Cuba than she would have dreamed of dispatching if there had been less vamping and threatenings going on in this part of the world. As for the journals which profess to be "Republican," and yet which have "dared" to express an opinion opposed to that entertained by the Government, their course is so abominable that we must hold them to be past all forgiveness. We have been given to understand lately by the *Tribune* that a journal which presumes to differ with the Administration on any point of public policy is faithless to its party—a new code of morality, it is true; but we have had many new codes from the same source before now. We only hope that the *Tribune* will not circulate any more such statements as it published on the 27th December—to the effect that the "Government will soon accord the rights of belligerents to the Cubans." That amounts to a clear conspiracy against the Government.

Cuba, as foreign observers besides ourselves plainly see, must eventually be an integral part of the United States. But we can wait. We could not steal her, and the insurrection is and has been too weak to warrant interference of any kind on the part of the Government.

What is to Become of Cuba?

Some time has elapsed since we submitted this plain question to the public, and events since then have done very little towards clearing away the difficulties which surround it. We have used the best opportunities for gaining information which are open to us, and the result of it all is that we can hear of no facts which prove that the insurrection is making any progress. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that some of the journals which have urged the Government to "recognize" Cuba are now rather ostentatiously proclaiming the total collapse of the struggle for independence. They profess to have obtained private information which leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of their news. But information of an exclusive kind from these particular sources, is never decisive, and the only curious feature about the present statements is that they are made in opposition to the sentiments of the papers in which they appear.

These journals appear to be smarting under the sense of failure. But if they have failed it is more their own fault than that of the Government or the public. Are they sure that they have understood exactly what they wanted? "Belligerent rights for the struggling Cubans," some of them would answer. But that proves that they did not understand what they were asking for. If their demand had been complied with, the Spanish Government would have had the right to search every American vessel outside an American port for contraband of war. We exercised the same right towards British vessels after the recognition of the South, and, as everybody will recollect, numerous captures were made. It would have been quite impossible to have conveyed any aid to the insurgents in Cuba after belligerent rights had been conceded, for our own Government would have been rendered responsible for the depredations of any vessels which escaped—just as we are holding the British Government responsible for the escape of the *Alabama*.

The journals, therefore, which cried out for the recognition of Cuba were really doing all that lay within their power to injure the Cuban cause.

What besides this did they ask for? Cuba at any price? That would have been a very intelligible demand. But we do not believe that the mass of the people would have approved of the United States Government setting out to seize Cuba in defiance of all law, and as an open act of buccaneering. We should certainly have had to go to war with Spain—possibly have drifted into a foreign contest of even greater magnitude than that. But let us put this consideration aside and come to another point. Are the American people really anxious to have Cuba at all costs and hazards? It would, in the present position of affairs, bring with it another slave problem for us to settle. The slave-owners are certainly not prepared to give up their property without a struggle. CESPEDAS has not been able, even if he is willing, to abolish slavery. Cuba and slavery would come to us hand in hand. No doubt we could decree the abolition of the institution. But would the planters be satisfied? Need we be eager to have another South to "reconstruct?"

By waiting patiently we believe we shall be much more likely to get Cuba—to get her honestly, and free from the blight of slavery. The Spanish Government wants money—a Spanish Government always does. Purchase is one way of obtaining the island. But there is still another. The intelligent Cubans are growing more and more to see that in amalgamation with the United States rests their best hope of a great future. They have had nearly enough of foreign rule. The tender mercies of the Spanish are cruel, and Cuba is rapidly gravitating towards this Republic. But the "filibustering" journals