

*Gutierrez, Juan*

# FREE CUBA

**FTER** OPPRESSION, STRUGGLE  
∴ FOR LIBERTY, HISTORY,  
AND PRESENT CONDITION

WITH THE...

## Causes and Justification

OF THE PRESENT WAR  
FOR INDEPENDENCE

BY RAFAEL M. MERCHÁN

ONE OF THE LEADERS  
OF THE CUBAN PATRIOTS

## The History of the War

By GONZALO de QUESADA

CUBAN CHARGÉ DE AFFAIRES  
AT WASHINGTON

AND SPECIAL CHAPTERS

By F. G. PIERRA, CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
COMMITTEE IN THE UNITED STATES

and by CAPTAIN RICARDO J. NAVARRO

... OF THE CUBAN ARMY

EDITED BY

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JOSÉ MARTÍ—THE FATHER OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1895.

the fortifications. During Ledesma's administration a French party landed in the eastern part of the island, with the intention of plundering the city of Santiago, but they withdrew without doing any damage. In 1675, the city of Santiago was destroyed by an earthquake, a calamity from which the western parts of the island were exempt. The first lines of the city of Matanzas were traced on October 10th, 1693, in the presence of the Captain-General and many other persons of distinction. The etymology of the name Matanzas is in dispute. Some ascribe it to the slaughter of Indians at the time of the conquest of the island, contending that the supposed Indian name Yumurri, that of one of the two rivers between which the city stands, is in fact a synonym in bad Spanish for this general massacre. Others contend with equal pertinacity, that it was the natives who killed the Spaniards while passing from one side of the bay to the other. Seven of the Spaniards are said to have attempted to escape, but were carried prisoners to a neighboring Indian town, where they were all put to death except one who escaped to tell the tale of the *Matanza*.

The treaty of peace between Spain and England in 1670 did not put an end to the depredations, but the war of 1689 between France and England led to divisions among themselves and their decline may be dated from that time. The period following the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 saw the passing of the buccaneers and the Cuban settlements grew rapidly, at the same time Cuba was comparatively free from the war of the Spanish succession, in the beginning of the eighteenth century and the agricultural wealth of the newer settlements in the interior of the island began to compare favor-



## PREFACE

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It seems hardly necessary to give the *raison d'être* of "Free Cuba." The student of history and of events—as the word is used—justifies the contention between Spain and Cuba, but yet there are not wanting those, who, from lack of opportunity or time, or both, are not familiar with the conditions that led to it. The story of the monumental wrongs inflicted upon Cuba by Spain, reaches back for more than a century. Our own land, under less exacting conditions and with only a moiety of the taxation under which Cuba has groaned, rose in righteous rebellion and threw off the yoke of the oppressor. Bold spirits in this garden spot of the world, smarting under wrongs that would "stir a fever in the blood of age," have been repeatedly banded together and risen in arms against the tyranny that has denied them political, civil and religious liberty ; but with one exception these uprisings resulted in failure and defeat. The peace of Zanjón brought fair promise to the Cubans. Ten years of tears were to be forgotten in the honeyed words of governmental assurance, but the reforms which followed had the same lack of sincerity that belongs to Spanish administration, and the promises of free government were never fulfilled. This, and the absolute certainty that no arbiter but the sword could decide the question of freedom for Cuba on the one hand, or unknown years of supine

submission on the other, again fired the hearts and nerved the arms of those who are carrying on the war that has already driven the Spaniards to the shelter of the fortified cities along the coast. Spain, the proudest nation in Europe, and the poorest—despite the annual millions wrung from Cuba, appears to be going to the wall. The successes of this armed contention so far, are with the patriots. Their cause is just, they are fighting for all that men prize most. More, perhaps there are, who may read of the excessive beauty of this land where Nature has been most prodigal of her gifts—where “all the men are brave and all the women pure,” and of her early history redolent of Castilian adventurers who bore in one hand the banner of the Cross, while the other held the sword of conquest; while all may see through the smoke that obscures her lovely fields a reflex of America’s early struggles for independence. Humanity everywhere is interested in the outcome of the present conflict between Cuba and Spain. To lovers of freedom especially, this volume is offered.

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# FREE CUBA.

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## PART I.

### *HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE.*

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE QUEEN OF THE ANTILLES.

CUBA, the "Queen of the Antilles," was the fifth of the great discoveries of Columbus. Already he had seen and named San Salvador, Conception, Exuma and Isabella, and to his delighted imagination these seemed veritable "islands of delight." Forgotten were the hardships of the perilous voyage. To his grateful senses the balmy breezes wafted odors sweet as those of Araby the Blest, flocks of gaudy colored parrots obscured the sky above the palms that waved their fringes in the soft air, while strange plants and grasses trailed in profusion to meet the soft lapping of the summer sea. Although the "Great Admiral" skirted the whole of the southern and more than half of the northern coast of Cuba, he made no attempt to plant a settlement there, even while regarding it as a continent and not an island. In honor of the young prince John, heir to the crowns of Castile and Leon, Columbus bestowed the name of Juana upon this newly discovered land, but

later it received the name of Fernandina, by order of the king in whose name it was occupied and held. Subsequently the island was named Santiago after the patron saint of Spain, and still later Ave Maria, in honor of the Virgin ; but eventually Cuba, the original designation of the natives, superseded both the Spanish ones. The wild natives received the strangers as beings of a superior race and gladly exchanged gifts with them, receiving trinkets for the gold bracelets they wore and indicating by gestures a land to the southwest in answer to inquiries as to where the gold came from. This, the discoverer reasoned, must be the Indies of his dreams, the Cipango to find which he had resolved

"To sail beyond the sunset and the baths  
Of all the Western stars,"

And so the adventurers hoisted sail and stood away first to Spain to tell the wonderful story of still more wonderful lands, to receive the highest royal favors, to have confirmed in Spain the title to these new possessions by the Pope, who was supposed to have universal temporal sovereignty ; to pass in imposing procession of dusky natives, strange plants, skins of unknown animals, and birds of brilliant plumage before awe-struck and admiring crowds, and then to brave again the terrors of the main in search of the Eldorado that lay beyond. For Columbus, before leaving his new found paradise, had lured on board six men, seven women and three children to deck his triumph—an act of perfidy that admits of no palliation. Thus from the first did the Spaniard begin a course of systematic treachery in his dealings with the natives and in a few short months this duplicity bore fruit. Of the handful of men left



behind to garrison the rude fort, constructed from the timbers of one of his wrecked ships, on the island of Hayti, not one was left to tell the story of the intervening months when Columbus announced his return to La Navidad by the thunder of his cannon. Spanish perfidy and lust, supplemented by mutiny, had produced quarrels that resulted in dividing the garrison into two parties, and thus separated they were easily despatched by the overwhelming numbers of the natives.

Cuba and Columbus are indissolubly connected. It is difficult to separate the two, yet Cuba received less consideration at the hands of the first discoverer than did her sister islands. Fairer than any, of larger area and possessing the mountains and forests that the others lacked, with a fertile soil that would as gladly have taken to its bosom the wheat, sugar cane and other seeds bestowed by the adventurers on more favored spots, the "Pearl of the Antilles" in all the splendor of her tropical vegetation, was reserved for the conquest of another knight of Castile. Columbus twice visited the island after its discovery, once in 1494 and again in 1502, but contented himself with exploring the coast, following its windings and indentations for more than twelve hundred miles. Had he continued his voyage a day or two longer he would doubtless have compassed the island and probably discovered the Northern Continent. He gave the name of Santa Catalina to the point at which he first touched the shores of Cuba, some three hundred miles to the eastward of Havana, in which city the ashes of the "*incomparable Almirante Christoval Colon*" rest in their ebony casket in the wall by the side of the grand altar in the cathedral.

Even death did not end the voyages of Columbus. While his remains were first deposited in the Convent of San Francisco at Valladolid in 1506, they were removed in 1513 to the Carthusian Convent of Las Cuevas at Seville. In the year 1526 they were transported to Hispaniola and interred by the side of the grand altar of the cathedral of the city of San Domingo, from whence as precious relics connected with the most glorious epoch of Spanish history, they were borne in 1795 to the island of Cuba. The disinterment was accomplished in the presence of the highest civil, religious and military authorities of the city, and the procession that attended all that was mortal of the great captain to the ship that was to bear it away, marched with banners covered with crape, chants and responses and discharges of artillery, while the most distinguished persons of the several orders took turns in supporting the coffin.

At Havana, the reception of the body was equally imposing. All the honors that pomp and ceremonial could bestow, were lavished upon him, who, but a few short years before, after bringing to the old world the freshness and fairness of the new, had been rewarded with chains and neglect.

During the ceremony of taking possession of the island of Cuba, the natives gazed in timid admiration upon the splendid dress, the equipments and complexion of the strangers. Themselves of a tawny or copper hue with straight, coarse hair falling in long locks upon their shoulders, they were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards. Entirely naked, painted with a variety of colors and devices, with agreeable features, of moderate stature, but well shaped; they appeared to

be a simple and artless people of gentle and friendly disposition. For arms they bore lances pointed with flint or the bone of a fish. They had no iron nor any knowledge of its properties. Now supposing that he had landed on an island at the extremity of India, Columbus gave them the general name of Indians. All were delighted with the beads, caps and other trifles that were freely bestowed on them by the marvelous beings, who to their imagination were inhabitants of the skies. Nine independent chiefs or caciques ruled the inhabitants of this summer land. All lived in peace and tranquility, considerably removed from savagery. Their religion inculcated a belief in an all powerful and beneficent Being and the immortality of the soul, yet was devoid of a priesthood with its attendant rites and ceremonies. A simple and trusting people—yet they early learned to know that their golden ornaments and bits of gold which the white strangers were so eager to obtain, were the magnets that drew these uninvited visitors to their shores; and pointing to them they would say, “behold the christian’s god.”

To this people came in 1511, five years after the death of Columbus, Don Diego Velasquez, an experienced and able commander, of high rank and fortune. Panfilo de Narvaez was the second in command of this expedition, which was sent by Columbus’ son and successor, Diego, in the hope of obtaining gold. Baracoa was their first settlement, then came Santiago and Trinidad, founded in 1514. San Cristoval de la Havana followed in 1515, receiving, however, the name of Batabano in 1519, while its first appellation was transferred to the present capital. The year 1588 saw Havana laid in ashes by a French privateer and again in 1554

the city suffered the same fate at the hands of the French.

As Velasquez had treated the natives humanely, their subjugation had been quickly and easily accomplished, and his immediate successors pursued the same conciliatory policy. The rearing of cattle first occupied the attention of the early settlers, and it was not until about 1524 that the cultivation of tobacco and sugar cane was begun. The growth of these pursuits led to the introduction of negro slavery into the island, and for a time the natives were left unmolested while the field labor was performed by their darker skinned and more unfortunate brothers. Among the needy adventurers who followed the standard and fortunes of Pizarro, was Hernando de Soto. Returning enriched with the plunder of Peru he found favor with the Emperor Charles V. and received from the hands of that monarch a commission as governor of Cuba and Florida. It was under De Soto and his successors that the slavery of Cuban natives began. It was a fatal policy, for they in common with all American aborigines could not live in slavery. They rapidly pined to death, and in a generation or two were practically extinct, remnants of the more barbarous mountain tribes alone remaining. Notwithstanding the ravages committed upon Havana by the French and by the pirates who infested these seas, the fertility of its soil, its commanding position and fine harbor drew large numbers of immigrants to the capital city. Following the instructions of his royal master, De Soto began to fortify Havana, and the walls of the Castillo de la Fuerza began to arise under his direction. Leaving this work to be completed by his lieutenants, De Soto sailed for Florida in search of the El Dorado

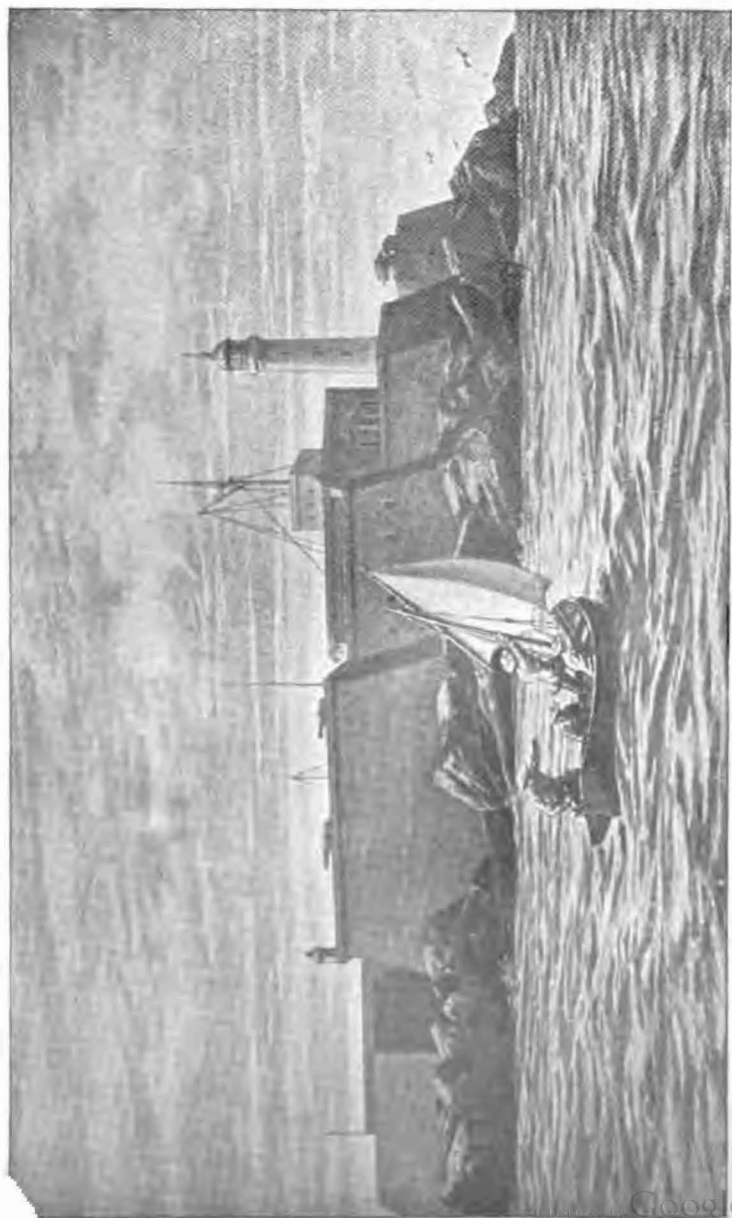
supposed to exist there, but the expedition miserably failed, and the cypresses that fringed the Mississippi witnessed the burial of the explorer beneath the turbid tide of that mighty river. The year 1585 saw Havana menaced by the renowned Captain Francis Drake, and for more than a century after this period, the enemies of Spain continually harassed the colonists. The famous Castle of the Morro was begun in 1589, as was the Bateria de la Punta; both reached completion in 1597, while the erection of the walls of Havana was not undertaken until 1665.

In the course of the seventeenth century Havana became the great rendezvous for the gold ships of Spain, and the commercial centre of the Spanish possessions in America. One of the results of the wars in which Spain was incessantly involved during this period, was the practical extinction of sugar and tobacco culture at home, and their increased development in Cuba. Yet these same wars severely affected the prosperity of the island, and materially retarded its progress. After the destruction of the Armada, in 1588, the maritime power of Spain steadily declined, and the capture of her treasure fleet by the Dutch in 1628, and the destruction of her naval fleet in the Downs, left her West Indian colonies without other protection than their own walls and fortresses afforded. About this time the arbitrary decree that the colonists should restrict their commerce with Spain to the port of Seville—the monopoly of which the needy government had sold—gave rise to an extensive smuggling traffic, very profitable to the colonists and the foreign adventurers who carried it on. The neighboring island of Hispaniola had been abandoned by most of

its settlers, the few people that remained living mainly from the herds of cattle, which now roamed in a wild condition over the island. The peculiar method of preparing the meat of these animals was called "bucanning," and consisted of smoking the carcass. The smugglers making their headquarters in the numerous bays of this island adopted this method of preserving meat for their ships and came to be known as "Buccaneers." From smugglers to freebooters, was an easy transition and Spanish commerce began to suffer severely. With forces recruited from English, French and Dutch privateers they struck terror into the Spanish Colonies, and became the bravos of the seas, with ships, men and arms at the service of the highest bidder. The most remarkable of these piratical leaders were the Frenchmen, Lolonois, and the celebrated Morgan. Tortuga saw them with the French in 1641 and 1660, and Cromwell's English fleet was aided by them in the occupation of Jamaica in 1665. Previously, in 1654, the towns of Segovia in Honduras, Maracaibo and Gibraltar in the gulf of Venezuela had been sacked and plundered by the marauders, and the walls of Havana were erected largely as a defence against their persistent attacks. It was in 1670 that Don Rodriguez de Ledesma assumed the functions of governor and like his immediate predecessor, he prosecuted the work of fortification at Havana with the greatest order. He also prepared a naval armament for the protection of the coast. It was at this time that the working of the copper mines near Santiago was abandoned, and that the reconstruction of the cathedral in that city was begun; but the greater part of the slaves employed in the mines were sent to Havana to work on

Sierra Maestra, are undoubtedly crowned with a ferruginous nature; but the difficulty of the scarcity of fuel, and the want of capital are more than sufficient to explain why no serious attempts have been made to engage in any extensive mining, yet some deposits of high grade iron ore have been worked with some degree of success. The ironstone has been found in the mountains of Matanzas as far from Santiago de Cuba, and in some of the grounds close to the ports of Tanamo and Sagua on the northeastern coast. The mountains of Pinar del Rio, Villa Clara, San Juan and Trinidad contain not only the precious metals, but a good deal

of green and serpentine marble is found at Regla and Sagua as well as in the Sierras of San Juan and Matanzas where it occurs, there are indications of lead with occasionally copper and iron pyrites. Crystals of chalcedony have also been found at Guanajay which is superior to that of Hecla. Chalcedony has been procured in the Sierra de Juragua, in the south end of the island, in the lower Sierras of Sagua, and in the bay of Nuevitas. Mines of copper were at one time worked in the Sierra de Juragua, but were speedily abandoned. Feldspar slates and schists have been found in various places. The schistose formation shows itself prominently at the base of the mountains of San Juan and Trinidad where great masses of slate are to be seen of a dark blue color and of a pyritous and crystalline quality well suited for writing upon. In the neighborhood of Havana a thick slate is found, fit for pavements; but still better is brought from



MORRO CASTLE, HAVANA.



ably with the shipments of gold and silver from the Spanish colonies on the mainland.

The *Casa de Niños Espositos*, or foundling hospital, in Havana, was founded in 1711 by Don Fray Jeronimo de Valdes, and like a similar institution at St. Pierre in the island of Martinique, is only resorted to by the white inhabitants, the presentation of a colored infant being a thing unknown. The first serious rupture between Spain and the colonists, grew out of making the tobacco trade a royal monopoly. This was done in 1717. The people violently resisted this high handed proceeding, and its enforcement was accompanied by sanguinary encounters between the military and the civilians.

British traders took advantage of this state of affairs to introduce a system of successful smuggling, and the war of 1739 between England and Spain had its rise in the friction and bloody encounters that ensued from these conditions—a war which four years later was absorbed in the general European conflict that was terminated in 1748. Smuggling grew apace, and assumed such formidable proportions during the thirteen years of peace that followed, that a system of farming out the revenues from tobacco to private monopolists, was substituted for the odious royal monopoly. The growth of British commercial influence in America, hand in hand with the extension of English colonies, kept the jealousy of Spain and France continually excited, and further trouble was the result. Don Juan de Prado Porto Carrero was governor of the island when an English fleet of forty-four men-of-war and some one hundred and fifty other vessels under Admiral Pocock, carrying an army of fifteen thousand

men under Lord Albemarle, appeared before Havana. Although the Captain-General had been informed that the English were preparing for an invasion of the island, he did not seriously believe that the invasion would take place, and omitted to take measures for resistance until the hostile fleet appeared and prepared to effect a landing. The chief object of this expedition was, after seizing on the French possessions in the West Indies, to make a descent on Havana, which was justly considered as the principal key to the vast possessions of the Spanish Crown, in the two great divisions of the American Continent; the possession of which would effectually interrupt all communication between the peninsula and the gulf of Mexico, and thereby give the court of the Catholic king a distaste for the alliance with that of St. Cloud. The siege of Havana began June 3d, and the Morro Castle surrendered on July 30th, after a most stubborn defence in which the Governor, Don Luis de Velasco fell mortally wounded in the final assault. His son was afterward created Vizconde del Morro, and to commemorate his name it was ordered that in the Real Armada, there should always be a ship bearing the name of Velasco. The Marquis de Gonzales, the second in command also lost his life in an attempt to rally the garrison.

After the fall of the Morro, the Punta Castle capitulated and negotiations for the surrender of the city were opened, resulting in its occupancy by the British on August 13th. With the capital, there was given up the whole territory annexed to it, extending one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, so that the conquest was considerable, and in the light of subsequent events, the consequences most decisive. The loss to the Spaniards

in ships of war, merchant ships, money, tobacco and other articles of value amounted to upwards of three millions of dollars, which prize money was equally divided between the military and naval arms of the British service. The treaty of Paris in February, 1763, restored her Cuban colony to Spain, she giving Florida in exchange, to the English. The port of Havana was thrown open to free commerce during the occupancy of the English and as the Spanish government, upon their return, found itself practically unable to restore the old conditions, this occupancy proved to be of permanent importance. It was on the 7th of July that the keys of the city were formally delivered to the Conde de Riela, who had arrived, accompanied by General O'Reilly, on the 30th of June previous, bringing the powers conferred by the treaty for the restoration of the British conquests in the island of Cuba.

It was during the administration of the first governor that the new fortresses of San Carlos and Atares were erected and the enlargement and rebuilding of the Morro and the Cabañas were begun. The old hospitals were placed on a better footing, new ones were built, a custom house revenue created and the regular troops, as well as the militia of the island, were placed upon a respectable footing. In 1776, Don Antonio Maria Bucarely assumed command. Bucarely paid great attention to the due administration of justice, and was distinguished by the affability of his manners, and the readiness with which he redressed the grievances of the people. When afterward appointed viceroy of New Spain it was announced to him by command of the King, as an unexampled occurrence, that during the whole period of his administration not a single com-

plaint against him had reached the court of Madrid. Another of his merits was the gentleness and address with which he effected the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had come to the island with Don Pedro Augustin Morel, and had acquired there large possessions. The church attached to their seminary is that which is now the Cathedral of Havana. On the promotion of Bucarely in 1771, the Marquis de le Torre was named his successor, and became one of the most popular Captains-General who have ever administered the government. He was replaced in 1777 by Don Diego José Navarro, who introduced great improvements in the administration of justice. The base and deteriorated coin which had been previously in circulation, was also called in and abolished in the time of Navarro. In the course of the war which had again broken out between England and Spain, the latter saw an opportunity to revenge herself and prepared an expedition for the recovery of Florida. But the peace of 1783 soon followed. Before Lord Rodney returned to England, Prince William Henry, afterward William IV., who accompanied the admiral, obtained leave to go on shore. He was so delighted with the city of Havana and the entertainments offered him, that he remained there three days and then was only induced to reëmbark by the threat that the squadron would sail without him. It was said that a breakfast given the Prince, by Solano, the Spanish General of Marines, cost \$4,000. Don Luis de las Casas became Captain-General in 1790 and the period of his administration was a brilliant epoch in the history of the island. To this ruler is due the establishment of the *Sociedad Patriótica* (Patriotic Society) and the Casa de Beneficencia—a penitentiary or

Magdalen asylum, and seven hospitals, one of them containing a lunatic asylum. In place of a monument to Las Casas, an inscription was conspicuously engraved in the common hall of the school for boys, declaring that on its erection it had been expressly dedicated to the memory of the founder of the institution, reminding the young pupils that he had not only been the founder of the Casa de Beneficencia, but of the first public library, and the first newspaper which had existed in the island, and of the patriotic and economical society. Las Casas increased the commercial prosperity of the island, by removing, as far as his authority extended, all the trammels imposed upon it by the old system of privilege and restriction. During his term of office, also, large sums were expended in the construction of roads and it was Las Casas, also, who introduced the culture of indigo. The hurricane which desolated the island on the 21st and 22d of June, 1791, afforded Las Casas a fresh opportunity for displaying the great resources of his mind in the promptitude with which he brought relief to the sufferers. The French revolution having communicated its irresistible impulse to the western parts of San Domingo, the cabinet of Madrid took the alarm, and from Havana and Santiago, Vera Cruz, Carracas, Maracaibo and Porto Rico, collected a force amounting to six thousand men, the object of which was to suppress the insurrection. A sanguinary struggle ensued and the interest of the Spanish government in the island of San Domingo was definitely terminated by the treaty of Basle, soon afterward concluded with the French republic. It was to the energetic measures of Las Casas, at the time of this revolution in San Domingo, that the island of Cuba was in-

debted for the uninterrupted maintenance of its tranquillity. It was near the close of the reign of Las Casas that the remains of Columbus were transferred from San Domingo and interred in the Cathedral of Havana. On the occasion of his leaving the island in 1796 a formal eulogium on his merits as Captain-General was recorded in the archives of Havana, in which were enumerated the great benefits he had conferred upon the community. In this farewell eulogium he was also praised for the very questionable virtue of promoting the general prosperity, by the copious introduction of Bozal negroes from the coast of Africa, which was stated to have greatly extended the cultivation of sugar cane, the bread fruit tree, the cinnamon tree and other exotic plants of inestimable value. It is more easy to sympathize in the praises bestowed upon him for the great hospitality he showed to the unfortunate refugees from San Domingo, and for the exertions he made and the liberality he evinced in the institution of the Patriotic Society, the formation of a public library, and the publication of the *Diario*. Las Casas, in 1796 was succeeded in the government by the Count de Santa Clara, a man of noble and generous disposition and affable manners. He gave no encouragement however to education, but labored to increase the defences of the island. The redoubt of Santa Clara, among the fortifications of Havana takes its name from him. Upon his resignation in 1799, the Marquis de Someruelos succeeded to the rulership, whose sway continued for a much longer period than the five years to which, by the practice, if not by a formal regulation of the Spanish Government, the term of service of the Captains-General of the colonies was usually limited. The public

works which serve to commemorate the administration of Someruelos are the old theatre and the public cemetery, the chapel of which was ornamented with a painting in fresco, representing the Resurrection, with the motto "ecce nunc in pulvere dormiam." Someruelos was considered stern and severe toward the poorer classes of society, and to reserve all his affability and condescension for the rich, yet on the occasion of the great fire of 1802 which destroyed the populous suburb of Jesus Maria, the Marquis went actually from door to door to petition relief for the sufferers. It was during the rule of Someruelos that the French made a descent upon the island, first threatening Santiago and afterwards landing at Batabano. The invaders consisted chiefly of refugees from San Domingo, but without recurring to actual force, the Captain-General prevailed on them to take their departure by a peaceful offer of the means of transit either to San Domingo or to France. The news of the abduction, by Napoleon, of the royal family of Spain reached Havana by a private opportunity, while the official intelligence arrived on the 17th of July, 1808. The colonial government immediately declared war against Napoleon and on the 20th, King Ferdinand VII., was proclaimed with general applause. The intelligence from Spain and the resolution of the Captain-General, were immediately communicated to all the colonial authorities in Spanish America. The events in the Peninsula soon began to be felt in Havana; but the demands of the French intruders for the recognition of their authority, were disregarded, and the public despatches which came from them were destroyed. The Infanta Dona Carlota made similar pretensions, but these, like those of the

French were firmly resisted. The foreign trade of the island was reduced to such an extremity by the events of the war, that the authorities began seriously to consider the expediency of throwing the trade open, and admitting foreign supplies on the same terms with those from the Peninsula. In March, 1809, a serious disturbance arose, the object of which was to invite the return of the French to the island, but this popular movement was speedily put down by firmness and resolution on the part of all who had anything to lose, and by the prompt offer of their personal services for its suppression. Tranquility was restored with the loss of only two or three lives, but not without the destruction of a great deal of property. The French settlers in the rural districts were the greatest sufferers. Soon after these events a young man arrived from the United States, of whose proceedings and character, as an emissary of King Joseph, the colonial government had been previously informed. This unfortunate person, Don Manuel Aleman, was not even suffered to land. The Alguazils went on board; took possession of his papers and his person; a council of war was immediately assembled; but his fate was determined beforehand; and on the following morning, the 13th of July, 1810, he was brought out to the Campo de la Punta, and hanged for his temerity. After this, the island of Cuba enjoyed a degree of tranquility quite remarkable under the circumstances of the sister colonies and this must be ascribed to the political prudence and sagacity of the Marquis de Someruelos. A negro conspiracy broke out in 1812, which excited considerable alarm in the minds of the landed proprietors, but it was summarily put down and the negro leader Aponte and his associ-



ates were treated with unsparing severity. The western districts of the island were visited in 1810, by another of those tremendous hurricanes which sweep away so much life and property in tropical regions. The city of Havana was filled with dismay and consternation; the hopes of an abundant harvest were disappointed; in the harbor, so renowned for its security, the ships of war were driven from their anchors; and no less than sixty merchant vessels were destroyed. The successor of Someruelos was Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, afterward Count of Benadito, who arrived on the 14th of April, 1812, and he, for the first time, combined the command of the naval force on the station, with the office of Captain-General of the island. This unprecedented combination arose from the fear of the authors of the constitution of Cadiz, that their work and their representative would not be well received in this aristocratical colony. His first duty on his arrival was to proclaim the new constitution, and although it produced an extraordinary sensation, it was not openly resisted. The success of Apodaca in Cuba led to his promotion to the rank of Viceroy of Mexico; and on the 1st of July, 1816, he was succeeded at Havana by Lieutenant General Don José Cienfuegos. This Captain-General made himself exceedingly unpopular at Havana by the severe methods of police he proclaimed and enforced. He caused the streets of Havana to be lighted, but this was only a part of the proceeding to which the citizens objected. He insisted upon closing up the public thoroughfares immediately after the conclusion of the evening services in the churches, thus from that early hour, confining the inhabitants to their own particular quarter of the city, and giving rise to

the very disturbances which it was the object of his office to prevent. In August, 1819, he was relieved by the arrival of his successor Don Juan Manuel Cagigal. The following year was another period of trial and difficulty, but Cagigal succeeded by the prudence and delicacy of his conduct in avoiding the evils that arose from the difficult and extraordinary circumstances in which he found himself placed. He was held in high estimation during his reign, and on the termination of his command, he applied for and received permission to take up his abode in the island; dying in the town of Guanabacoa, a simple but respected citizen.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY HISTORY.

NICOLAS DE MAHY was sent out in 1821 as the successor to Cajigal. Tumultuous conditions now prevailed in Cuba, owing to disturbances in Spain and the success of revolutions in Spanish-America. The new Captain-General, although of advanced years and of a temperament inclined to liberality, from a mistrust of the consequences, strove to restrain the progress of the liberal movement. His death, occurring in a little more than a year from his accession, cut short his policy of restriction, but his subordinate, Sebastian Kindelan, who retained command until May, 1823, carried it out along the lines indicated by his predecessor and in contravention of the liberal constitution, for in common with Mahy, the efforts of Kindelan were to reunite the military and civil power in the hands of the Captain-General.

The antagonism between the Spanish troops and the local militia, on this account were intense. Secret societies had rapidly taken root in Cuba. Some like the Italian Carbonari, others under the form of Freemasonry, but all were being made the instruments of social reorganization. Adherents of absolutism and the church found themselves opposing the zealous supporters of the liberal constitution. From this time the division of the people into two parties, the Cubans and the Spaniards was clearly defined. In the ranks of the

Cubans were the moderately liberal members of the community, as well as the more radical, and on the other hand the beneficiaries of former monopolies, including those who were hangers-on of government and church officials were to be found in the Spanish party.

The compact of the Holy Alliance (made in Paris, September, 1815), now found itself impelled in the interest of peace and the stability of existing dynasties, to direct a French army to enter Spain, where these objects were imperiled by the success of a popular movement. The continental provinces had been affording the Captains-General who were governing Spain, a busy time in preventing the colony from following their examples, and the constitution itself was broken down by the events which preceded the Congress at Verona (October, 1822), where its demolition by force of arms was decreed, in the face of a protest from England. The Northern Powers called upon their servant France to do their bidding and Louis XVIII. himself a Bourbon and reigning under a constitution, addressed himself to the task of reestablishing absolutism in Spain. The year 1823, saw the work effectively done and Ferdinand VII. ruled absolutely, and renewed despotism soon made its weight felt in Cuba.

Marshall Francisco Dionisio Vives began in May, 1823, the work of saving Cuba from the danger of a liberal government. In resistance to the new order of things, a secret association known as the "Soles de Bolivar" was formed; but the plans of its leaders to establish a Cuban republic were frustrated and the principal spirit, José Francisco Lemus and a number of other patriots were arrested and imprisoned. Others preserved their liberty by escaping from the island.

Restored absolutism having been formally proclaimed in Cuba, one of the projects of the Holy Alliance was now taken up by the King. This was to make an arsenal of Cuba. The intervention of the United States, strengthened by the opposition of England who had proceeded to back up its protest against the operations of the Holy Alliance, by its recognition of the Spanish-American republics, frustrated this project. Various uprisings on the part of the Cubans were attempted from 1824 to 1830, but being imperfectly organized, all failed to spread. The bitter antagonisms engendered by these commotions, reached an extreme pitch and even extended to the military. A Congress of American Republics, projected on the basis of President Monroe's declaration of 1823, had been called to meet in Panama in 1826, to confer regarding their mutual interests in view of possible European aggression. This, and the turbulent condition of the island caused the Spaniards to retain there, the troops intended for further operations on the Continent. The first message of President John Quincy Adams, (December, 1825), informed Congress that the invitation to attend the Panama Congress had been accepted and that commissioners would be appointed. But this did not suit the views of the representatives of the slave holding states and while the commissioners were finally appointed, it was with such closely restricted functions that the attitude of the United States deprived the Congress of all influence or result. For the same reason, an invasion of Cuba by Mexico and Colombia, organized by fugitive Cubans in 1826 and which was to have been under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, was not undertaken and Cuba and Porto Rico were abandoned to the un-

disputed possession of Spain. By royal decree of May 28 the Captain-General of Cuba was empowered to try political prisoners agreeably to the articles of war and was clothed with all the authority of martial law; but neither this nor the repeated failures of former revolutions deterred the Cuban patriots from further movements of a like nature. The secret society of the "Black Eagle" was organized in Columbia and Mexico by Cuban exiles, to start another revolution in the island, but this movement was rendered abortive from the start by the hostility of the slave holding element in the United States as well as in Cuba itself. The conspirators in this movement were ferreted out with little difficulty, but while the military commissions made short work of their trials, and despite the fact that numbers were condemned to suffer death, the far-sighted Captain-General refrained from inflicting the death penalty and in every instance their sentences were mitigated.

A military expedition against Mexico was undertaken by Vives after the fiasco of the Congress at Panama. His views were, that an overturn of its government was possible, and in such an event, the recovery of the country for the Spanish crown was not improbable. The landing at Tampico was made in August, 1828, the Spanish force of three thousand five hundred expecting to be augmented by Mexican accessions. These expectations were not realized. Hemmed in by the Mexican forces, what was left of the expedition surrendered their arms, only stipulating that they might be permitted to return to Havana. This was granted, and in March, 1829, Havana saw their return. Vives was the first of the governors of Cuba to whom were

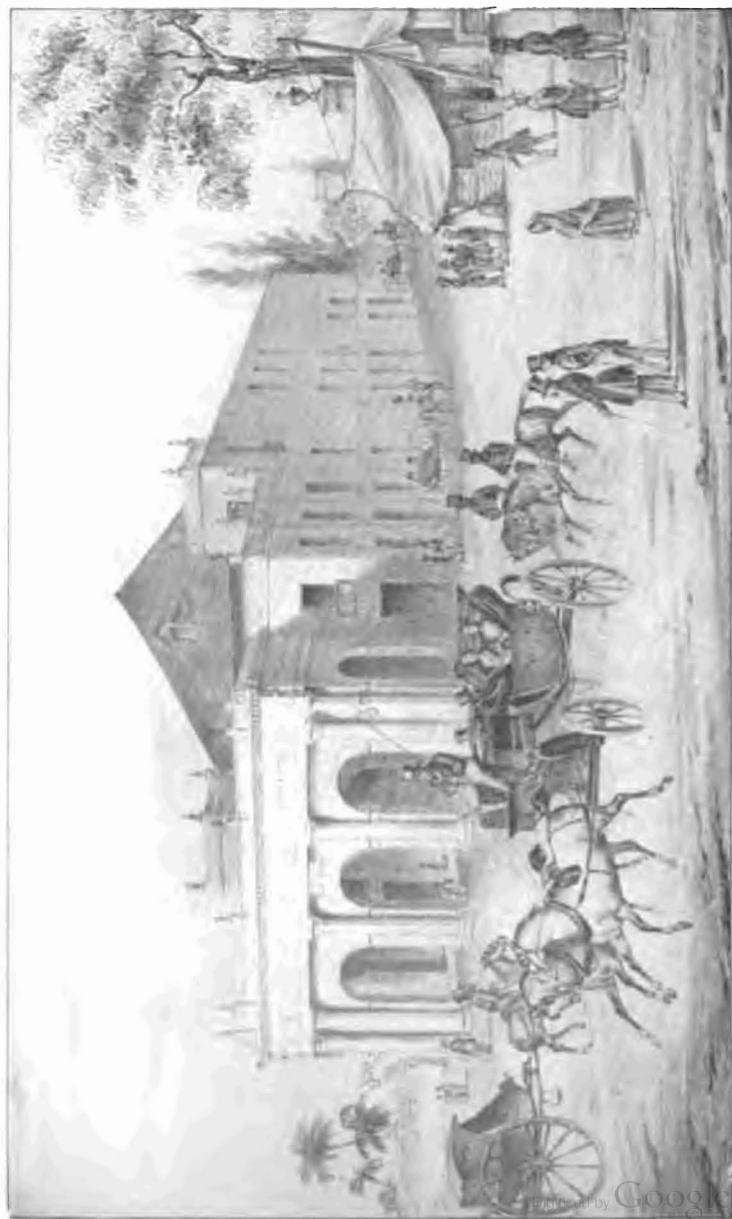
accorded absolute power, and this was given him in view of the extraordinary conditions prevailing in the island at the time of his accession, notwithstanding the fact that these conditions had changed, and that the government as well, had varied from an absolute to a constitutional form, his successors, up to the present time, have had the same powers continued to them, and all have enacted a despotism, mild or severe, according to their fear or temperament. Many, less wise than Vives, did not use their power with the discretion that marked his administration, but stretched their powers until ebullitions of popular unrest were brought about. A marked difference between the administration of Vives and that of his immediate successor, Mariano Ricafort, was early observed. The wiser Vives had not permitted the absolute control to pass out of his own hands, but Ricafort permitted it to pass in a large degree to the venal and corrupt officials under him. The death of Ferdinand VII. in 1833 terminated a wretched reign; Isabella, his infant daughter, was proclaimed queen, and Cristina, her mother, regent; while Carlos and Francisco, brothers of the late king, began what are known as the Carlist Wars. Demanding a constitutional government as a return for their assistance, the Spanish liberals obtained it from the queen regent, and absolutism in Spain was a thing of the past. Not so in Cuba. True, the constitution was proclaimed and elections to the Cortes ordered, but the powers of the Captain-General were not abated, but confirmed. The "period of conspiracies" in Cuba, began with the accession of General Miguel Tacón, who succeeded Ricafort in June, 1834. This was a time when a liberal policy on the part of Spain could have



**VIEWS IN AND ABOUT HAVANA.**

1. **Ata Landing Stage.**    2. **Method of Serving Milk.**  
 3. **The Old Cathedral where the Remains of Columbus are Buried.**  
 4. **Panorama of the Prado.**    5. **Palace of the Captain-General.**    6. **Avenue of Palms.**





TACON THEATRE, HAVANA

brought about a relaxing of the strained relations that existed between Cuba and herself, but instead they were augmented by the arbitrary policy of Tacon. That he was a despot is not to be denied, yet the prison of Havana is a monument of at least one good effected by Tacon. It is situated without and near the gate of La Punta, not far from the sea; the fresh breezes play freely through it, and protect its unfortunate inmates from those pestilential fevers arising from crowded and ill-ventilated rooms. It can contain five thousand prisoners and has had one thousand within its walls at one time. It is stated that its erection did not add to the expenses of the city; that it was built by the labor of the convicts, and with funds, which, before the administration of Tacon, had been dishonestly appropriated by the civil officers, and of which he deprived them. Other benefits were improved streets and *paseos*, and the sudden check which he put upon murder, robbery and fraud. There are, perhaps, more anecdotes extant regarding Tacon than there are of any other of the Captains-General of Cuba, and all show contradictory phases of the man's nature. His methods becoming unbearable, Spanish public opinion secured his recall in 1838.

In the period that followed Tacon's administration, Cuba progressed in material prosperity, her proximity to the United States and the intercourse between the two countries contributing largely to this result. In 1845 the political agitation which procured the annexation of Texas, led to the wide discussion of a similar fate for Cuba, and a popular movement to that end was indeed started in 1846 during the Mexican War. It was in 1848, with the Mexican conflict concluded, that

President Polk, through the American Minister at Madrid, proposed negotiations for the purchase of Cuba. The refusal of Spain was decided, and the project fell to the ground, the fall being accelerated by the anti-slavery sentiment in the United States. The eyes of Cuban patriots had long been fixed upon the United States, however. They had been looking for the "cloud no larger than a man's hand." Narciso Lopez and his associates in the abortive conspiracy of 1847 were there in exile, 1849 saw their hopes frustrated by the United States Government, who prevented the Lopez expedition from sailing, but in May of the following year, Lopez succeeded in landing with six hundred men at Cardenas. Reëmbarking, because favorable conditions for the continuance of the uprising were not to be found at this point, the little expedition sailed for Key West, after barely escaping a Spanish war vessel, and there disbanded. Sporadic uprisings were now taking place in the interior of the island and to strengthen and extend them, Lopez got together another expedition, and sailing from New Orleans, landed near Bahia Honda—some thirty miles west of Havana, August 12th, 1851. The devoted band was met by an overwhelming force of their enemies, and Col. Crittenden, of Kentucky, the second in command, was cut off with one hundred and fifty men, from the main body. After a sanguinary contest these were forced to surrender, and Lopez with the remainder of his forces were scattered in the woods, after the loss of all their ammunition by a tropical storm. All were either killed or taken prisoners; Lopez and fifty of his men were captured and taken to Havana, where the latter were shot, while Lopez was garroted. A concerted

movement between the patriots on the island and others in the United States, next took place, but after contribution of money had been secured, enlistment of men and equipment of vessels provided for, the United States would not allow the movement to go on, and another failure was added to the long list of similar attempts to free Cuba. General Quitman, of Mississippi, was at the head of this movement in the United States. The Cuban leaders were ferreted out, imprisoned and a number of them were shot. In 1854, the slave holding portion of the United States were disturbed by reason of a decree of Pezuela, the Captain-General of Cuba, relative to the manumission of slaves of advanced years. The "peculiar institution" was menaced and the situation was heightened by the detention of the steamer "Black Warrior," by the officials of Havana—violation of customhouse regulations being alleged. Then, several American vessels were searched by Spanish cruisers, on the high seas, and American citizens were arrested in Cuba on various formal charges. A war between the United States and Spain was imminent, but was averted by the removal of Captain-General Pezuela. The incident of the "Ostend Manifesto" was born of this complication, and upon the elevation of James Buchanan, who as American Minister to England had signed this document; to the Presidency of the United States, the subject was again revived, only to be obscured by the clouds of civil conflict that were gathering around the United States. Echoes of these happenings reached the Cuban patriots, and each disappointment led to heroic but futile efforts on their part, to free their country from its bondage. Francisco Lersundi succeeded Concha, who in turn had suc-

ceeded Pezuela. Now Concha was recalled and the intolerable rule of Lersundi ended in 1858. Cuba became fairly quiescent until 1865, although the burden of taxation was increased, and commercial intercourse with Spain and foreign countries greatly restricted. Little could be done in the way of commerce between the island and the United States, as the tariff was practically prohibitory. During the period of the American Civil War the moderate rule of two able and liberal governors held in check the natural excitement attendant upon such a conflict. Spain accorded the rights of belligerency to the Southern States, a month before their first battle with the Northern States was fought, and it required all the tact and discretion of Francisco Serrano and the liberal-minded Domingo Dulce who succeeded him, to allay the irritation in the Northern States, developed by this proceeding. The allied expedition against Mexico in 1861 did not lessen this irritation. With the withdrawal of Spain and England, Napoleon III. was left to continue the plan of conquest and the death of Maximilian in 1867, passed into history. With the close of the Civil War in the United States and the abolition of slavery there, the liberal leaders in Cuba took heart, and the Spanish Cabinet in power at this time, happening to be liberal, a commission of inquiry was appointed to examine into Cuban affairs. As might have been expected, the commission was a failure. Matters of vital moment such as a constitution in place of an autocratic Captain-General, the right to petition, the admission of Cubans to public office, unhampered industrial liberty, the transfer of landed property, without restriction, the right of assembly, of association, of representation in the Cortes,

local self-government and the freedom of the press, were ignored, and only a few unimportant matters were considered. An additional tax of ten per cent. was added to the direct taxes, however. Lersundi was now in control of the island, and under his malevolent reign the condition of the Cubans was hopeless.

The revolution in Spain which resulted in the expulsion of Isabella II. brought no abatement of burdens to the Cubans. Plans for another insurrection had been considered for some time, and were now matured. At Bayamo, Francisco V. Aguilera, Manuel A. Aguilera and Francisco M. Osorio were the leaders; Carlos M. Céspedes in Manzanillo, Belisario Alvarez in Holguin. Vicente Garcia at Las Tunas, Donato Marmol in Jiguani and Manuel Fernandez in Santiago, were the patriots that formulated the plans for the uprising of 1868, now known as the "ten years' war." The insurrection began on the Yara plantation October 10th, by Céspedes and one hundred and forty men, who proclaimed a Cuban republic. These were speedily reinforced from other districts, until upwards of ten thousand poorly armed and equipped men had collected. Proper steps were taken to promulgate a Declaration of Independence, and to frame a constitution. After the repulse of the troops sent against the rebels, operations were mostly along the line of the railway between Nuevitas and Puerto Principe, and this county the insurgents held during the winter of 1868-69. One after another, the important towns of the interior fell into the hands of the Cubans as the result of the guerilla campaign led by Manuel Quesada, and carried on by a force of not over twenty-six thousand men, against an army of one hundred and ten thousand

Spanish regulars and volunteers. Had it not been for the Spanish fleet, the lone star of Cuba would have floated over the seaports. Dulce was now brought forward again as Captain-General and it was thought by the Spanish Ministry that his good standing with the people would terminate the war. Dulce's offers of consideration of grievances and general amnesty were refused by the Cuban leaders, who now had their eye single upon independence, and in February, 1869, a Polander named Roloff succeeded in driving the Spanish forces from the district of Las Villas. The Assembly of Cuban representatives that met on April 10th at Guaimaro, elected Céspedes as President, Manuel Quesada as Military Commander and framed a Constitution.

The patriots were in great need of arms and ammunition, despite the successful landing and distribution of the supplies which had been brought by two expeditions from the United States; under Rafael Quesada and Col. Thomas Jordan, formerly of the Confederate army, respectively, yet the Spaniards were beaten in every encounter. The landing of supplies was an "extra hazardous risk" in these days, for the coast was patrolled by a large number of light draft gunboats.

In the fall of 1870, both armies commenced active operations, after having reorganized their forces during the summer months. Yellow fever had decimated the new troops sent out from Spain, while the tone of the insurgent army had improved. The Spanish suffered a severe defeat near Guaimaro on January 1st, 1870, at the hands of Col. Jordan, who was now acting as a general officer, and the hold of the patriots on the eastern portion of the island was strengthened. Mean-

while, those among the Cuban population who adhered to the Spanish cause, were having matters much their own way in the western part of the island. They were enrolled in battalions of different numbers and their ranks were filled out by arrivals from Spain, especially enlisted for the purpose, and each battalion was commanded by a colonel, often appointed from the aristocratic slave traders. Havana had some twenty thousand of these gentry doing "home duty" in and about the city, and when the war in the field was not conducted according to their ideas, very pronounced forms of insubordination were manifested. If they did not like their officers, they deposed them, and those who were in disgrace to-day, were in favor to-morrow, and many cities including Havana, were virtually at their mercy. From killing and wounding large numbers of people, who were leaving a theatre in Havana after the performance—it being alleged that the performance was for the benefit of the insurgent cause—in May, 1870, gutting a café and killing a number of people, a little later, during a street parade; they concluded in June of the same year that Captain-General Dulce was not the man for the office, and so sent him back to Spain with much expedition. General Lopez-Pinto, the commander at Matanzas, they also relegated to the mother country and continued to commit untold excesses throughout the country, while the Spanish government meekly submitted to these outrages. Cabellero de Rodas, the successor of Dulce, commended himself to these truculent "home guards" by the shooting of prisoners of war, galore. This official advised the Spanish cabinet that the war was approaching its end, but despite the reinforcements sent him, the Cubans invariably beat him



in every engagement, so that he resigned after six months of authority. The Count of Balmeseda, who assumed control of the island in December, 1870, was powerless to stop the progress of the patriots, who were especially successful in carrying off material of war, by their incessant guerilla warfare. By September, 1872, Balmeseda was compelled to provisionally relinquish his command to Ceballos, and in 1873 to General Pieltan, definitely. His cruelties had been numerous and brutal enough to canonize him in the minds of his janissaries, if they had been accompanied by successes in the field; but the insurgents had inflicted terrible losses upon the Spaniards by their tactics in beating the smaller and eluding the larger bodies of troops and in various other ways. Repeated efforts on the part of General Pieltan to bring the war to a close by negotiation, were unsuccessful. The Cuban patriots refused to accept peace without independence, and bent all their energies to the conflict, making the campaign of 1873, the climax of the war. They were battling against heavy odds, yet Agramonte, Calixto Garcia and Maximo Gomez gained most important successes in the spring of this year, and during the summer the insurgents not only held the ground they had gained, but occupied additional territory. The "Virginus incident" occurred in this year and for a time it seemed that war between the United States and Spain could hardly be averted. It was on October 31st that a Spanish gunboat captured the steamer Virginus off the island of Jamaica, regarding her as a "filibuster." Although Captain Fry claimed an American register, the number and character of her crew somewhat justified her capture and the steamer was taken to Santiago

de Cuba and the crew landed on the following day. On the 4th of November, three Cubans and one American were shot; on the 7th Captain Fry and thirty-seven more men were executed in the same way; and the next day twelve more men met the same fate as their comrades. The survivors, one hundred and two in number, would doubtless have been disposed of in the same way had it not been for the interference of Commander Lorrain of the British sloop-of-war *Niobe*, who stopped the bloody work; and after much diplomatic action the *Virginus* and the remainder of her crew were surrendered to the United States steamship *Juniata* on December 16th. The *Virginus* started for New York in tow of the *Juniata*, but foundered off Frying Pan Shoals, December 26th. Before this matter of the *Virginus* was fully settled, General Jovellar arrived in the island, to succeed General Pieltan, and soon it could be seen that he was more able and competent to deal with the conditions that confronted him, than any of his predecessors had been. There had been some discord among the Cuban leaders, as well as among their enemies and this was manifested at the congress which met at Bijagual in December, 1873. Céspedes was deposed, and retired to the eastern part of the island, where, at San Lorenzo, a few months later he was surprised and mortally wounded by a detachment of Spanish troops. His death occurred March 22d, 1874. Those who had deposed Céspedes, could not agree upon his successor, and so, Salvador Cisneros, Marquis of Santa Lucia, the presiding officer of the Cuban Congress, became acting President of the Republic. The deposition of Céspedes was intensely regretted by a large number of the insurgent leaders, and until mat-

ters adjusted themselves, much dissension prevailed. The ability of Céspedes was exceptional and his devotion to the cause, secured to him the confidence of his countrymen, in a very large degree. Dissension prevailed likewise among the enemies of the Cubans. Jovellar prepared to put down the rebellion. Every able-bodied man was drafted into the militia, ten per cent. of these levies, were sent into the field for service and the entire island declared to be in a state of siege. But the civilians raised the most angry of protests and the opposition of the home guards was so strong, that, at his own request, Jovellar was recalled and General Concha again appeared as Captain-General. Now the campaign was pushed vigorously, and with troops reinforced by arrivals from Spain, Concha met and defeated a large band of the patriots, but this engagement crippled his own forces so badly, that the campaign was practically fruitless.

For six weary years this war for Cuban independence had dragged along and neither the Cubans nor their foes could look forward to a successful termination of the conflict that had already cost an enormous loss of life, and millions in treasure. Without ships, the Cubans could not drive the Spanish from the island, and the Spaniards were unable to do more than keep the insurgents at a distance. Spain, occupied with the Carlist war could not send reinforcements to the island, and the troops of Concha were being hard pressed by their foes. Hitherto, the western portion of the island had escaped invasion, but now it was seriously threatened, and had not dissension again arisen among the Cuban leaders the Spanish position might have been rendered weaker than it was now and

the end of the war might have been reached. So, the Cubans and the Spaniards, both perceptibly weakened, allowed the year to pass, and there was little change in the conditions until the autumn of 1876, when General Martinez Campos arrived in the island, determined to end the war. Campos was a general of distinction and renown, and with him came twenty-five thousand veterans of the Carlist war, ready for a decisive campaign.

The spring of 1877 found the insurgents pursuing their guerilla warfare; the hot season was at hand and Campos looked to negotiation to end the war, particularly as his troops were suffering terribly from the climate. With Jovellar again occupying the office of Governor-General, Campos devoted his energies to operations in the field, where general exhaustion prevailed on both sides, and where very little fighting was going on.

In 1878, an armistice was agreed upon, and the Cuban leaders met at Camagüey to consider the overtures for peace offered by General Campos. General Vicente Garcia, the successor of Cisneros as President of the Cuban republic, and nine others, were appointed a commission to confer with the Spanish commander, and the meeting was held at Augustin, near Zanjón, in the district of Camagüey. What is known as the peace of Zanjón resulted from this conference, February 10th, 1878. By its terms, the Cubans relinquished their fight for independence; and the demands of the Cubans at the Commission of Inquiry in 1867, were substantially conceded by Spain—at least, Spain agreed to grant the reforms in question, in a slightly modified form.

This compact accomplished, Campos returned to Madrid, but Canovas de Castillo resigned his ministry rather than lay before the cabinet, of which he was the head, the plans which Campos had formulated for the purpose of carrying out the reforms he had promised in the name of Spain, and which measures the Cubans had imposed as a condition of laying down their arms. Canovas' resignation was in March, 1879, and immediately a new cabinet was organized by Campos, who dissolved the Cortes and secured a majority representation in the new legislature. But Campos' plans met with only lukewarm support from his colleagues, and soon a split resulted in the new cabinet, Campos resigning and Canovas returning to the ministry, while the promises made at Zanjón were ignored. The final abolition of slavery was one of the results of the ten years' war, this institution becoming extinct in 1887. During the progress of the insurrection, the good offices of the United States government were repeatedly offered for the reestablishment of peace in the island. President Grant in his messages of 1869 and of 1875 indicated this, and in 1876 a joint intervention of the United States and the European powers, was proposed by President Grant. Nothing came of this however, although the question of recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban republic, several times came before the United States Congress, during the period named. Several of the South American republics, did, however, accord belligerent rights to the insurgents and their independence was recognized by Peru. How Spain kept the promises at Zanjón, has passed into history, and another page in the book of dishonor and treachery has been filled in. In her own handwriting the nations can

see that Spain's losses in life as registered in the archives at Madrid, were eight thousand officers and more than twenty thousand common soldiers; in treasure, three hundred million dollars actually expended and as much more by destruction in Cuba. The Cuban losses in men were difficult to obtain, but were probably not less than fifty thousand. During this contest, the most intense bitterness prevailed on both sides. No quarter was given, no prisoners were exchanged; all were slaughtered. The untold horrors of the ten years that preceded the peace of Zanjón, far exceeded those that have been recorded. From that event, to the beginning of the present armed contention between Cuba and Spain, on February 24th, 1895, it may be said that the efforts of patriotic and cultured Cubans to obtain redress from the severity of iniquitous laws, were never relaxed, and that the arbitration of the sword was only invoked when all other measures had been tried and proved absolutely futile.

## CHAPTER III.

### OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR.

ONLY one hundred and thirty miles from the light-houses and the sands of Florida, lies to the southeast the long irregular crescent of Cuba. With seven hundred and sixty miles for its greatest length and one hundred and thirty-five miles for its greatest breadth, it extends from  $74^{\circ}$  to  $85^{\circ}$  of west longitude, and from  $19^{\circ} 50'$  to  $23^{\circ} 10'$  of north latitude. Its convex side turned to the north receives the swell of the mighty Atlantic, broken only by the Bahamas, and to the east across the narrow Windward Passage lies Hayti, the Hispaniola of Columbus. Jamaica—once San Jago, the property of England, dots the blue Caribbean to the south, while on the west the finger of Cape Antonio on the island points across the channel of Yucutan to the mainland, with little more than a hundred miles between. Cuba in common with her sister islands is almost entirely of coral or volcanic formation, and any approach is attended with difficulty and danger, except in the case of the larger harbors. A cordon of coral reefs guard nearly the entire extent of coast, forming many lagoons and expanding into islands of considerable size. One of the fortunate possessions of Cuba is her large number of excellent harbors. That of Havana, guarded by the frowning batteries of the Morro and the Punta is one of the finest in the world. Situated on the northwest coast of the island, its

position commanding both inlets to the Gulf of Mexico gives it great political importance. The entrance to this magnificent bay is narrow, but the water is deep and there is no bar or other obstruction. Within a thousand of the largest ships can ride in safety, while vessels of the largest draught can come direct to the wharves.

Cienfuegos on the southern coast can boast of more than fifty square miles of safe anchorage. Others of importance on the south are Santiano de Cuba, Manzanillo, Trinidad, Casilda and Guantanamo, with more than equal number on the northern coast including Bahía-Honda, Cabañas, Mariel, Matanzas, Nipe, Cárdenas and Baracoa. Something over forty-three thousand square miles is the area of Cuba proper. The Isle of Pines on the southwest contributes some twelve hundred more, as Cuba has jurisdiction over this once celebrated resort and hiding place for pirates. Nearly the whole of the southern and a large portion of the northern coast of Cuba are dotted with small islands and keys, and everywhere the shores are flat and hardly above the level of high water.

The highest point of land on the island is the peak of Tarquino, rising to about eight thousand feet on the southeastern coast. Gran Piedra attains fifty-two hundred feet. Ojo del Toro and Yunque each lift their summits thirty-five hundred feet above the sea level, while an almost isolated mass of which Poterillo is the summit, rises to three thousand feet immediately behind the harbor of Trinidad. Guajibon, near the western extremity of the island is the last of the noted elevations and reaches something more than twenty-five hundred feet. Practically, the entire length of Cuba



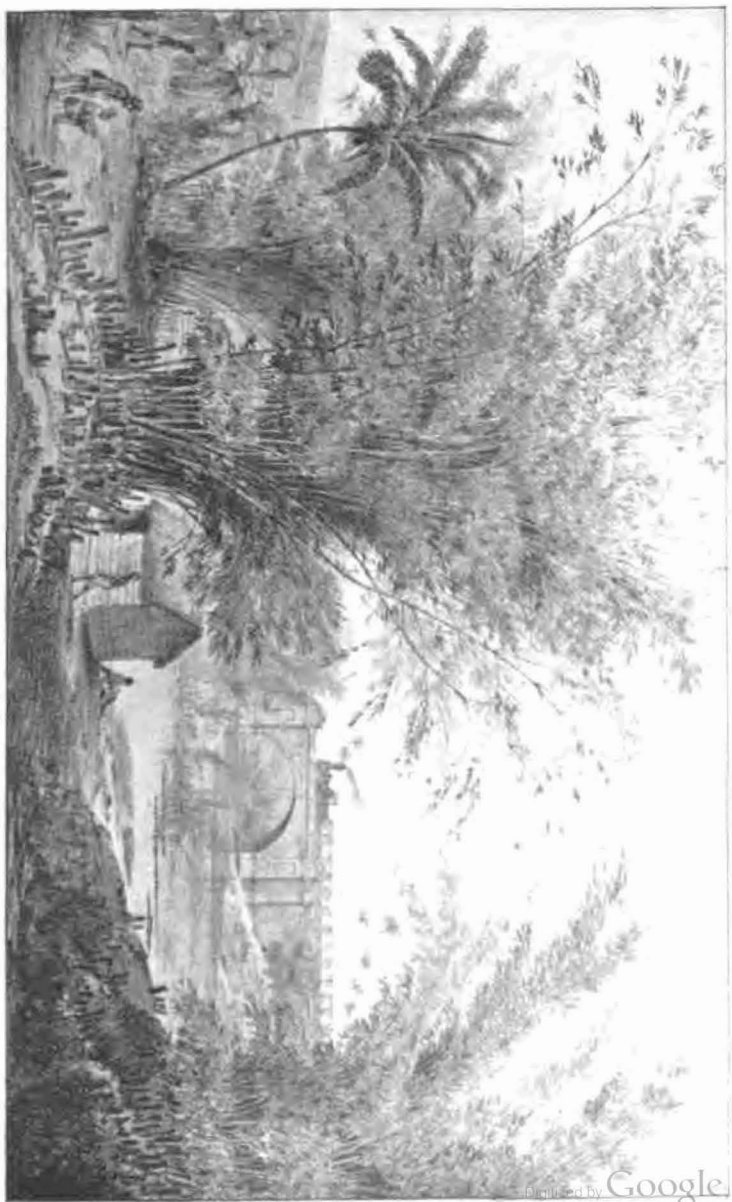
is traversed by a mountain range of varying height. One part each of sandstone and of gypsum, not alike however in proportion, and two parts of compact limestone compose the foundation of the western and central portions of the island, and as is usual in this formation, the limestone contains many caverns. To the east of the central section the mountain ranges show secondary formations of syenitic and euphotide rocks united in groups. Petroleum flows out of rents in the serpentine with which the syenite strata is intercalated, and springs of this fluid are found in abundance in the eastern part of the island.

Of necessity the rivers of Cuba are of inconsiderable length. They flow to the north and south, the largest, the Cauto, rising in the Sierra del Cobre and falling into the Bay of Buena Esperanza. Some sixty miles of this river are navigable.

The Sagua la Grande and Sagua la Chica are next in importance and enter the Atlantic on the northern coast. Twenty-one miles for the former and a less number for the latter is the extent to which they are navigable. Smaller streams are the North and South Jatibonica, the Cuyaguaje and the Sasa. There is a network of streamlets in the fertile valleys of the islands, and these spread into swamps and marshes as they approach the coast assuming many of the characteristics of the everglades of Florida. A notable instance is the Cienaga de Zapata on the southern coast. A magnificent cascade of nearly three hundred feet is formed by the river Moa in a huge cavern in the hill bearing the same name as the river.

As in other lands on the borders of the tropics, two seasons take the place of the four belonging to the

RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER THE ALMENDARES RIVER.





RESIDENCE OF COUNT DE FERNANDINA, HAVANA.

temperate zones—the wet and the dry. The former lasts from April to October while the latter stands for the early spring, autumn and winter of more northern latitudes. From 70° to 95° of temperature is the range on the lowlands along the sea ranges. That of Havana averages through the year 77° and the climate of the island is, generally speaking, pleasant and salubrious, the interior, or higher portions enjoying a more temperate atmosphere than the coast lands. The yellow fever which in the hot seasons afflicts the seaports more by reason of lack of proper sanitation than from any other cause, is entirely unknown in the interior, where at elevations of over three hundred feet the thermometer occasionally falls to the freezing point in winter. The prevailing wind is the easterly trade, but cool north winds or “northers” affect the western portions of the island for about forty-eight hours during the months that intervene between October and March.

Hurricanes are not so frequent in Cuba as in San Domingo and other islands of the Archipelago. When they do occur, it is generally between the middle of August and the middle of October. Slight shocks of earthquake are occasionally felt.

The mineral resources of Cuba have never been developed. In the early history of the island, the pursuit of gold and silver seems to have been the great object of the discoverers, and those who more immediately followed them; but though the precious metals undoubtedly exist, the quantity has never been sufficient to repay the search. Some of the early writers such as Angliera and Herrera, asserted that the island of Cuba was richer in gold than San Domingo; but it may be doubted whether the gold sent from either of the islands

to Spain during the early part of the sixteenth century was really the fruit of labor and research. It is more likely to have consisted of the accumulated wealth of the aborigines in previous centuries, torn from them by tyranny and rapine at the period of the conquest.

If the alluvial deposits of the island ever contained a sufficient proportion of gold to repay the labor of seeking for it, either that proportion has diminished, or the increasing value of labor has made the search no longer profitable. It is in sand of a granitic quality that the gold dust is usually found; and those parts of the island to which this description applies, are the mouths of the rivers Damusi and Caunado which fall into the bay of Jagua, and in those parts of the rivers Sagua la Grande and Agabama which are nearest to Escambray; also at the point where the Saramaguacan falls into the bay of Nuevitas, and the rivers Holguin, Bayamo and Nipa in the eastern part of the island. Some specimens of the finest gold have been obtained from the workings of the Agabama and Sagua la Grande; but at an expense of time and labor which would never remunerate the parties engaged in it, unless through the introduction of modern amalgamating appliances. In 1827, Don José Escalante announced the discovery of silver and copper in the lands of Manicarragua, in the jurisdiction of Villa Clara. The analysis of the first excavations by Don Ramon de la Sagra gave great promise of success, affording no less than seven ounces of silver to the quintal of mineral; but these first indications were not followed by corresponding results. The presence of iron in various parts of the island, is beyond doubt. Many portions of the great cordillera,

called the Sierra Maestra, are undoubtedly crowned with stones of a ferruginous nature; but the difficulty of access, the scarcity of fuel, and the want of capital are more than sufficient to explain why no serious attempt has been made to engage in any extensive mining operations, yet some deposits of high grade iron ore have been worked with some degree of success. The native loadstone has been found in the mountains of Juragua, not far from Santiago de Cuba, and in some of the rising grounds close to the ports of Tanamo and Naranjo on the northeastern coast. The mountains of Santa Espiritu, Villa Clara, San Juan and Trinidad contain not only the precious metals, but a good deal of iron.

A variegated serpentine marble is found at Regla and Guanabacao, as well as in the Sierras of San Juan and Trinidad; and where it occurs, there are indications of magnesia, with occasionally copper and iron pyrites. Specimens of chalcedony have also been found at Guanabacao, said to be superior to that of Hecla. Chalcedony has likewise been procured in the Sierra de Juragua, in the eastern end of the island, in the lower Sierras of Santo Espiritu, and in the bay of Nuevitas. Mines of alum and copperas were at one time worked in the mountains of Juragua, but were speedily abandoned. Quartz and feldspar slates and schists have been found in various places. The schistose formation shows itself most conspicuously at the base of the mountains of San Juan and Trinidad where great masses of slate are to be found of a dark blue color and of a pyritous and bituminous quality well suited for writing upon. In the quarries near Havana a thick slate is found, fit for floors and pavements; but still better is brought from

the Isle of Pines. Marbles and jaspers of various colors, and susceptible of the highest polish, are also to be found in the Isle of Pines and in various parts of Cuba as well. From the Cobre copper mines in the eastern part of the island, upwards of fifty tons per day of ore are taken out. The richer part of this output is shipped to Europe, while the poorer part is smelted at the works. These mines are situated about twelve miles from Santiago de Cuba, are of great extent and very rich. Perhaps no better quality of copper ore is found in any portion of the world. Coal of a highly bituminous nature abounds in Cuba. It affords a very strong heat and leaves very little residuum in the form of ashes or cinders. A mineral bitumen is found in different districts of the island. Sometimes it is in a liquid state, like naptha, issuing from the fissures in the rocks; sometimes soft, like wax or half melted resin, as at Guanabacao and elsewhere, when it is called petroleum. It was doubtless in this state that the first discoverers of the island employed it in careening their ships; a fact frequently referred to in accounts of the early voyagers.

The *jutia* or *lutia* from twelve to eighteen inches in length exclusive of the rat-like tail, is the only peculiar quadruped known in Cuba. It is black in color, feeds on leaves and fruits and lives in the hollows of trees. Its flesh is sometimes eaten, but is insipid to the taste. Of domestic animals the ox, the horse and the pig, are by far the most valuable and form a large proportion of the wealth of the island; there are sheep and goats in inferior numbers and the number of mules increases yearly. There are rabbits, and dogs, and cats are sufficiently numerous. The bloodhound, employed in early times in pursuit of the unfortunate

aborigines, and later to check the wanderings of the negroes, is not a native of the island, although it usually bears the name of the Cuba bloodhound. The Perro Jibaro is the common domestic dog, who has fled into the mountains. Although at first of various races and colors, when restored to a state of nature, they uniformly become rough in the coat, nearly black in color, ferocious and carnivorous, though not so fierce as the wolf of Europe, and never turn on man until closely pressed in the chase. They live in the forests or in caverns, and, although the constant object of attack, they increase considerably in numbers, doing great damage to the pigs, sheep, goats and other inferior domestic animals. The Gato Jibaro is in like manner the domestic cat, who has fled and become wild, and exceedingly destructive in the poultry yard.

Of domestic fowls, the cocks and hens of Europe are by far the most numerous, and the English game cock is prized for its decided pugnacity. The goose, the turkey, the pigeon and the peacock are also well known, and the parrot and parroquet are easily domesticated. The sylvan birds are numerous and distinguished by the beauty of their plumage. Some two hundred species are known on the island. Birds of prey are not numerous; and in Cuba as in other West Indian islands, the lazy-looking, bald-headed vulture and the turkey buzzard are protected by law and custom on account of the important services they render by their prompt removal of all sorts of carrion and other offal. The shortness of the time required in consuming a dead ox, or a dead mule, is almost incredible; although just before it fell, not one of these great, heavy-looking birds was to be seen within the range of the visible horizon.



The reefs and shallows, and the interior sandy beach by which the island is lined throughout the greater part of its circumference, but especially on the side of the old Bahama Channel, the Isle of Pines and the Cayos de Doce Leguas, are particularly favorable for the production of those species of turtle, from which the best quality of tortoise-shell is procured. There are other varieties of the Tortugo which inhabit the mouths of rivers, and the lagoons, both salt and fresh. In deeper waters, the crocodile and the cayman are found; the latter more especially where the water is stagnant. The manati belongs to the deep pools of fresh water, and the iguana, a sort of lizard, to the banks of streams, bays and lagoons. In some places the landcrab is so excessively numerous, as to become troublesome, and even dangerous to travelers on foot or on horseback. For a mile or more at a time the whole surface of the ground will be undermined by them, often producing serious accidents by entrapping the foot of the traveler or that of his horse. In some places the pigs feed on these crabs, to the great injury of their health. The common kind, the *cangreja*, is about seven inches in diameter, not including the extremities. These crustaceans cross the island from north to south every spring when the rains commence. Oysters are numerous, but of inferior quality, and may frequently be seen hanging like fruit from the branches of the mangrove, a tree which girdles the coast of most of the West India islands.

Snakes and reptiles are not very numerous in Cuba. The *maja*, twelve or fourteen feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in circumference, is generally found in the near neighborhood of country houses and other inhabited places, taking up its 'odg-

ing in the roof, and preying on the poultry. It seldom attacks man, and its flesh and fat are supposed to be medicinal. A smaller snake, the *jubo*, about six feet in length, is considered more dangerous, and is also more common than the *maja*. It lives generally on the surface of the ground, among stones and rubbish.

Among the insect tribe, the bee furnishes two important branches of export in its wax and its honey. In the higher grounds, and the cultivated portions of the island, the honey is of a delicious quality, but where the bee feeds upon the flowers of the shrubs and plants of the lower districts, the quality is very inferior. There is another sort of bee, supposed to be indigenous, called the *abeja criolla*, much lighter in color, and with a sting so short, that it scarcely makes itself felt. It builds its hive in hollow trees in the interior of forests or in clefts of the rock. Both the honey and wax are darker in color than that produced by the common bee, and possess balsamic qualities. The phosphorescent insects are also numerous in the island, and a dozen of the large sort called *cocayo*, when enclosed in a cage prepared for the purpose, will emit so much light of a brilliant green color, as to enable one to read by it. These insects may be preserved alive for three months or more, provided they are frequently bathed, and their favorite food, a piece of sugar cane stripped of its bark, is renewed at least daily. Among the noxious insects, the *nigua*, or jigger as it is called in the British islands, is perhaps the most troublesome, and there is a species of ant called the *vivijagua* which is exceedingly destructive in Cuba, particularly in orchards and coffee plantations. The different members of the mosquito family are an intolerable pest, and the sand-fly, though

scarcely perceptible to the eye, is quite as troublesome as the mosquito. The spider is, though, the most revolting of the whole insect tribe, and its sting is so painful and poisonous as to produce fever. The scorpion is very different from that of Europe in form, and is much less injurious. The centipede is neither so large nor so common as in many other West Indian islands.

A very large portion of the Island of Cuba is still covered with dense forests, and these are rendered well nigh impassable by a luxuriant growth of tropical plants and vines.

The palm is the regal tree of the island, the queen of the forest. The common species, *Palma Real* (*oreodoxa regia*) is found in all parts of the island, but more largely in the western portion. It is intensely and exclusively tropical; it gives no shade, and bears no fruit that is valued by man; yet it has a strange fascination over the eye and the fancy, that will never allow it to be overlooked or forgotten. It seems to be conscious of its want of usefulness for food or shade, yet it has a dignity of its own, a pride of unmixed blood and royal descent,—the hidalgo of the soil. The palm not only furnishes by its flowers a fruitful source of nectar to the bee, and by its seeds a favorite food to animals, but its leaves and trunk produce all the materials requisite to build a modest cottage. It vegetates in all soils on the island, attains a height of fifty to seventy feet, while the trunk, erect and quite smooth, is but one or two feet thick. The latter is covered by a perfect coat of minute white lichen, giving it the look of unpolished marble, and is sometimes variegated by patches of red and black plants of the same species. It ends in a perfectly

green top six feet long, composed of the footstalks of the leaves, and enclosing the embryo foliage, which when boiled is more delicate than the garden cabbage. Each tree has twenty leaves, one of which is shed about every three weeks, leaving a circle of gum on the trunk which remains indelible, and by the number of which the age of the tree can be calculated. It bears fruit when it is eighteen years old, and lives about two centuries ; the one in the garden of the convent of Santa Clara, within the recollection of its successive inmates, has nearly attained that age. From the extremity of the green portion of the trunk, all the leaf stems spring in a single cluster. They are about fourteen feet long, with stiff, narrow and varnished leaflets in a triple row, two slightly arched and the third erect. The first circle of six stems arch downward, the second of a like number are horizontally arched, and the rest are more or less erect, with their extremities only bent over ; while from the centre, a single unopened leaf, like a tall spear, shoots up ten feet high. The whole tree resembles a marble column supporting artificial arches of foliage ; and when in flower, is a perfect model of the Corinthian column. There are several other varieties of palms indigenous to the island, among which are the *guano de cana*, *chamerops* ; its leaves are preferred for thatching, and on it the vanilla parasite, *epidondrums*, is alone found. The *guano de yuaraguano* ; the *guana de costa* ; the *miraguano*, *chamerops antillarum*, its leaves are very strong and are used for making serones or sacks for packhorses ; the *manaca*, the *palma jata* and the *palma epinosa*. The cocoanut tree and the African palm are found also everywhere.

The *granadillo*, *brya abenus*, grows in strong soil to the height of twelve feet and is selected for its hardness and beautiful color for walking sticks. The *manzanillo*, *hipomane manzanillo*, is found on the seacoasts and low grounds, growing to the height of twenty feet. The fruit which ripens in August, is used to poison dogs. The *jucaro bravo prieto*, *benida*, is a favorite wood for building, on account of its hardness and durability. It resembles somewhat the American live oak, and attains the height of forty feet and the diameter of three feet; its fragrant flower is eagerly sought after by the bee. The *ebano real*, *dyos puros* (ebony) grows over the whole island, and attains the height of sixteen feet and the diameter of one foot; it is blacker than the *ebano carbonero*, and more sought after. The *lignum vitæ* or *guaiac* tree is also common in many places. The *majagua*, *hibiscus tiliaceus*, is a fine widespreading tree, growing to the height of thirty-five feet and bears dull red flowers. It is remarkable for the strength of its bark, which is stripped into ribbons, and without any other preparation is twisted into thick ropes for wells and ox carts, being stronger than hemp. There are others remarkable for durability and beauty, but the most remarkable tree in Cuba is the *jaguey macho*, *ficus indica*, and it seldom fails to attract the notice of every visitor. It is a parasite at first, and frequently sends from the topmost branches of the giant *ceiba*, or cotton tree, a small string down to the soil; which, as it approaches the earth, divides into numerous threads, each taking root. When about the thickness of a man's arm, though sometimes twenty feet from the trunk of the *ceiba*, it sends off a great many horizontal side-suckers or roots

nearly fifty feet from the ground, all pointing toward the trunk of its foster parent. They at length reach it, encircle it on all sides, and increasing in strength and size, destroy it in their close embrace. The *ceiba* decays and not a vestige of it is left; while the *jaguey*, with its multiplied arms and roots soldered at every point into a curiously wrought trunk, and its irregular branches high in air, forms the most hideously-shaped tree of the forest. When once it takes root, no tree can withstand its destructive grasp. It bears a fruit, in May, that is greedily devoured by the bat; and on incision of its bark a resin exudes, which mixed with that of the *maboa*, is used as bird lime and as a stimulating plaster for the chest. Among other curious trees, is the sand box tree, covered to its smallest branches with a close mail of large conical thorns, and bearing a pod of beans, so shaped that it makes a perfect sand box; the trumpet tree, with a hollow trunk; the mangrove, sending down roots from every branch until it is multiplied into a forest, growing from the sea; these are but a few of the most curious. Probably the mahogany, the cedar and the ebony are the most valuable, and large quantities of these "woods of value" are exported.

Of the fruits of the island, the pine or anana and the orange are placed in the first class. The fig and the strawberry are to be found, although not so common. The *nispero*, or *sapote de la India*, is also an excellent fruit. There are, also, the melon of Castile and the *sandia*, or watermelon, with plantains and bananas in great variety, and the red and yellow mamey apple, while the lemons and sweet limes of the island are found in every thicket. Among the roots used for

food, the sweet and bitter cassava are perhaps the most important. The sweet root is eaten as a vegetable, and the bitter is converted into bread after its poisonous juice has been extracted. The bread is made in the form of very thin cakes. Of the sweet potato there are various sorts with an equal variety of names. The yam abounds and is considered more nutritive than any of the sweet potatoes. From the sago plant, the flour of that name is produced. Indian corn or maize, is indigenous, and two crops of it are obtained in the year; and before it goes to seed, the leaves are an excellent feed for horses. Rice is also produced in considerable quantities in many districts of the island, particularly along the muddy belt surrounding the coast. The grains are smaller than those of the Carolina rice, but that produced in the island is preferred by the inhabitants. Beans of various sorts are also produced, but the cultivation of wheat has been abandoned. The cultivation of indigo has been repeatedly attempted in Cuba, but never with much success. The cotton plant thrives in many districts but has never received much attention. Cocoa and chocolate are also grown, but sugar, and tobacco are the chief agricultural products of Cuba.

In former years, coffee was one of the leading articles of export, but the growing of coffee has almost ceased under the competition of Brazil and Java. The change from coffee plantations to sugar plantations,—from the cafetal to the ingenio, seriously affected the social, as well as the economic condition of Cuba. Coffee must grow under shade. Consequently the coffee estate was, in the first place, a plantation of trees and by the hundred acres. Economy and taste led the planters, who

were chiefly the French refugees from San Domingo, to select fruit trees, and trees valuable for their wood, as well as pleasing for their beauty and shade. Under these plantations of trees, grew the coffee plant, an ever-green, and an almost ever-flowering plant, with berries of changing hues, which, twice a year, brought its fruits to maturity.

That the coffee might be tended and gathered, avenues wide enough for wagons must be carried through the plantations, at frequent intervals. The plantation was, therefore, laid out like a garden, with avenues and footpaths, all under the shade of the finest trees, and the spaces between the avenues were groves of fruit trees and shade trees, under which grew, trimmed down to the height of five or six feet, the coffee plant. The labor of the plantation was in tending, picking, drying, and shelling the coffee, and gathering the fresh fruits of trees for use and for the market, and for preserves and sweetmeats, and in raising vegetables and poultry, and rearing sheep and horned cattle and horses. It was a beautiful and simple horticulture on a very large scale. Time was required to perfect this garden—the Cubans called it paradise—of a cafetal; but when matured, it was a cherished home. It required and admitted of no extraordinary mechanical power, or of the application of steam, or of science beyond the knowledge of soils, of simple culture, and of plants and trees. The disastrous hurricanes of 1843 and 1845, which destroyed many and damaged most of the coffee estates, added to the lack of protection on the part of the government, virtually put an end to the coffee plantations. But the same causes of soil and climate which made Cuba inferior in coffee growing,



gave her a marked superiority in the cultivation of sugar. The damaged plantations were not restored as coffee estates, but were laid down to the sugar cane; and gradually, first in the western and northern parts, and then extending easterly and southerly over the entire island, exquisite cafetals have been prostrated and dismantled, the groves of shade and fruit trees cut down, the avenues and footpaths ploughed up, and the denuded land laid down to wastes of sugar cane.

Coffee was in habitual use at Constantinople at least a century before a coffee house was heard of in Paris or London. In 1672 at the fair of St. Germain, coffee was first sold publicly; but it had previously been introduced at the court of his Most Christian Majesty, by Soliman Aga, and soon afterwards an Armenian established in Paris the first coffee house that ever existed in Western Europe. As soon as it became less an article of luxury and fashion than of comfort and necessity, the greatest efforts were made by such of the European powers as possessed colonies within the tropics to carry thither the coffee tree and accustom it to the climate. The Dutch were the first who succeeded. They carried it from Mocha to Batavia, and from Batavia they brought specimens to Amsterdam. The burgomasters of that city, sent a tree as a present to Louis XIV., who caused it to be carefully planted in the hothouses of the Garden of Plants. From thence in 1720 it was transferred to Martinique by M. Declieux, who was the first to introduce it in America. After being naturalized in Martinique, the French planters of San Domingo followed the example; and from San Domingo it was carried to Jamaica, from whence it spread rapidly over the whole of the West Indies.

## CHAPTER IV.

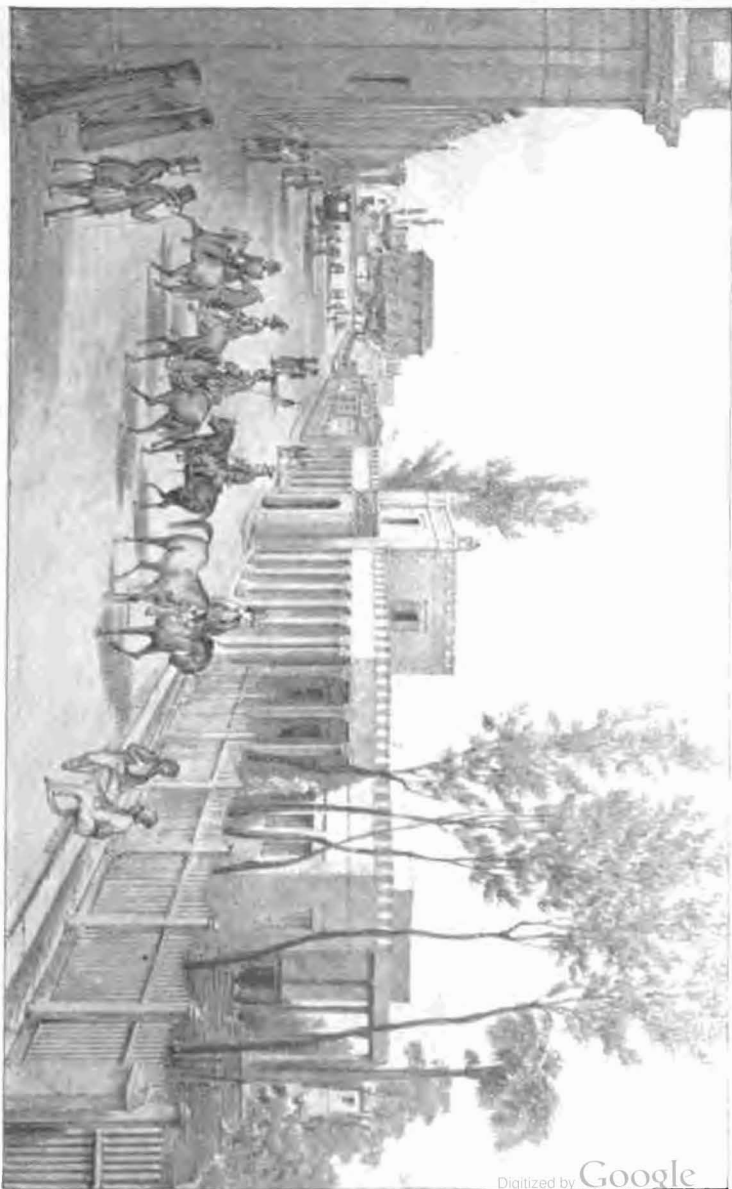
### CUBAN CITIES.

HAVANA first. San Cristobal de la Havana, if you please, or with the becoming solemnity of formal official documents "*La siempre Fidelissima Ciudad de San Cristobal de la Habana.*" An episcopal see as well as the seat of government, with a population of some three hundred thousand souls. The average traveler approaches the city for the first time with ideas of rather a romantic character. There will be grim fortresses guarding a magnificent bay, row upon row of palm trees and a profusion of fruit and flowers surely, and all under a tropical sun.

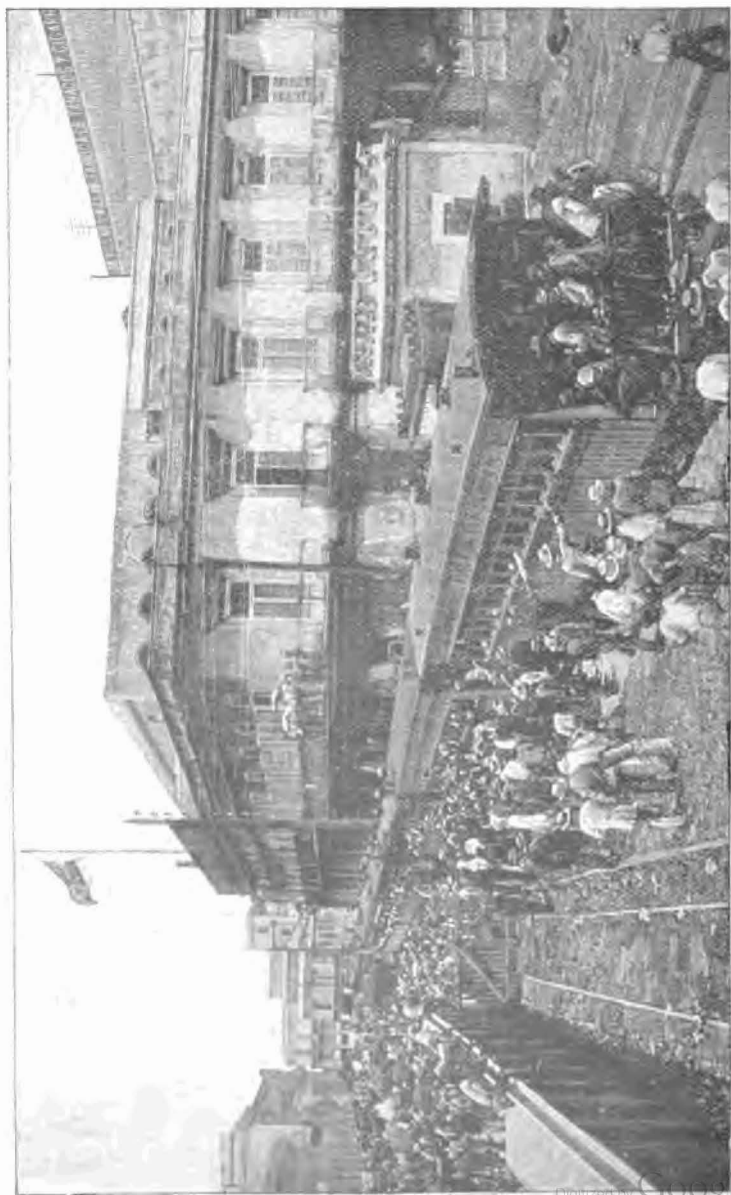
What he does see after passing the narrow strait, under the batteries of the Morro and the Punta into the harbor of Havana, is a low lying city of white, yellow and blue houses with red tiled roofs, the towers of churches rising above all, and long vistas of regular lines of green trees losing themselves in the distance. A quaint and novel scene, full of strangeness. Around the walls of Havana cluster memories of haughty Spanish dons, visions of gallant adventurers and explorers, of murderous freebooters and gold-laden ships. Brushing these aside as the steamer threads her way among vessels flying the flags of all nations, until the anchorage is reached, the traveler makes his first acquaintance with the boatmen of Havana and their unique craft, which resemble a small canal boat with

the top of a market wagon added. If not dazed by the babel of hotel runners, the presence of the custom officials asking for passports, and competitive profanity that would do credit to the mate of a Mississippi steamboat, get yourself and baggage over the side and enter the comfortless boat of a hotel runner and commit yourself to his tender mercies. If you look back upon the harbor you will see that it has the form of the ace of clubs, the entrance being the handle; or of the shamrock, when the stalk would be the handle and the three internal bays, its leaves. The alleys and byways, as they seem to you, through which you pass on first reaching the shore, are here regarded as streets or even avenues. If you are wise you will walk to the hotel you have selected, gaining in this way strange yet agreeable impressions which will not be marred by the lapse of years. You are now in the land of people "who never learn and who never forget," and in an hour you will see more ancient things in common use than there are in Cairo. The prevalence of iron barred windows in human habitations will strike you disagreeably. Everywhere it is the same, hotels, stores, dwellings—every window barred from top to bottom. Do not expect glass in these windows, or a carpet on your room, or a self-respecting mattress, or such a convenience as a latchkey, for they are not here. You are not used to variegated awnings stretched across the streets or the funny names of the funnier stores, as the "*Delicias de las Damas*" (ladies' delight), or "*Palo Gordo*" (fat stick)—you are taking your first lessons in Havana life.

Here in Havana there are hotels and hotels. Though very unlike the "Fifth Avenue" or the "Waldorf," every taste and purse can be satisfied, and one soon finds the



RAILWAY STATION, HAVANA.



FIRST MORNING TRAIN FROM VILLANUEVA STATION, HAVANA.

early morning chocolate or coffee, the cool salads and fruits of the eleven o'clock breakfast, and the abundant dinners at five or six o'clock, very pleasant and agreeable. One convenience you will certainly miss: there is not a hotel elevator in the city. Perhaps the most lively part of Havana is the Paseo, near the Tacon theatre, where the Hotel Inglaterra fronts the Parque Isabel. There the military band plays every night, and from the balconies of the hotel the views of the entrance to the harbor and of the "Prado" can never be forgotten.

Your first view of a volante will abide with you as well. This is said to be the sole and only Cuban invention and has been described as a "cross between a mule litter and a wheelbarrow run backward," and it has also been said "that there should be societies for its gradual suppression as a horse-killer." Look at this one. A pair of very long, limber shafts, at one end of which is a pair of huge wheels, and at the other end a horse with his tail braided and brought forward and tied to the saddle, an open chaise body resting on the shafts, about one-third of the way from the axle to the horse; and on the horse is a negro, in large postilion boots, long spurs and a bright jacket. Every third man, perhaps more, and not a few women are smoking cigars or cigarritos. There are things moving along, looking like cocks of new mown grass, under way, but presently you see the head of a horse or a mule peering out from under the mass, and a tail is visible at the other end, and feet are picking their slow way over the stones. These are the carriers of green fodder, the fresh-cut stalks and blades of corn, and they supply all the horses and mules in the city with their daily feed, as no hay is used. There are also mules, asses and horses,

with bananas, plantains, oranges and other fruits in panniers reaching almost to the ground.

From the sea, Havana presents a picturesque appearance; the long lines of shipping and fortifications, with the church towers as well, relieve the effect of the gaily colored houses. Havana within the walls, is the old part of the city, and although the walls are almost entirely demolished, this part is still spoken of in this way to distinguish it from the newer portion lying without. The old city has streets of the narrowest description, while the newer portion has wide thoroughfares, bordered with trees. The houses are for the most part of stone and have flat roofs, as in Spain. The stranger will note the lavish use of white marble and be surprised to learn that it is brought from Genoa, in spite of the fact that the quarries on the island are sufficient to supply the demand. Havana has been described as "a city of noises and smells," and this will be true, as long as there is unsatisfactory drainage and no satisfactory cleaning of the streets. The refuse of the city is placed upon the narrow sidewalks and is removed during the night in a perfunctory sort of way by negroes. Much has been written about the defenses of Havana, and the Spaniards affect to believe them impregnable. El Morro and La Punta guard the entrance to the bay, with the Cabaña on the same side as the Morro, and both to the east. The Castle of Atares at the head of the western arm of the bay, commands both the city and the neighborhood, and the Castillo del Principe, on an eminence to the west, is the terminus of the Paseo Militar. If not a military man, it was formerly easy to obtain permission to visit the interior of the Cabañas fortress, and the view from the outer

parapet is one of the most varied and pleasing around the city. Far down lies a forest of masts, the tops of which are hardly on a level with the base of the fortress; and just beyond is the populous city, with its solid blocks of turretted houses and occupying every space of the level land, and creeping half way up its surrounding hills. Southward, the shores of the little bay can be traced, everywhere studded with villas, its bosom covered by a fleet of vessels from all nations, riding securely at anchor, and the summits of the adjacent heights crowned by forts, protecting yet commanding the city. There are many beautiful drives near Havana, from which fine views may be obtained of the city and harbor. The Bishop's garden is well worth a visit. It was laid out by Juan de Espada, who established the public cemetery, and whose patriotism was so manifest, that it excited the jealousy of the mother country. He was recalled, but the Habaneros could not consent to part with their worthy bishop; and a certificate, asserting that the state of his health required him to remain, and signed by all the physicians of Havana, obtained the desired favor. No city in America has such an avenue as the Paseo de Tacon, and you are told that like most of the glories of Havana it is owing to the energy and genius of the man whose name it bears. It is straight, very wide, with two carriage-ways and two footways, with rows of trees between and at three points has a statue and a fountain. It is nearly three miles in length and reaches from the Campo de Marte, just outside the walls, to the last statue and public garden, on gradually ascending ground, and lined with beautiful villas, and rich gardens full of tropical trees and plants.



There is no better way to get an idea of the sights of Havana than to hire a carriage by the hour and drive in the early morning. Here is the Plaza de Armas, with its garden of trees and rich, fragrant flowers in full bloom, in front of the governor's palace. It is also adorned with fountains and a colossal statue of Ferdinand VII. At the corner, is the chapel erected over the spot, where, under the auspices of Columbus, mass was first celebrated on the island. We are driven by a gloomy convent, by innumerable shops, by drinking places, billiard rooms and the thick, dead walls of houses, with large windows grated like dungeons, and large gates showing glimpses of interior court yards, sometimes adorned with trees and flowers. A characteristic anecdote is related of an American sailor, who saw several ladies looking out upon the street through their grated parlor windows. Supposing them to be prisoners, and sympathizing with their forlorn condition, he told them to keep up a good heart,—and then, after observing that he had been in limbo himself, he threw them a dollar, to the great amusement of the spectators, who understood the position of the inmates. Horses and carriages and gentlemen and ladies and servants, all seem to use the same entrance. There is one curious custom in Havana. In the chief room, rows of chairs are placed, facing each other and always running at right angles with the street wall of the house. As you pass along the street you look up this row of chairs—for the windows come to the ground—and in these the family and the visitors take their seats in formal order. You are thus privileged to inspect all the front parlors of Havana and can note each lady's toilet and see who is visiting her. There are no dis-

tinctive costumes among the men. No Spanish hats, or Spanish cloaks, or bright jackets, or waistcoats, or open, slashed trousers, that are so picturesque in other Spanish countries; their dress would excite no particular comment in Paris, or London, or New York. We drive through the Puerta de Monserrate, a heavy gateway of the prevailing yellow or tawny color, where soldiers are on guard, across the moat, out upon the Paseo Isabel and are now without the walls. This Paseo is a grand avenue running across the city from sea to bay, with two carriage drives abreast, and two walls for foot passengers, and all lined with trees in full foliage. Here we catch a glimpse of the Morro, and there of Presidio and here we are at the Tacon theatre. The evening is the busiest season for the shops and much of the business of shopping is done after the gas is lighted. Volantes and victorias are driving to and fro, and stopping at the shop doors, and attendants take their goods to the doors of the carriages. Billiard rooms and cafés are filled, and the evening is the principal time for walking and for paying calls. The Cubans have a taste for grandiloquent or pretty names. They name the shops after the sun, moon and stars; after gods and goddesses, demigods and heroes; after fruits and flowers, gems and precious stones; after favorite names of women, with pretty, fanciful additions; and after all alluring qualities, all delights of the senses and all pleasing affections of the mind. The wards of jails and hospitals are each known by some religious or patriotic designation; and twelve guns in the Morro are named for the twelve apostles. Every town has the name of an apostle or saint, or of some sacred subject. The Fish Market is an object of

no little interest in Havana, not only for the rich variety of beautiful fishes that usually decorate its long marble table, but for the place itself and its history. It was built during the administration of General Tacon, by a Mr. Marti, who, for a service rendered the government in detecting a gang of smugglers, with whom it was at least suspected that he was too well acquainted, was permitted to monopolize the sale of fish in the city for twenty years. Having the prices at his own control, he made an exceedingly profitable business out of it, and became one of the rich men of the island. He was also the proprietor of the Tacon theatre, which is one of the largest in the world, and which also had a twenty years' monopoly, without competition from any rival establishment. The Fish Market is one hundred and fifty feet in length, with one marble table extending from end to end, the roof supported by a series of arches resting upon plain pillars. It is open on one side to the street, and on the other to the harbor. It is consequently well ventilated and airy. It is probably the neatest and most inviting establishment of the kind in any country, and all visitors to Havana should pay their respects to it.

"No traveler, except for some special or overruling reason, leaves, willingly, Havana"; so wrote N. P. Willis, and the visitor to the capital city of Cuba, will in a majority of instances, agree that this is true. While Havana is not Cuba in the sense that "Paris is France," yet all the customs and manners of the island are reflected there. Whether one drives or walks, he is sure to find along such streets as Rical, lined with handsome stores; up Mercaderes street, with its offices and warehouses; along O'Reilly street, which extends

along side the Governor's palace to the walls of the city, something new, novel, inspiring and instructive. So it is as well with Obispo street, the "Calzada de Gatiens," the "Calzada del Corro," the Avenue of Palms and other celebrated thoroughfares. One of the most beautiful villas in the vicinity of Havana is that of the Count de la Fernandina on the Paseo de Tacon.

The number of Irish families who have taken rank in the Spanish service and become connected with Cuba, is rather remarkable. Beside O'Reilly, there are O'Donnel, O'Farrel, and O'Lawlor, descendants of Irishmen who entered the Spanish service after the battle of the Boyne. When you come to leave Havana, you find that the strange and picturesque character of the city has interested you more than you think, and regret the inevitable feeling that you can never relate the tenth part of what you have seen and heard.

We will go to Matanzas, and by rail. There are two roads, the longer one leaving from the station at Villa Nueva, outside the walls, and the shorter from Regla, which is reached by ferry from the foot of Luz street, Havana. Either route is beautiful. Matanzas is situated on the northern shore, about sixty miles east of Havana. It commands the resources of a rich and extensive valley, and its exports of sugar and molasses are very large. The bay of Matanzas is deep and broad, and is defended by the Castle of San Severino. The harbor at the head of this bay is curiously protected against the swell of the sea, by a ledge of rocks extending nearly across it, leaving a narrow channel on each side for the admission of vessels. The city is built upon a low point of land, between two small

rivers—San Juan and Yumurri—from which so heavy a deposit of mud has been made as to materially lessen the capacity of the harbor. The anchorage ground is consequently about half a mile from the shore and cargoes are lightered. Matanzas is the second city in importance, and occupies the site of an Indian village, known to the early discoverers. It has a fine public square—Plaza de Armas,—churches, and the finest theatre on the island. Near Matanzas are the celebrated “Caves of Bellamar,” which can be reached by a pleasant drive of an hour. Matanzas has quite a Venetian look from some points, and altogether gives one a pleasing impression of beautifully built houses, with plenty of colored tiles, in luxurious gardens, and across the bay the hills that overtop the valley of Yumurri, beautiful beyond description.

Cardenas is a comparatively new place and is sometimes called the American City, with some twenty-two thousand inhabitants. It is finely situated at the head of a beautiful bay, fifty miles eastward of Matanzas. This bay was once a famous resort for pirates, who, secure from observation or winked at by the well-fed officials, brought in the vessels they had seized, drove them ashore on the rocks and then claimed their cargoes as wreckers, the murdered crew not being able to claim even a salvage for their rightful owners. In the exhibition of scenes like this, the bay of Cardenas was not alone, or singular. Many an overhanging cliff and dark inlet of that blood stained shore could tell a similar tale. Cardenas is the shipping point for a fine sugar growing district, is well laid out with churches, cafés, and numbers of finely built wharves.

What is regarded as the finest sugar plantation on

the island—the “Flor de Cuba,” is situated in the vicinity of Cardenas.

Sagua la Grande is what might be called a large town, of nineteen thousand inhabitants. It is situated on the river of the same name and has railroad communication with Villa Clara farther in the interior, and with Cienfuegos on the southern coast.

Villa Clara is a very old town, its founding dating back to 1689. Probably it now has a population of fifteen thousand souls. Wealth is abundant in this city and the women are celebrated for their great beauty.

Cienfuegos, on the beautiful bay of Jaqua, on the southern coast, has, like Cardenas, numbers of American merchants. Its beauty is enhanced by the majestic hills that encircle it, and it presents the appearance of a regularly laid out city. The public square is perhaps the largest in the island and is adorned with fine statues. The Commandante of the district resides here, and there is one really fine old church. From Cienfuegos one may go by fine lines of steamers to Batabano, taking the Isle of Pines on the way, or westward to Trinidad, Santiago de Cuba, etc. Trinidad is a rambling sort of a town, about six miles distant from the sea. The little village of Casilda is the port, and lighterage is employed in handling cargoes.

Trinidad is one of the oldest towns on the island, being settled in 1513 by Diego Velasquez. In common with other Cuban settlements, it suffered much at the hands of pirates in its early days, and the bay of Casilda witnessed the battle between the Spaniards and English, in which, after three days' fighting, the English were obliged to withdraw. Well built storehouses are characteristic of Trinidad, but the streets are crooked and

narrow. Some private edifices are really magnificent, and the public square, called the Plaza de Serrano, is well laid out.

Around the Plaza de Carillo, which is very nearly the centre of the town, is a broad stone paseo, and inside there is beautiful shrubbery, vines and a graceful arbor; with a profusion of gas jets at night. The views and drives around Trinidad are superb, particularly the drive to the "Loma del Puerto." In the winter, Trinidad is particularly gay and at any time has a wonderful charm for the visitor. The gardens of the Queen—"Jardines de la Reina"—are clusters of small islands, some sixteen hours' steaming from Trinidad. These keys—for they are not much more, were named by Columbus, on his first voyage, and present a most agreeable appearance as the steamer threads her way between their alternately wooded and barren shores.

Santa Cruz is the next stopping place, and Puerto Principe, in the interior of the island, can only be reached from this side of the island, at this point. There is little in Santa Cruz to attract the traveler.

And now here is Manzanillo, on the bay of Guacanayabo, an old town, settled in 1790, and one that in the early years suffered much from the buccaneers who plied their nefarious calling in these waters. Very much of the celebrated "Yara" tobacco is shipped from here, and there are sponge and turtle fisheries to the westward. Manzanillo has thirteen thousand or more people to promenade in the beautiful Plaza de Armas, but there is little here to delay the traveler, and now we must steam westward for awhile in order to round the Cape of the Cross, the extreme southern ex-

tremity of Cuba. Some of the highest peaks in the island are in the "Sierra Maestra," and here are as grand views of mountain scenery as are to be found in the United States.

Santiago de Cuba is another of the Cuban cities founded by Diego Velasquez, on his first voyage, in 1515, and the waters of its bay saw Juan de Grijalva sail for Yucatan and Panfilo de Narvaez for Florida, and witnessed the arrival of the first Bishop of the island, Fr. Miguel Ramirez de Salamanca, as well as that of Hernando de Soto on the occasion of his assuming the command of the island. The French captured the city in 1553, and at times, the attacks of pirates nearly depopulated the city. It is now defended by the Morro Castle, the batteries of Aguadores and Estrella and the Cabañas. Santiago has suffered severely from earthquakes, and to this day the inhabitants rush into the streets and fall upon their knees at the first sound of the "*terre moto*." The year 1608 saw the cathedral ruined by an earthquake and in 1766, more than one hundred persons were killed and a large portion of the city destroyed by another seismic disturbance. Hernando de Soto was the first "alcade" (mayor) of the city and report has it, that the remains of Velasquez were buried in the old cathedral. The streets of Santiago de Cuba are regularly laid out, and the stone houses are well built. Some of the streets are very steep, climbing to the top of the hill, where the plain called Campo del Marte commands superb views of the bay and the mountain ranges. The grand cathedral is on the eastern side of the "Plaza de la Reina," (Square of the Queen) in the centre of the city, and is the largest cathedral in the island. It has suf-



ferred from earthquakes, but is in fairly good repair. The effect of the interior is best in the evening, when the fading sunlight falls along the main aisle. The altar and choir are very imposing and the chapels are elegantly decorated. The large iron cannon, repeatedly captured in a war in San Domingo, rests in a niche below the cathedral. "Paseo de Concha" is a beautiful drive, and it is very fashionable to be seen there on Sunday afternoons. The aqueduct "El Paso de la Virgen" supplies the city with an abundance of water. If you take the steamer for a trip around the eastern end of the island, you pass the beautiful bay of Guantanamo, one of the finest harbors on the coast. Cape Maisi will try your abilities for staying on deck during the rough seas that are often found there and Baracoa will be reached in about sixteen hours.

Baracoa has certainly very little to recommend it aside from the fact that it is the first settlement made on the island of Cuba. Columbus, however, wrote of it "the multitude of palm trees of various forms, the highest and most beautiful I have ever met with, and an infinity of other great and green trees; the birds in rich plumage, and the verdure of the fields, render this country, most Serene Princes, of such marvelous beauty, that it surpasses all others in charms and graces, as the day does the night in lustre. I have been so overwhelmed at the sight of so much beauty that I have not known how to relate it."

These words may be applied to many other points in this beautiful island where nature seems to have run riot.

It was Diego Velasquez again, who settled this town, and the name he gave it was "Nuestra Señora

de la Asuncion" (our Lady of the Assumption). This place was once the capital city of Cuba, a bishopric, and the residence of the governor of the island, but is now merely a shipping point for pineapples, bananas, cocoanuts and such products; with a population of about three thousand inhabitants.

The town of Holguin in the interior is connected by road, with the coast, at Jibara, which is a new port by comparison with those we have seen. Here is a beautiful and roomy bay, but without sufficient depth of water to allow vessels to reach the wharves; so, as in so many other ports on the island, lighters are employed to load and unload the craft that visit Jibara in large numbers. There is a toy fort, which is supposed to guard the harbor, and the surroundings are a paradise for a lazy man.

The town of Nuevitas is small and unpretending, but the bay is superb and the second in extent of Cuba's beautiful harbors. It is land-locked and reached by a narrow strait four or five miles in length, and while the water is not deep, it is deliciously inviting by its clearness. The name of Puerto Principe was given to this lovely spot, by Columbus, on November 14th, 1492. Anchoring here, the great captain erected a cross as a visible sign of possession, and for a number of days afterwards explored the beautiful islands in the vicinity, to which he gave the name of "El Jardin del Rey" (the King's Gardens). The original name of the town was Santa Maria, but no permanent settlement was effected, until 1513, when on his memorable voyage, Diego Velasquez planted the colony there, that was afterwards removed to the Indian village of Caonao, and a little later to Camaguey in the interior, now known as Puerto Principe. The present name of the

town, in full, is San Fernando de Nuevitas, and as such, its date is modern, only going back to 1819, when it became the port of entry for Puerto Principe, forty-five miles distant. The exports from this place are sugar, molasses and hides, and sponge and turtle fisheries are carried on by an aquatic tribe, who live in houses built on poles, and directly over the water.

A stranger in Puerto Principe will receive the impression that he is in some forgotten land, at least one hundred years behind the age. The heart of the grazing country is around this quaint town of "Santa Maria del Puerto Principe," and much of the importance of the town is derived from this fact. The forty thousand people that comprise the population, are hospitable to a degree—a fortunate circumstance for the stranger, especially if he has letters of introduction—for there are no hotels, but the streets are narrow and crooked and without sidewalks. There are several old churches as quaint and as queer as the town itself, a theatre, and the public buildings are rather above the average in Cuban towns.

The western part of the island contains the town of Batabano, Guanajay, San Christobal and Pinar Del Rio, all of which will afford the tourist many and pleasant and abiding memories, and in whatever direction he may travel, by rail, by steam, by volante or on horseback, he will find more of color, fascination and interest, than in any other land, unless it be Spain itself. The country is strange and beautiful, and the habits of the Cubans novel and striking.

## CHAPTER V.

### SIGHTS AND SCENES.

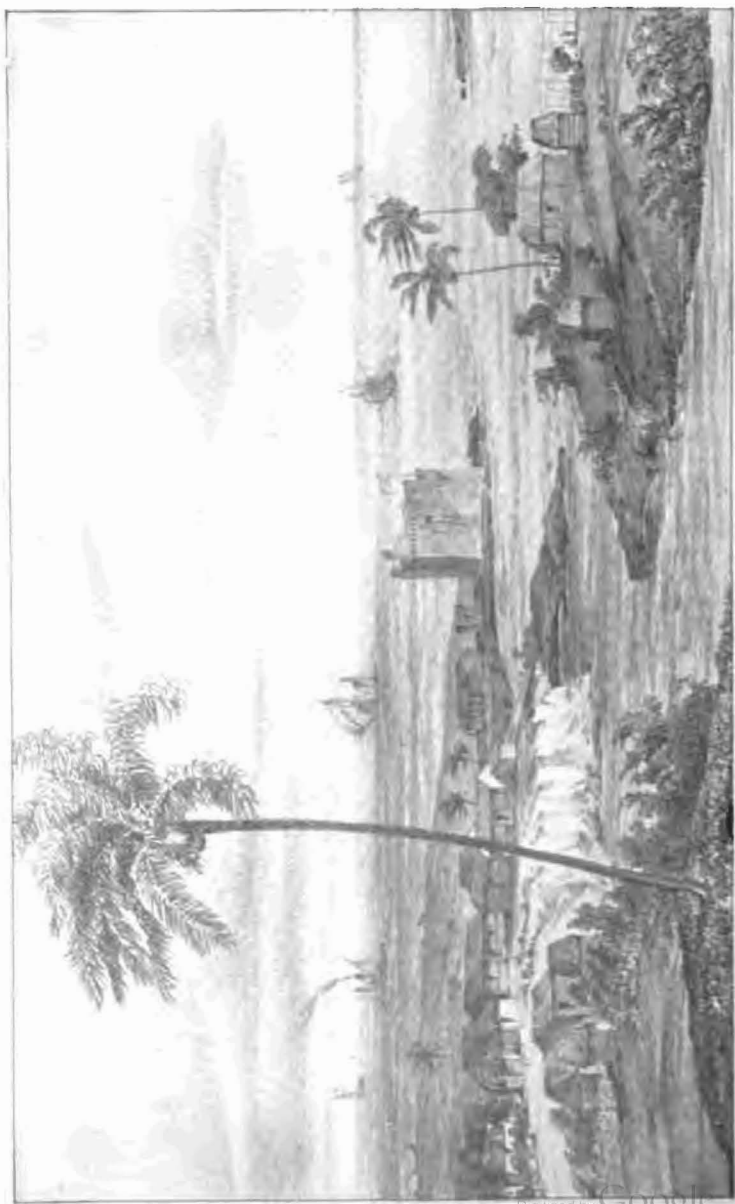
SAN DIEGO is the Saratoga of the tropics, and the wonderful curative properties of its springs are known throughout the length and breadth of Cuba. These marvelous baths are on the left bank of the Caiguanabo river in the Vuelta Abajo. To reach this healing spot, one must leave Havana early in the morning of Thursdays by the railroad to Batabano, changing cars at San Felipe—and upon arrival take the steamer which connects with the train for Dayaniguas, reaching there the next morning. Early on this day (Friday), under escort of a detachment of the mounted Guardia Civil the trains of carriages leave for San Diego, which is reached at half past nine o'clock, having stopped for breakfast and change of horses at Paso Real. The story of the discovery of these waters, and the founding of the village, is, that a slave named Domingo being attacked with leprosy was compelled to live apart from any habitation in a hut built for him in the mountains. Prohibited from approaching anyone, the negro tired of his solitary life, and went roaming about in search of adventures. He finally made his abode in a cave and subsisted on wild fruits and roots. One day while bathing to obtain some relief from the pain of his disease, he discovered that the water of the pool was warm and peculiar. Continuing these baths for a long time, his disease left him, and in good health he returned to the

house of his master, claiming that a miracle had been wrought upon him by St. Diego. It is pleasant to learn that he ended his days near his master in the full possession of freedom. Soon the news spread and all sorts and conditions of people hastened to try the miraculous waters. From the first simple huts of palm leaves has grown a considerable town of handsome houses, a church and numerous hotels. Some two thousand visitors reside there during the gay season. Here is a fine opportunity for a stranger to study the etiquette and manners of the best people of Cuba and Havana. The government has assisted in building up the town, and the dyke that has been constructed to keep the waters of the river from the springs, is really a skilful piece of engineering. These springs are four in number and are known as the "Tigre," the "Templado," the "Paila," and the "Santa Lucia." These springs have an average temperature of about ninety degrees and emit a great quantity of sulphuric acid gas. All are enclosed under one roof and the tanks and swimming pools are well appointed. In the neighborhood of San Diego are the "Arcos de Caiguanabo" caves formed by the passage of the San Diego River through a peculiar natural formation of rocks. The journey to these caves is generally made on horseback and amid wild and picturesque scenes, and these concrete petrifications, the "doors," as they are sometimes called, are well worth a visit, although inferior to those of Bellamar near Matanzas.

The famous sanctuary of Nuestra Senora de la Caridad del Cobre is to the pious Cuban what Mecca is to the Turk, what Rome is to the Italian. It is the resort of pilgrims who make offerings or pay vows made in



ST. FRANCIS WHARF, HAVANA.



COJIMAR, A PLEASURE RESORT NEAR HAVANA.

some season of sorrow or calamity. The little village is about twelve miles from the city of Santiago de Cuba, at the base of the Cobre (copper) mountains on the southeastern coast of the island. An old church far up the mountain side was the home of the miraculous image of the Virgin until the number of successful miracles it wrought and the accumulated wealth from the grateful offerings became so great, that the society of priests who had it in charge determined to build a temple that would be a worthy resting place for *la sanctissima Virgin*. The legend which is always told in reverent language is in effect that two Indians and a Creole saw from their canoe while in the Bay of Nisse, a white body floating in the water. Reaching it, they found upon a board an image of the "Sainted Virgin Mary" fifteen inches in height, with her precious child, of proportionate size, on her left arm, and a golden cross in her right hand. On the board was an inscription in large letters, "I am the Virgin of Charity." These good men bore the precious prize to the fold of Verajagua, where under a shelter of palm leaves the miraculous image received proper veneration. It was later transferred to the church of Cobre and finally a temple was erected for its special use. On the principal feast day, the image is arranged on a portable throne handsomely ornamented with gold, silver, ivory and tortoise shell, enclosed in a glass case around which twelve angels are arranged, with burning tapers in their hands. A sort of blue veil depends from the roof upon this precious throne and on it are hung the innumerable votive offerings. Two or three times a month one can go by steamer from Santiago de Cuba to Havana, passing entirely around the eastern end of the island and



so double Cape Maisi, the most easterly point of the island, which was considered by Columbus to be the eastern extremity of Asia.

The "Caves of Bellamar" are to the southeast of the city of Matanzas, and every visitor to Cuba should see them. The "Gothic Temple," though not equal in size to its namesake in the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, is infinitely its superior in richness and splendor. The effect, however, would be much more magnificent if an additional number of lanterns were employed in producing the wonderful play of color from myriads of crystals and columns. "Columbus' Mantle" is shown and there are "altars" without number. Then there is the "Cloak of the Virgin" and the "Fountain of Snow,"—all lovely and striking objects. The usual time spent in exploring these wonderful caves is about three hours, and the safety of the visitor is heightened by the enterprise of the proprietor, who has provided plank walks, iron railings and strong bridges wherever necessary. The Mammoth Cave is grand and solemn; here all is light and fantastic. If one were ever peopled with gnomes and demons, surely this other must have witnessed the revels of fairies and sprites, dancing to dreamy music amid wondrous coloring. Some three miles have been explored, and it is the intention of the proprietor to illuminate it with gas, eventually. Some portions now are lighted in that way.

By all means visit an "ingenio," or sugar estate, and if without letters of introduction to the administrator, make the acquaintance of the engineer, who, being generally an American or Englishman, will be pleased to see strangers, and to provide them a guide, if he is unable to do the honors of the place himself. Thousands of acres

in Cuba are devoted to a single sugar plantation and few fall below five hundred acres in extent. A tract of sugar cane, bending its lilac plumes to the wind in wave upon wave of beauty, is a sight long to be remembered, but you wish to see the manufacture of sugar. When the cane is ripe for cutting, it is attacked by companies of men, women and children, working together, who use an instrument called a "*machete*," which is something between a sword and a butcher's cleaver. Two blows with this slash off the long leaves, and a third blow cuts off the stalk near to the ground. At this work the laborers move like reapers, in even lines, at stated distances. Before them is a field of dense, high-waving cane, and behind them strewn wrecks of stalks and leaves. Ox-carts pass over the field, and are loaded with the cane, which they carry to the mill. The oxen are worked in the Spanish fashion, the yoke being strapped upon the head close to the horns, instead of being hung around the neck, as with us, and are guided by goads and by a rope attached to a ring through the nostrils. At the mill the cane is tipped into large piles by the side of the platform. From these piles it is placed carefully by hand in a long trough. This trough is made of slats, and moved by the power of an endless chain connected with the engine. From this trough it is thrown between heavy, cylindrical rollers, where it is crushed, its juice falling into receivers below, and the crushed cane passing off and falling into a pile on the other side. The crushed cane (*bagazo*) or "*bagasse*," falling from between the rollers, is gathered into baskets by men and women, who carry it on their heads into the fields and spread it for drying. There it is watched and tended as care-

fully as new-mown grass in haymaking, and raked into cocks or winrows on an alarm of rain. When dry, it is placed under sheds for protection against wet. From the sheds and from the fields it is loaded into carts and drawn to the furnace doors, into which it is thrown by the armful and raked about by long poles. Here it feeds the fires by which the steam is made, the machinery moved, and the cane juice boiled. The care of the bagazo is an important part of the system; for if that becomes wet and fails, the fires must stop, or resort be had to wood, which is scarce and expensive. From the rollers the juice falls below into a large receiver, from which it flows into great, open vats, called defecators; these defecators are heated by the exhaust steam of the engine let through them in pipes. All the steam condensed forms water, which is returned warm into the boiler of the engine. In the defecators, the scum of the juice is purged off, so far as heat alone will do it. From the last defecator the juice is passed through three troughs into three large tanks, one of which is for molasses, one for cane juice and one for syrups. From these tanks the liquor passes to the vacuum pans, which have for the most part succeeded the large, deep, copper caldrons, where a strong negro stood, stirring the contents and skimming off the surface. By the old method the juice was ladled from one caldron to another, but is now pumped from one pan to another, where latent heat is used to evaporate the cane juice. From the last, or striker pan, a double-bottomed kettle furnished with sufficient steam to keep the sugar warm, next receives the mass, and here a certain amount of crystalization takes place before it goes into the moulds or *hormas*, into which the molasses drains. The differ-

ent grades of sugar are prepared by this process. Of necessity there are cooper, carpenter and blacksmiths' shops, and gas, manufactured on the premises, has been introduced into some of the best plantations, as an economical substitute for oil, for illuminating purposes. A corral, or *potrero*, for the cattle employed on the place, with buildings for the overseers and hands, also for storing the necessary supplies; and the home of the planter as well as the engine house, all make a settlement of considerable proportions. If the planter be an absentee, the principal dwelling,—almost a palace on some estates,—is occupied by the *administrador*, who has the care and management of the estate, where for four months in the year, the steam engine plies, and the furnace fires burn night and day. If you are fortunate enough to have the hospitalities of the owner extended to you, it will be difficult to realize in the stillness of the large and comfortable sleeping-room assigned you, with brick floor, glass windows, pure white bed linen and mosquito net, and ewer and basin scrupulously neat, that you are far away in the hill country of Cuba. You will find the garden in the morning an agreeable spot, with its birds and flowers and aromatic trees. Here is a mignonette tree, forty feet high, and every part is full and fragrant with flowers, as is the little mignonette in our flower pots. There is the allspice, a large tree, each leaf strong enough to flavor a dish. Here is the tamarind tree, under which you must sit, and there on the allspice tree is a chameleon, about six inches long and of a pea-green color. At the corner of the house stands a pomegranate tree, full of fruit, and there are sweet oranges and sour oranges, and limes and coconuts, and pineapples, and an abundance of fuschias and

cape jasmine, and the highly-prized night blooming cereus. The most frequent shade tree here is the mango. It is a large, dense tree, with a general resemblance to the linden. If you like, you can amuse yourself by learning the habits of the red ants, those formidable enemies to all structures of wood. They eat into the heart of the hardest woods, not even the *lignum vitæ*, or iron wood, or cedar being proof against them. Their operations are secret. They never appear upon the wood or touch its outer shell. A beam or rafter stands as ever with a goodly outside ; but you tap it, and you find a shell. Their approaches, too, are by covered ways. When going from one piece of wood to another, they construct a covered way, very small and low, as a protection against their numerous enemies, and through this they advance to their new labors. They can sap the strength of a whole roof of rafters without the observer being able to see one of them, unless he breaks their covered ways or lays open the wood.

Especially in the interior of the island, one may observe that the moon displays a far greater radiance than in higher latitudes. To such a degree is this true, that reading by its light is quite practicable, and in its absence, the brilliancy of the Milky Way, and the planet Venus, which glitters with so effulgent a beam as to cast a shade from surrounding objects, supply, to a considerable extent, the want of it. These effects are undoubtedly produced by the clearness of the atmosphere, and perhaps, somewhat increased by the altitude. In this region, the traveler from the north is able to gaze, as it were, upon an unknown firmament, contemplating stars that he had never be-

fore been permitted to see. The scattered Nebulæ in the vast expanse above—the grouping of stars of the first magnitude, and the opening of new constellations to the view, invest with a peculiar interest the first view of the southern sky. The Southern Cross, which is regarded with somewhat of superstitious veneration by the inhabitants of these beautiful regions as an emblem of their faith, is here seen in all its glory, elevating the thoughts and affections of the heart.

The neighborhood of Havana abounds with pleasant drives and delightful resorts, in which the invalid may find the sweetest and most delicious repose, as well as invigorating recreation; while the man of cultivated taste, and the devout worshipper of nature may revel in a paradise of delights. There are, likewise, many delightful short trips that can be made with ease, and of the most pleasing is an excursion to Guines. No mention is made of Guines in the division of the island by the first settlers from Spain, although near the mouth of the river, which runs close to it, the town of Havana was first built. It is probable that its origin is of comparatively recent date; one of those places which have gradually grown with the increased wants of a thriving country. On the trip to this lovely spot, the train does not carry you with much swiftness, indeed it would be a loss to the passengers to go faster. The country is too beautiful, too rich in verdure, too luxuriant in fruits and flowers, and too picturesque, to be hurried over. Passing the suburbs of Havana the road breaks out into the beautiful open country, threading its arrowy way through the rich plantations and thriving farms, whose vegetable treasures of every description can scarcely be paralleled on the face of the

earth. The farms which supply the markets of the city with their daily abundance of necessities and luxuries, occupy the foreground of this lovely picture. They are separated from each other, sometimes by hedges of the fragrant white flowering lime, or the stiff prim-looking aloe, armed on every side with pointed lances, and lifting their tall flowering stems, like grenadier sentinels with their bristling bayonets, in close array, full twenty feet into the air. Those who have not visited the tropics can scarcely conceive the luxuriant and gigantic growth of their vegetable productions. These hedges, once planted, form as impenetrable a barrier as a wall of adamant, or a Macedonian phalanx ; and woe to the unmailed adventurer, who should attempt to scale or storm those self-armed and impregnable defences. Within these natural walls, clustered in the golden profusion of this favored clime, are often seen extensive groves of orange and pineapple, whose perennial verdure is ever relieved and blended with the fragrant blossom—loading the air with its perfume, till the sense almost aches with its sweetness—and the luscious fruit, chasing each other in unfading beauty, through an unbroken round of summers. There is nothing in nature more enchantingly wonderful to the eye, than this perpetual blending of flower and fruit. It is so with all the varied products of this favored land. Crop follows crop, and harvest succeeds harvest, in prolific beauty and abundance.

The coffee and sugar plantations, checkering the beautiful valleys and stretching far up into the bosom of the verdant hills, are equally picturesque, and beautiful as the farms we have just passed. They are indeed farms on a more extended scale, limited to one

species of lucrative culture. The gorgeous tints of many of the ferns and flowers, and the yet more gorgeous plumage of the birds that fill the groves sometimes with notes of harshest discord, fill the eye with a continual sense of wonder and delight. There the glaring scarlet flamingo, drawn up as in battle array on the plain, and there the gaudy parrot, glittering in every variety of brilliant hue, like a gay bouquet of clustered flowers amid the trees, or the delicate, irised, spirit-like humming birds, flitting, like animated flowerets from blossom to blossom and coqueting with the fairest and sweetest as if rose hearts were only made to furnish honeydew for their dainty taste—what can exceed the fairy splendor of such a scene? The end of the journey comes only too quickly. The village of San Julian de los Guines is one of the pleasantest in the interior of the island. It is a place of considerable resort for invalids and has many advantages over the more exposed places near the northern shore. The houses are neat and comfortable and Guines boasts one of the best hotels in the island. There is a large church, cruciform in shape, with a square tower, painted blue. This valley, or rather plain of Guines, is rich and well watered, shut in on three sides by mountain walls, and extending between them quite down to the sea, a distance of nearly twenty miles. It is one of the richest districts in the island, and in the highest state of cultivation. It is sprinkled all over with cattle and vegetable farms, and coffee and sugar estates of immense value, whose otherwise monotonous surface is beautifully relieved by clusters, groves and avenues of stately palms, and flowering oranges, mangoes and pines, giving to the whole the aspect of a highly culti-



vated garden. The return trip is equally full of pleasure. No one wearies of gazing upon these new and strange scenes; the stations with the groups of peasants and negroes and fruit sellers that gather about them, and the stores of sugar and molasses collected there; the ingenios, glimmering in the heat of the sun, with their tall furnace chimneys; the cane fields, acres upon acres; the slow ox-carts carrying the cane to the mill; then the intervals of unused country, the jungles adorned with wild flowers, the groves of the weeping, drooping, sad, homesick cocoa; the royal palm, which is to trees what the camel or dromedary is among animals—seeming to have strayed from Nubia or Mesopotamia; the stiff, close orange tree, with its golden balls of fruit; and then the remains of a cafetal, the coffee plant growing untrimmed and wild under the reprieved groves of plantain and banana. At the chief stations on the road, there are fruit sellers in abundance, with fruit fresh from the trees: oranges, bananas, sapotes and cocoas. The cocoa is eaten at an earlier stage than that in which we see it, for it is gathered for exportation after it has become hard. It is eaten here when no harder than a melon, and is cut through with a knife, and the soft white pulp, mixed with the milk is eaten with a spoon. It is luscious and wholesome, much more so than when the rind has hardened into the shell, and the soft pulp into a hard meat. Now the ingenios and cane fields become less frequent, then cease altogether, and the houses have more the appearance of pleasure retreats than of working estates.

The roads show lines of mules and horses loaded with panniers of fruits, or sweeping the ground with

the long stalks of fresh fodder laid across their backs, all moving toward a common centre. Pleasure carriages appear. Next comes the distant view of the Castle of Atares and the Principe, and then the harbor and the sea, the belt of masts, the high ridge of fortifications, the blue, white and yellow houses with red or brown tops; and now you are again in the streets of Havana, among the motley multitude of whites, blacks, Chinese, soldiers, civilians, priests, lottery-ticket venders, and musicians, with begging tambourines.

Another excursion is to the pretty village of Marianao reached by rail from the "Paradero de Marianao" depot. The cars and the train service will be very different from which you have at home, and you will find upon your arrival much that is typical of all the Cuban villages you visit. Marianao is a summer resort, especially for the wealthy people of Havana. There are very handsome houses here and many oddities in roofs and balconies; a mineral water fountain and the usual loungers about the small *posadas*. You can have a bath in the surf if you like, and on your return, stop at Puentes Grandes, about half way between Marianao and Havana. This village is also a summer resort, and contains the only nail factory on the island; where all the operatives are Chinese.

Guanabacoa is a quaint old town which you must visit and see the mineral baths and drink the waters. This village was originally an Indian settlement, receiving the designation of a town in 1743. The mineral baths of Santa Rita, can be taken daily, while making your residence in Havana, for the distance is short. In addition to the well built stone baths, with separate rooms for ladies and gentlemen, are three

shrines at which the faithful or devout can make their offerings. There is the usual village church, which, here is dignified by the name of Cathedral, and one or two convents. Outside the village, and at some little distance, is the old church and cemetery of Potosi, well worthy of a visit. One may stop at Regla on the way back and inspect the sugar warehouses, said to be the finest in the world.

There is so much that is novel and strange in Havana itself, that volumes might be written concerning the sights and scenes in the streets alone.

John Chinaman is very much in evidence in Havana, and under a broad palm-leaf hat he has become a peripatetic merchant; having served his time as a coolie on a sugar estate, where he saved his earnings; or he has acquired his capital in some gambling transaction with his fellows. John carries his stock in trade which consists of crockery, in two round baskets, one at either end of the yoke that rests on his shoulders. Poultry and fruit sellers, mounted on horses or donkeys, cry the wares displayed in the panniers on either side of the patient quadruped, and here is a "*dulce*" (sweet-meat) seller, with basket on arm or head and a waiter in her hand. These *dulces* are for the most part, the preserved fruits of the country. Everybody buys of these neat mulatto women. The house roof in Havana is called the terrace, and here, families as well as individuals spend the warm nights, the breezes from the sea being especially grateful. The baths of "El Louvre," outside the walls, are superb, and the bath rooms in the city are luxuriously cool and clean. At the *Campos Eliseos* (Elysian Fields) one finds glorious baths in the artificial hollows in the rocks, with the sea

flowing in and out. There are apparently bells everywhere in Havana, and until one is accustomed to the indescribable sounds from every sized bells, his morning slumbers are very much abridged. But there are compensations, for the morning is the time to see at its best, the motley of the Havana streets. To see and to taste the fruits of the country, go to the market places of which, two are inside, and two are outside, the walls. Take the "Mercado de Cristina" for example. It is a stone quadrangle occupying an entire square, and for it, the Havanese are indebted to Tacon, who seems to have been at once, a model governor and a despot. Stores for all sorts of merchandise as please the people who come in from the surrounding country to sell their products, face the centre of the square or Plaza, which is filled, pile upon pile with the vegetable productions of the island. Swarthy Cubans, native country people and negroes, preside over the stores of fruit, vegetables and fodder. Perhaps it is here that you will have your first experience of cocoanut milk, fresh from the green fruit, and here in profusion you will find the "*anon*," the "*Sapote*" and the "*mamey Colorado*," in addition to pineapples, plantains and bananas. There are no berries, but there is plenty of sugar cane, of which the people are very fond.

The people of Cuba have a mode of calling attention by a sound of the tongue and lips, a sort of "P-s-t!" after the fashion of some parts of Europe. It is universal in the island; and it is used not only to servants and children, but between themselves, and to strangers. They make it clear and penetrating, and it is the mode of stopping a volante, calling a waiter, attracting the attention of a friend, or calling the notice

of a stranger. Probably, if a fire were to break out at the next door, the Cuban would call "P-s-t!" They beckon a person to come to them by the reverse of our motion. They raise the open hand, with the palms outward, bending the fingers toward the person they are calling. We would interpret it as a sign to go away. Smoking is universal and all but constant. The cigar is a great leveller; any man may stop another for a light. You will see the poor porters on the wharf, bow to gentlemen, strangers to them, and hold out a cigar, and the gentlemen stop, give a light, and go on,—all as of course.

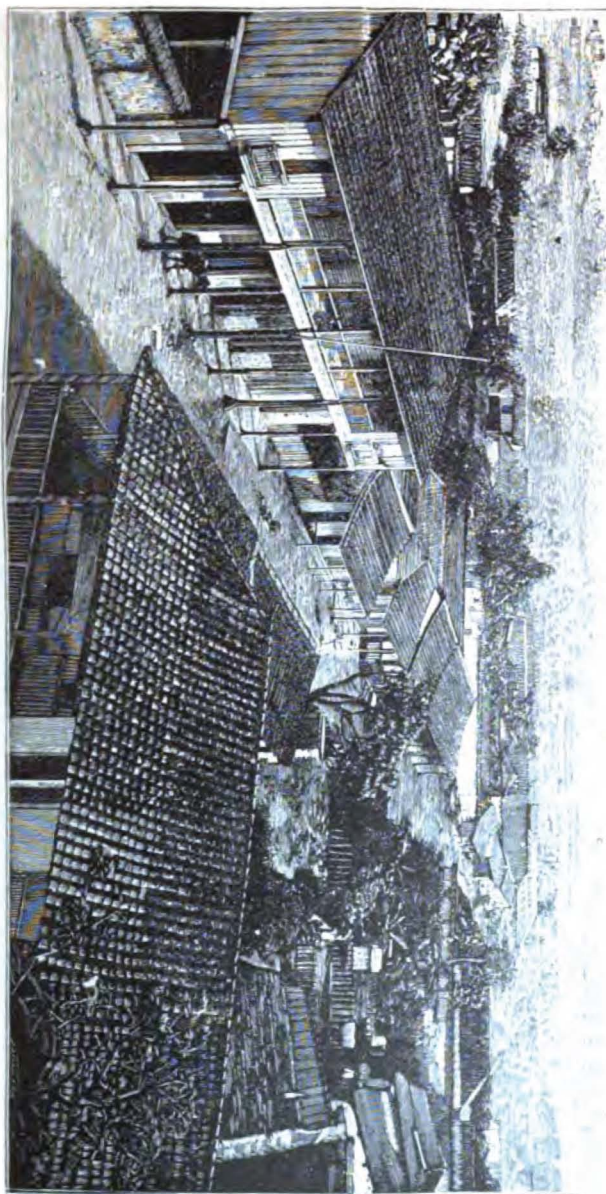
In the country lying to the westward of Havana, and known as the "Vuelta Abajo," or lower valley, is grown the best tobacco on the island. The "Vuelta Arriba," or upper valley, furnishes a milder quantity, and inferior grade. Other brands of tobacco, as the "Yara," "Mayari" and "Guisa" are grown in different portions of the island, and the "Yara" in particular, has quite a market in Europe. The finest tobacco in the world, however, is that produced in the "Vuelta Abajo." Previous to 1815, the manufacture of cigars in Cuba was subjected to monopolies and restrictions, and so severe were the latter, that the planters rose up in numbers and were only subdued by the Spanish soldiery, after blood had been shed. After 1815, the business of manufacturing cigars rapidly increased and became the second in importance on the island. The manufacture of cigars is carried on most extensively in Havana, where there are between one hundred and two hundred factories. Some of these establishments are the best appointed of their kind, in the world and the stranger who pays them a visit will find very much

to interest him there. The cigarette is oftener met with in Cuba than the cigar. Men, women, and children, smoke, smoke, smoke. The "Royal and Imperial Factory of La Honradez," is one of the best known buildings in Havana, and the visitor to that city should take an early opportunity to inspect it. Strangers are treated with the greatest courtesy, shown throughout the mammoth establishment by polite attendants, to whom you must not offer a gratuity; and on their departure, are presented with a package of cigarettes done up in a fancy wrapper bearing the name of the visitor, taken from the book where he registered on entering the factory. All this is done while you are inspecting the premises, and before leaving you enter in this same register, any opinion you may have formed of the establishment.

## CHAPTER VI.

### PASSIONS AND AMUSEMENTS.

CUBA, in common with other countries, has her peculiar passions, amusements and pastimes, and as these are to a certain extent indications of national character, they are worthy of a certain amount of mention. Gaming runs in the blood and as there are large numbers of men in Cuba who do not know the restraining influences of home, they resort to what might be called a second-class café to gratify this passion. Gambling is not a statutory offence except as regards the celebrated game of *monte*; and it is not regarded as a vice that may lead to ruin. With us the game of dominoes is regarded as rather a childish thing for grown men to amuse themselves with, but in the habitat of the Cuban gambler it is a game of chance and therefore a passion. These sunbrowned, tangled-haired and hard-featured men rattle the pieces with much gesticulation: with faces wrought into intense thought—they pursue the game amid much dispute; animated by undying hope. The stakes are small but very interesting. The loss of a dollar demands a veritable oration in explanation. The scene is the same, every night in the year. The flaring lights, the eager faces, the choice assortment of naughty words and all without mystery or back-rooms. And these devotees of the goddess of chance do not get drunk—coffee is the beverage most in demand. There are other pastimes, however, that in a Cuban sense are



SAN FELIPE.





THE BULL RING, HAVANA.

national passions. Sunday in Cuba exists in the almanacs and in the churches, but his first Sunday in Havana will give an American an idea that it is a sort of Fourth of July. This is the great day for cock-fights, bullfights and masquerade balls. First the gentlemen's Sunday game of cockfighting. On your way to the "Valla de Gallos" you will meet many mounted *monteros* and each will have under his arm a palm basket from which the head and neck of a game cock protrude, the sides being gently pressed to his body, keep his wings closed and secure him from the jolting motion of the horse. Pay your money at the entrance and enter an amphitheatre of benches among a mixed crowd—white, mulatto and black, all in clean attire and intermingled without distinction of color. Some are sitting, some standing and there is a box for the judges who sit as dignified as if about to try one of their own species for life or death. As for the motley assemblage, nowhere else on earth can you see the inmost workings of the gambler's soul, more fully exposed than in the features of the spectators. Here the excitement the game produces, is not concealed, but only modified by the temperament and education of each individual. As there are preliminaries to all battles, these combats are no exception, but are often protracted to annoying extent. Yet the sight of the birds seems to rouse the latent passion in each bosom and the place fills with tumultuous cries. Bets are freely offered on all sides—a shake of the finger from one opposite and the bet is accepted with a word being exchanged. One is surprised how accounts are kept, for no money is staked and no witnesses called. A nod or a shake of the finger is the only pledge given, yet disputes never

arise about it. The bets being taken among a veritable pandemonium of sounds, the birds are pitted and all but their owners retire from the enclosure.

Thus fights are arranged in various ways. There is *Al cotejo* where the size and spurs of the chickens are measured, *Al peso*, or by weight, *Tapados* where they "go it blind," without seeing the chickens, *De cuchilla* where artificial spurs are put on and *Al pico*, where they fight without spurs. The whole of this preliminary business is comical, yet it proceeds with the utmost gravity. The birds commence fighting as soon as they are placed on the ground, and the now silent crowd with outstretched necks, gaze intently upon them. Not a sound is heard but the blows given by wings of the birds, but a lucky gash from the spur of one sets all voices again going and odds are freely asked and taken. The victor being proclaimed, the same scenes will be renewed as long as birds are offered and often the sport lasts the entire day. The bets are paid without the slightest reluctance, for to repudiate a gambling debt would destroy the reputation of the lowest negro present. Cock-fighting is the amusement of high and low, the rich and the poor, but cannot be compared with the old days when the whole parish from the robed priest down, joined in the pastime.

To learn the character of another national recreation, go to the Plaza de Toros, a wooden amphitheatre in the suburbs of Havana, open at the top, with a circle of rising seats. Here you will find fathers with their children, for this most ferocious and cruel of amusements, is permitted by the church, licensed by the government and enjoyed by all. Cuban women do not attend of late years, probably because this form of

amusement is on the decline. The bull fight has been described a thousand times, but that in Cuba is a tawdry and faded imitation of the old time pictures the stranger has been accustomed to. Pass through a low door under benches filled with an eager stamping multitude and come out on the *entrada de sombra*, the shady side. Your ticket has cost you a dollar. There is a band of course, although it may consist of two brass horns, a big and a little drum, but is a band, and it brays and thumps until the signal for throwing the doors is given. This signal is not given, however, until some one in authority has obtained the key from the key bearer whose permission must be secured before the performance can go on. Now the grand entrance of all the performers takes place, with our friend the key bearer at their head, most gorgeously arrayed and mounted upon an alleged horse. Then the *picadores*, or lancers also mounted, gotten up in stunning style, wearing hats that are simply indescribable, and with their legs encased in a sort of armor resembling that used by cricketers, bearing long poles pointed with iron in their hands; next the *banderilleros* or the dartmen, on foot, gorgeous as well in velvet and gold, and then the swordsmen (*matadores* or *espadas*), the cynosure of all eyes, as they are men of prowess and skill, with three mules harnessed together to drag off the carcass of the bull after the fight is over. After the march around the ring, the mules are taken out and at a signal the bull enters only to be assailed by the *banderilleros* who flirt their gaudy cloaks at him, nimbly avoiding the chase that generally follows. Then two *picadores* with their long poles pointed with short pieces of iron, not long enough to kill, but only to drive off and goad, and

mounted on two of the sorriest nags eyes ever held, pay their respects to the bull who seems to have no other desire than to get out. When he comes against a horse, the horse stands still to be gored until driven off by the punching of the iron pointed pole of the horseman. Around the arena are sentry-boxes, each large enough to hold two men, behind which they can easily jump but which the bull cannot enter; and from these the cowards run out, flourish a red cloth at the bull and then jump back again. Three or four of the *banderilleros* with darts in hand, run before the bull, entice him by flapping their red cloths, and as he trots up to them, stick *banderillas* into his neck. These torment the bull and he tries to shake them off and paws the ground; but still shows no fight. He trots to the gate and snuffs to get out. Some of the multitude cry "*Fuera el toro!*" which means that he is a failure and must be let out, others are excited and cry for the killer (*matador*) and a demoniacal scene follows of yells and shouts, half drowned by the drums and horns. The cries to go on prevail; and the *matador* appears, dressed in a tight fitting suit of green small clothes, with a broad silver stripe, jerkin and stockings—a tall, light complexioned, elegantly made, glittering man, bearing in one hand a long, heavy, dull black sword, and in the other, a broad red cloth; next comes the harrying and distracting of the bull by flags and red cloths and darts; the *matador* runs before, flings his cloth up and down; the bull trots toward it—no furious rush or maddened dash, but a moderate trot—the cloth is flashed over his face, and one skilfully directed lunge of the sword into his back neck, and he drops instantly dead at the feet of the *matador*, at the very spot where he received the

stab. Frantic shouts of applause follow ; and the matador bows around like an applauded circus rider and retires. The great gate opens and three horses abreast are driven in, decked with ribbons, to drag the bull around the arena. But they are such feeble animals that, with all the flourish of music and the whipping of drivers, they are hardly able to tug the bull along over the tan in a straight line for the gate, through which the sorry pageant and harmless bull disappear. Now some meagre, hungry, swarthy, sweaty, mean-looking degenerates of Spain jump in and rake over the arena, and cover up the blood, and put things to rights again, and you have an opportunity to take a view of the company. There are no women except a few mulattoes on the sunny, or cheap side ; a few officials, not of high degree ; and the rest of the large company is a motley collection, chiefly of the middle or lower classes, mostly standing on the benches and nearly all smoking.

The music beats and brays again, the great gates open and another bull rushes in, distracted by sights and sounds so novel, and for a few minutes shows signs of power and vigor ; but as he becomes accustomed to the scenes, he tames down and after several minutes of flaunting of cloths and flags, and piercing with darts, and punching with the poles of the horsemen he runs under the poor white horse and upsets him, but leaves him unhurt by his horns ; has a leisurely trial of endurance with the little red horse goring him a little with one horn, and receiving the pike of the driver—the horse helpless and patient, and the bull very reasonable and temperate in the use of his power—and then is enticed off by flags and worried with darts ; and at last a new matador appears—a fierce looking fellow, dressed in dark

green with a large head of curling, snaky, black hair, and a skin almost as black. He makes a great strut and flourish, and after two or three attempts to get the bull head on, at length, getting a fair chance, plunges his black sword to the hilt in the bull's neck but there is no fall of the bull. He has missed the spinal cord, and the bull trots off, bleeding in a small stream, with a sword handle protruding a few inches above the hide of his bare neck. The spectators hoot their contempt for the failure; but with no sign of pity for the beast. The bull is weakened, but trots about and makes a few runs at cloths, and the sword is drawn from his hide by an agile dart-sticker (bandarillero), and given to the black bully in dark green, who makes one more lunge, with no better success. The bull runs round and reels and staggers, and falls half down, gets partly up, lows and breathes heavily, is pushed over and held down, until a butcher despatches him with a sharp knife, at the spinal cord. Then come the opened gates, the three horses abreast, decked with ribbons, the hard tug at the bull's body over the ground—his limbs still swaying with remaining life, the clash and clang of the band and the yells of the people.

Will you stay and see another? Perhaps it may be more successful. But the new bull is a failure. After all their attempts to excite him, he only trots round and sniffs at the gates; and the cry of "Fuera el toro!" becomes so general, with the significant triple beat of the feet in time with the words, all over the house, that the gates are opened, and the bull trots through to his quarters. But the manners, and cruelty and impotency of this crowd! They cry out to the spearmen and the dartmen, and to the tormentors, and to

the bull, and to the horses, and to each other, in a Babel of sounds, where no man's voice can possibly be distinguished ten feet from him, all manner of advice and encouragement or derision, like children at a play.

The next bull is treated to a refinement of torture in the form of darts filled with heavy Chinese crackers, which explode on the neck of the poor beast. Even this does not make him really dangerous. The light complexioned green and silver matador despatches him, as he did the first bull, with a single lunge and—a fall and a quiver, and all is over!

The fifth bull is a failure, and is allowed to go out of the ring. The sixth is nearly the same as the others, harmless if let alone, and goaded into short-lived activity, but not into anything like fury or even a dangerous animosity. He is treated to firecrackers, and gores one horse a little,—the horse standing, side on, and taking it, until the bull is driven off by the punching of the spear; and runs at the other horse, and upsets the rider and the black-haired matador in green tries his hand on him and fails again, and is hooted, and takes to throwing darts, and gets a fall, and looks disconcerted, and gets his sword again, and makes another false thrust; and the crippled and bleeding animal is thrown down and despatched by the butcher and his short knife, and drawn off by the three poor horses. The gates close and you hurry out of the theatre, in a din of shouts and drums and trumpets, the great crowd waiting for the last bull; but you have seen enough. Other strangers to the place leave too. The manners and cruelty of the exhibition are commented upon, and the moral view is not overlooked or underrated.

If one is bibulously inclined, he will find every-



where the wine of the country, or "*Vino Catalan*." It is brought from Spain, however, and is very cheap. It is diluted with water, generally, though the better grades are drank pure, and are preferred to French clarets. British ale is in common use, all over the island. Coffee is one of the great drinks, whether taken with or without milk, and a cup of Havana chocolate, is a thing to be remembered. There is lemonade as with us, "*Orchata*," milk of almonds diluted with water and sweetened with sugar, "*Cebada*," or barley water, "*La Chicha*," "*Zambumbia*," drinks peculiar to the island, "*Agraz*," from the juice of the unripe grape, slightly acid, and pleasant, and "*Gara piña*," from the pineapple rind, sweetened with sugar and fermented. Ice is plentiful in the island in the principal towns and cities, but in the interior, odd-looking, porous jars are used for the purpose of cooling the water. The dinner at five or six o'clock, is the principal meal of the day, those preceding it being light and suited to the climate.

Havana has been the scene of many operatic triumphs; during the winter, all the best troupes visit the city, and as a rule, opera is presented four times a week during the season, with particularly full houses on Sunday nights. The Tacon Theatre is probably the third largest in the world and as in other play-houses with a world-wide reputation, this, and the other first-class theatres of Havana, present on special occasions, an unrivalled spectacle of beauty. It is claimed that on one occasion in the Tacon Theatre, not less than seven thousand people assembled at a masquerade ball. This theatre contains three tiers of boxes, two galleries and a pit, besides saloons, coffee-

rooms, offices, etc. A trellis of gilded iron, by which the boxes are balustraded, imparts to the house an unusually gay and airy appearance. The pit is arranged with seats resembling armchairs, neatly covered, and comfortably cushioned. The Havanese are a theatre going people and bestow a liberal patronage upon any company that is worthy of it. Many excellent dramatic performances by Spanish or native companies are given in all the theatres of the city. You will also like the "Teatro de Villanueva," where the stage is deep and wide, the pit high and comfortable and the boxes light and airy and open in front, with only a light tracery of iron to support the rails, leaving you a full view of the costumes of the ladies, even to their slippers. The boxes are separated from the passage-ways in the rear, only by wide lattice-work, so that the promenaders between the acts, can see the entire contents of the boxes at one view; and the ladies dress, and sit and talk, and use the fan, with a full sense that they are under the inspection of a "committee of the whole house." They are all in full dress, *décolletées*, without hats; and there is evidently great attention to manner, to the mode of sitting and moving, to the music of the voice in speaking, the use of the hands and arms; and perhaps, too, of the eyes. For the Captain-General and family, there is a Vice-regal box; hung with real curtains and surmounted with the royal arms. Between the acts you will make the promenade of the house. All parts of it are respectable, and the regulations are good. There is one curious custom in all Spanish theatres. As no women sit in the pit, and the boxes are often hired for the season, and are high priced, a portion of an upper tier is set apart for

those women and children who cannot or do not choose to get seats in the boxes. Their quarter is separated from the rest of the house by gates, and is attended by two or three old women, with a man to guard the entrance. No men are admitted among them; and their parents, brothers, cousins and beaux are allowed only to come to the door, and must send in refreshments, and even a cup of water, by the hands of the dueñas. Military, on duty, abound at the doors and in the passage-ways. There are enough of them to put down a small insurrection on the spot. To one who has attended masked balls in the United States, there is nothing new in a *mascara* in Havana or Matanzas. Elegantly dressed ladies with their escorts, unmasked, attend those balls to see the merrymaking, while dancers in every variety of costume, crowd the floor. The most *recherché* affairs of this kind, are given at the Tacon theatre, as there is less of liberty there than at the Escauriza, for example. The favorite Cuban dance is the *lanza* and on the first Sunday night of the carnival, all the theatres are crowded. The *mascara* is a glare of light, a harlequin of color, for all are here in character, the devil and the monk, the roué and the peasant; the rich, the poor, the high, the low.

If you attend the grand ball of the island, the "Piñata," probably the most lasting impression you will carry away with you, is, that you have never before seen so many beautiful women together. Public balls are held in every city and town in Cuba and all classes freely intermingle at these events. The season of Christmas, is here, as elsewhere, one of general rejoicing, but the most brilliant entertainments are always given on Sundays, that day being especially set apart

for amusements of all kinds, cock fights, stage playing, etc.

The Carnival in Havana, is a joyous and festive time. Theatres are converted into ballrooms for the maskers, and the streets are filled with various grotesque characters. The latter will frequently stop before the grated windows of the parlors and dance to the music of a guitar or tambourine, the whole family gathering to behold them, while others, dressed as Turks, Jews, and other nations, parade the streets, maintaining their respective characters with considerable life. The scene is quite different on Good Friday, when all the church bells are kept silent, and in some places for their merry peals is substituted a sound intended to represent thunder. The yards of all the Roman Catholic ships are crossed, and an effigy representing Judas is hung by the neck from some conspicuous point. The crucifixion, burial and resurrection of the Saviour are also acted, reminding one of the "mystery" plays of the dark ages, in which the Deity and all His attributes were personated by men. Here, however, a miserably carved block of wood is shown as the image of our Saviour, carried in a procession and buried in the sepulchre. Nor are the country folks without their dances, games and sports. Every village has its feast day for its patron saint, which is celebrated with masses, followed by amusements of all sorts. Processions of the Holy Virgin or of the Patron Saint, are often met. These have a band, of course, and all the people of the village turn out to escort a little girl dressed as an image, who is carried on a profusely decorated cart: some are on horseback, costumed as Indians and Moors; and these precede and follow after the cart, which halts at

the plaza, where the child recites her prologue (*loa*), which is composed to celebrate the occasion. Then there is the custom of forming altars on the third of May—Santa Cruz day, in a sleeping room, where the guests dance, sing, play, eat and drink. This is kept up for nine days, and each night sees a re-formed altar. This work is done at the expense of a new godfather, who also provides the entertainment. The first night, the master of the house officiates, but by delivering a branch of flowers to a guest that he chooses, places the obligation upon the guest, who, after performing his duties, selects another, in the same way. As each strives to outdo the others in liberality, the festival usually ends with a full orchestra and a splendid supper. In the towns and villages of Cuba, the *zapateo* is a favorite dance, and is peculiar to the island. It is a sort of contra-dance, or reel, and the women apparently try to tire out the men, as all move through the peculiar figures, to the sound of guitar and harp, and the songs of the *guajiros*.

Cuba is cursed, yes, cursed with lotteries. The cry of the lottery ticket vendor is as common as that of a newsboy in the United States; "*Lotteria! Lotteria!*" in every pitch of which the human voice is capable. You are solicited to buy whenever you appear upon the street, by sellers of all sorts and conditions, of various ages and of both sexes. They meet you at the doors of cafés, of hotels, of churches, and all assure you that the numbers of their tickets are good, and will draw prizes. The practice of investing in lottery tickets is responsible for much of the indolence and indifference to anything more than the daily wants of life, that are so plainly discernible in the lower and middle classes.

Nor is this passion confined to the lower and middle classes. None are too poor, too ignorant, too dirty or ragged, to purchase a ticket or a fraction of one; and none are too dainty, too elegant, too exquisite or too beautiful to be interested in the drawings. All are buoyed up by the hope of holding a lucky number, in order to gratify some piece of extravagance, to plunge into some new excitement, or to cease from work. The few dollars that the poorer classes possess over and above what they need for actual necessities, find their way into the coffers of the lotteries. The Royal Lottery is drawn in Havana, about twenty times a year, and the drawings are public and open. One child draws the numbers from the globe and another child announces the premiums, and when two hundred and twenty-six numbers are drawn, the lottery is over. The Royal Lottery was established in 1812, and has agents in nearly every town of any size on the island, while peddlers carry them about the country. It is a governmental institution and is housed in a mammoth establishment.

It has been said that the "machete" is the national weapon of the Cubans. It is certain that it is serviceable to them, not only as a weapon, but in a variety of other ways. Without it, the Cuban would be helpless, as it is at once, axe, scythe, plane and penknife as well as weapon. It is a murderous implement, with the broad part of the blade farthest from the handle of bone, and its efficiency is only limited by the strength and dexterity of the hand that wields it. Cuban patriots have long employed it, and it is their most formidable cavalry arm.

Much as the inferior grades of society envy and dis-

like those above them, they all display the same love of show, the same passion for titles, trappings, and badges of honor, whether civil or military, whenever they come within their reach. And when attained, either temporarily or permanently, their fortunate possessors do not fail to look down on those beneath them, with the same supercilious pride and self-gratulation, which they so recently condemned in others.

With society constituted as it is, in Cuba, it is extremely difficult for a stranger to acquire a knowledge of the character of the inhabitants. He can never see them as they see each other. He can rarely learn, from his personal observation, anything of society as a whole, though he may often have favorable opportunities of becoming favorably acquainted with individual families. Unless it be in some portions of the United States, and the other West India Islands, there is nothing to compare with the free, open-handed hospitality which the merchant or planter, of whatever grade, lavishes upon those, who are commended to his regard by a respectable introduction from abroad. With such a passport, he is no longer a stranger, but a brother, and it is the fault of his own heart if he is not as much at home in the family, and on the estate of his friend, as if it were his own. There is nothing forced, nothing constrained in this. It is evidently natural, hearty and sincere, and you cannot partake of it, without feeling, however modest you may be, that you are conferring a favor, rather than receiving one. Many and many are the invalid wanderers from home, who have known and felt it, like gleams of sunshine in their weary pilgrimage.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE MOTHER CHURCH IN CUBA.

CUBA is a land where Church-and-State rule is held a vital principle of government; neither the native nor the stranger can escape the pressure. Without the consent and assistance of Mother Church one cannot marry, and before entering the estate of matrimony, a Protestant must actually unite with the church "Romana, Apostolica, Catholica." It is better not to be born or to die outside of her records, and by them alone can your legitimacy be proved. Mother Church has a general oversight of everything, everywhere on the island. Of her it has been truly said that "she owns the cemeteries practically, is interested in the sale of coffins and management of hearses, buries the dead, licenses the inhuming and exhuming of all bodies and is a sort of orphans' court for the benefit of her self and the surviving heirs. In every village she erects her cross, and jangles her bells, and issues her pious and salutary decrees. Everywhere, more common than even doctors, are her black-robed and solemn-visaged servants. Holding fast to the end of all things with a tenacious grasp, making herself the great indispensable in everything that men most desire to attain and enjoy, she is, by the consent and assistance of the government, more strong than the government itself, and closes the long list of her powers and terrors by a dread jurisdiction over the world to come." There is an old adage that "the nearer



the church the farther from God." If this be true, the inhabitants of Havana, with seemingly a church in every square in the old city, within the walls, would better make some provision for their future welfare. There are among these churches some that are imposing and interesting from their great antiquity, but the larger part are far removed from architectural beauty and many sadly need plaster and paint. The vestments and lace are cheap, the jewels and gold, tawdry. The Cathedral of Havana is a massive building, constructed in the ecclesiastical style of the fifteenth century. It is situated in the oldest and least populous part of the city, near the Fish Market, and toward the entrance of the fort. It is a gloomy, heavy looking pile, built of the common coral rock of the neighborhood which originally of a yellowish white color, becomes dark and dingy with time. In the interior, two ranges of massive columns support the ceiling, which is high and decorated with many colors in arabesque, with many figures in fresco. The sides are filled with the shrines of various saints, among which that of St. Christoval, the patron of the city is conspicuous. The paintings are numerous and worthy of a second inspection. The shrines display less of gilding and glitter than is usual in other places and being of one style of architecture the effect of the whole is decidedly pleasing. The windows are small and high up toward the ceiling, letting in the "dim religious light" that pervades the building. As in all Romish churches the worshipers are mainly women, and a large part of them are old and ugly. There are though to be seen graceful, voluptuous figures bending before their shrines, their beaming faces and keen black eyes scarce hidden by their mantillas, fur-



VIEW OF LA CHORRERA.



**THE PLAZA DE ARMAS, MANZANILLO.**

nishing one a very plausible excuse for paying homage to them, rather than to the saints, before whose shrine they kneel. None of the churches are provided with pews or seats, and only in a few can you find one or two long benches for the accommodation of the male portion of the community who do sometimes attend. The usual custom is for each pious dame to bring or have brought for her by a negro, a small carpet or rug, upon which she kneels. In many instances these rugs are beautiful and costly. Occasionally a light cane-seated chair is brought with the rug, and in most cases the negro, after placing it, retires from the body of the church until the service is over, when he enters, rolls up the rug and with the chair, departs as he came.

In this Cathedral on the right side of the altar is "The Tomb of Columbus." A small recess made in the wall to receive the bones, is covered with a marble tablet about three feet in length. Upon the face of this is sculptured, in bold relief, the portrait of the great discoverer, with his right hand resting upon a globe. Under the portrait, various naval implements are represented, with an inscription in Spanish which may be translated

O Remains and Image of the great Columbus!

A thousand ages may you endure, guarded in this Urn ;

And in the remembrance of our Nation.

It is a pardonable assumption, however, for, where is the nation under the face of heaven, that would not, if it could, monopolize the glory of such a name. On the left side of the high altar, opposite the tomb, hangs a small painting, representing a number of priests performing some religious ceremony. It is indifferent as

a work of art, but possesses a peculiar value and interest, as having been the constant cabin companion of Columbus, in all his eventful voyages, a fact that is recorded in an inscription on a brass plate attached to the picture. The grand altar is very handsome, as is also the choir in the rear. The church is shown to strangers at any hour of the day, by enquiring of any one of the priests you meet in the courtyard, and it is also open every morning and evening for mass. The quaint tower of the church of Santa Angel is one of the first objects to attract the eye of the stranger as he comes to Havana, as it is close to the walls in the upper portion of the city. There is nothing attractive about the church itself. The church of Santa Catalina, at the corner of Compostella and O'Reilly streets was built in 1658. It contains some very fine carving in mahogany, and the altars are very gorgeous in white enamel paint and gilding. The church of San Juan de Dios, at the corner of Aguiar and Empedrado streets, was built in 1573, but aside from this fact has nothing else to recommend it. A small church at the corner of Aguiar and Amargura possesses very handsome altars and a large library of religious works. Another church of interest to the stranger is the large edifice on the corner of Amargura and Cuba streets—the church of St. Augustine. It well repays a visit, having been built in 1608. The altar piece is a mass of paintings in gilt frames, and also contains some *alto relievos* of the crucifixion.

Santa Clara is one of the wealthiest churches in Havana and seems to attract more fair devotees at early morning mass than the other churches. You will find this church or convent—for it is both—at the corner of Cuba and Sol streets. By all means at-

tend early mass at Santa Clara, and probably when you enter, the choir will be chanting, and priests in full robes officiating at an altar glittering in all the brilliancy of innumerable leaves of silver and gold, that reflect a thousand rays from the lights burning around them. Here you see persons scattered over the floor of the church, many in a kneeling posture, their faces turned toward the altar, and apparently engaged in silent prayer. The men, when not thus engaged, stand or sit on benches ranged along the walls, while the women are seated on rugs spread on the stone pavement in different groups. To those of our country, where the synagogue, the cathedral, and the meeting house, are sometimes so close together that the Hebrew melody, the Latin chant, and the simple, familiar hymn ascend, blended in one strain, to Him, whose ears are open to all, a description of the Roman Catholic form of worship would be superfluous. But however little it may vary in its articles of faith in different countries, a host of extraneous observances are thrust upon it by the peculiar views and feelings of its worshippers. The interior of the building has but little to boast of, either in its architecture or its decorations. Roughly plastered walls, with the rafters and roof coarsely painted, a few wooden and wax images badly executed, some gilded columns, and the tinsel spread above and around the altar, are all that meets the eye. Still, here is more apparent devotion than is seen in the splendid edifices of France or Italy. As the day progresses, the congregation will increase until about one-eight of the church will be filled and a perfect equality seems to reign among all. Nearest the railing of the altar are several negroes in common clothes, some with baskets

on their arms, standing or kneeling, and behind them a group of well dressed ladies are paying their devotions. Then comes an intermingling of white, brown and black, in all kinds and qualities of habiliments. Next to a Señora, whose liveried footman, kneeling behind her, proclaims her to be above the common sort, sits a decrepit old black woman, dressed in a coarse calico frock, with a shawl over her head and shoulders, while close behind her, two young ladies kneel on a rug spread by their gaily liveried footboy. The mustached exquisite and the *caleséro* kneel side by side, the red cloth jacket of the latter, with its gold lace trimmings and his heavy boots and immense silver spurs jingling at every movement, contrasting strangely with the simple dress of the former. During the service you may see a St. Augustine monk, with a coarse blue gown and white knotted cord girdle, take his seat in the confessional, an open stall placed against the wall, having a square grated aperture in each of its two sides; and later a fair worshipper arises, and kneeling by the side of the confessional, pour through one of the sieves a list of her sins into the ears of the worthy confessor. After fifteen minutes or so, there will be a mumbled prayer or benediction, a few crosses hastily made, a pinch of snuff, and away goes the monk into the sacristy, leaving the fair penitent kneeling. It is only when high mass is performed, that the music is not inferior. On such occasions the orchestra of the opera is employed. When service is over, the people return in groups, while some linger to finish their private devotions, or exchange civilities with each other.

The Belen church is at the corner of Luz and Compostella streets. This church and the buildings con-

nected with it, occupy nearly an entire square and the church edifice has the largest dome and tower in the city. The church and the hospitals connected with it were erected in 1687 by the bishop of Compostella; the front of the church is reached by a small but beautiful garden. The group of buildings comprising the Belen are of the usual yellow or tawny color, and are of a thoroughly monastic character. The Belen was first a Franciscan monastery, then a barrack and was then given to the Jesuits by the Government. This company of Jesuits is composed of a rector and about forty clerical and twenty lay brethren. They perform every office, from the highest scientific observation, down to the lowest menial offices in the care of the children; some serving in costly vestments at the high altar, and others in coarse black garb at the gates. In the first three years after they established themselves in Havana, they formed a school of two hundred boarders and one hundred day scholars, built dormitories for the boarders and a common hall, restored the church and made it the most fully attended in the city; established a missionary work in all parts of the town, recalled a great number to the discipline of the church, and not only created something like an enthusiasm of devotion among the women, who are said to have monopolized the religion of Cuba in past times, but introduced among the men, and among many influential men, the practices of confession and communion, to which they had been almost entirely strangers. The Belen contains a laboratory, an observatory and philosophic apparatus of the latest invention and in the best style of workmanship. There is also a museum of natural history and an interesting



cabinet of the woods of the island, in small blocks, each piece being polished on one side and rough on the other. The sleeping arrangements of the boys are well adapted to the climate. There is a large hall, with a roof about thirty feet from the floor, and windows near the top, to give light and ventilation above, and small port holes near the ground, to let air into the passages. The bedsteads are of iron, and nothing can exceed the neatness and order of the apartments. The boys' clothes are kept in another part of the house, and they take to their dormitories only the clothes that they are using. Each boy sleeps alone. Several of the Fathers sleep in the hall, in curtained rooms at the end of the passageways, and a watchman walks his rounds all night to guard against fire and to give notice of sickness. The boys have a playground, a gymnasium and a riding school. But although they like riding and fencing, they do not take to the robust exercises and sports of American or English boys. The roof of the Belen is flat, which gives a pleasant promenade in the open air after the sun has gone down, which is much needed, as the buildings are in a dense part of the city. The brethren of this order wear short hair, with the tonsure, and dress in coarse cassocks of plain black, coming close to the feet, and buttoned close to the neck, with a cape, but with no white of collar above; and in these they sweep like black spectres about the passageways and across the halls and courtyards. Let us enter the church. It is not very large, has an open marble floor, a gallery for the use of the brethren and other men, and a sumptuous high altar, by which burns the undying lamp, indicating the presence of the Sacrament. In the vestry are kept the vest-

ments for the high altar, some of which are costly and gorgeous in the extreme, not probably exceeded by those of the Temple at Jerusalem in the palmiest days of the Jewish hierarchy. All are presents from wealthy devotees. One, an alb, has a circle of precious stones : and the lace alone on another, a present from a lady of rank, is said to have cost three thousand dollars. The Belen is now the Royal College of Havana. The Cubans have a childish taste for excessive decoration. Their altars look like toy shops. At the Belen there is less of this ; but the Jesuits find or think it necessary to conform a good deal to the popular taste. In the sacristy, near the side altar, is a distressing image of the Virgin, not in youth, but the mother of the mature man, with a sword pierced through her heart. The handle and a part of the blade remain without, while the marks of the deep wound are seen, and the countenance expresses the sorest agony of mind and body. It is painful, and beyond all legitimate scope of art, and haunts one like a vision of actual misery.

A strange, eventful history is that of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius Loyola, a soldier and noble of Spain, renouncing arms and knighthood, hangs his trophies of war upon the altar of Monserrate. After intense studies and barefoot pilgrimages, persecuted by religious orders, whose excesses he sought to restrain, and frowned upon by the Inquisition, he organizes, with Xavier and Faber, at Montmartre, a society of three. From this small beginning, spreading upwards and outwards, it overshadows the earth. Now, at the top of success, it is supposed to control half Christendom. Now, the order prescribed by state and church alike and suppressed by the Pope himself, there is not a spot

of earth in Catholic Christendom where the Jesuit can place the sole of his foot. In this hour of distress, he finds refuge in Russia and in Protestant Prussia. Then, restored and tolerated, the order revives here and there in Europe with a fitful light ; and at length, blazes out into a glory of missionary triumphs and martyrdoms in China, in India, in Africa and in North America ; and now, in these later days, we see it advancing everywhere to a new epoch of labor and influence. Thorough in education, perfect in discipline, absolute in obedience,—as yielding, as indestructible, as all-pervading as water or air. The Jesuits make strong friends and strong enemies. Many, who are neither the one or the other, say that their ethics are artificial, and their system unnatural ; that they do not reform nature, but destroy it ; that, aiming to use the world without abusing it, they reduce it to subjection and tutelage ; that they are always in dangerous power, or in disgrace ; and although they may labor with more enthusiasm and self-consecration than any order, yet such is the character of their system, that these successes are never permanent, but result in opposition, not only from Protestants and moderate Catholics, and from the civil power, but from other religious orders and from the regular clergy in their own church,—an opposition to which they are invariably compelled to yield at last. In fine, they declare that, allowing them all zeal, and all ability, and all devotedness, their system is too severe and too unnatural for permanent usefulness anywhere,—medicine and not food, lightning and not light, flame and not warmth.

Not satisfied with this moderated judgment, their opponents have met them always and everywhere, with

uniform and violent reprobation. They say to them—the opinion of man has condemned you! The just and irreversible sentence of time has made you a by-word and a hissing, and reduced your very name, the most sacred in its origin, to a synonym for ambition and deceit. Others, again, esteem them the nearest approach in modern times to that type of men portrayed by one of the chiefest in his epistle: “In much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in strifes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings, by pureness, by knowledge, by long suffering, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true, as unknown and yet well known, as dying and behold we live, as chastened and not killed, as sorrowful and yet always rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things.”

There are numbers of other churches in Havana, but with the exception of “La Merced,” on Cuba and Merced streets, they will not particularly interest the traveler. “La Merced” has a very venerable look with its pillared front, dark from long exposure to the elements. Within are handsome altars, and one very large painting giving a *miraculous* history of the patron saint of the church, Saint “Merced,” or mercy. The Protestant traveler will take away many odd and curious impressions of the churches of Havana, and whenever he has opportunity should attend service in some of them at least.

Nothing but the absence of the carts that convey merchandise to and from the warehouses, distinguishes a Sunday in Havana from the week days. The stores are all open, and behind the counter can be seen the

ready shopkeeper, his eyes closely observing each passer-by. The various trades and occupations are pursued as on other days. The hammer of the shoemaker is heard, as he sits by his door and compresses the sole of the future shoe; the wheel of the razor-grinder whirls as swiftly as ever, while he accompanies its hum with a low song, the tailor plies his needle, the saddler his awl, and the tobacconist rolls the fragrant weed into the much cherished cigar, while others are cutting the wrappers. The vendor of lottery tickets perambulates the streets as usual, with the open packages in his hand, offering the tempting bait to all, and pack-horses and volantes crowd the thoroughfares. At the gates of the city a succession of volantes and victorias pass, freighted with happy citizens, eager to enjoy the fresh air of the country. In the afternoon, the paseos outside the walls will be crowded with citizens promenading, and the long avenues will be thronged with carriages, while the streets will present the same appearance as in the morning.

When night sets in the citizens flock to the Plaza des Armas, to listen to the military band. Probably every visitor who stays in Havana any length of time, visits the "Campos Santos," the common cemetery of Havana, where all the dead of the city and its large suburbs are interred. The entrance to it is through a pretty shrubbery of perpetual roses, papayas, pomegranates, and other tropical trees, irrigated by rills from an aqueduct, which supplies several small reservoirs placed about the garden; while two large majagua trees over the gate, and several tall palms interspersed about the garden, throw a grateful shade over all, and add to the inviting freshness of the spot. Through the centre of an oblong building, used for a chapel and

dwelling house for the sexton, an arched passage leads into the cemetery; a level square divided into four equal parts by two transverse, flagged walks. Each quarter is enclosed by a low, neat, iron railing, and has in one corner a receptacle for the bones disinterred in digging new graves. To soothe the friends of the deceased for the liberty thus taken with their remains, four obelisks rear their tall forms, having inscribed on them the comfortable assurance, "*Exultabunt ossa humiliata.*" Some forty, or fifty tall pines of the country, resembling cedars, throw a partial shade over the walks, while the ground, bare of shrubbery, is covered by a luxuriant growth of grass. At the extremity of the middle walk is a small, neat chapel, containing a few fresco paintings, and a chaste altar in the form of a sarcophagus, supporting a small image of our Lord on the cross. Within and over the door and porch without, suitable inscriptions refer to the final resurrection, and the happiness of those that die the death of the righteous. Near the chapel, the ground in the adjoining squares, contains numerous slabs of marble and other stones, covering the entrances to the vaults beneath, with the names of the families to whom they belong, engraved on them. On several arc coats of arms in basso-relievo, but only a few have individual names inscribed on them, and there are very few epitaphs. There is a notice placed at the entrance, which threatens excommunication to all who eat or smoke in this place. The same placard, though, grants an indulgence of forty days, to all who offer up prayers for the dead here interred. The cessation of burials in the vaults of the Havana churches, was the work of one of the bishops, Juan de Espada, who laid out this ceme-

tery and was a perfect Tacon in his own line. Soon after he had consecrated the ground, a nobleman died; and although the bishop was strongly urged to let him be interred with his ancestors in the church vaults, he refused, and the body was sent to the Campos Santos. With all its defects, it is the best on the island; those of country villages have, not unfrequently, broken temporary coffins lying about the gate, while over the grounds have been seen half decomposed remains of the buried. The better classes are, as elsewhere, enclosed in coffins.

The great wealth once possessed by the monks in Cuba is well known. They owned large tracts of the richest soil on the island, and their revenues from their plantations were very great. But their possessions were confiscated, and with them their power passed away. Two of their establishments, St. Augustine and St. Domingo, were converted into storehouses by the government for its use, and severe restrictions were imposed on all who retained the order. It must have required some glaring vices in these celibates, to encourage the government to seize on their long coveted wealth, and to have justified the measure in a Catholic community. Many tales are told of the pranks these worthy sons of the church played in their days. The St. Augustine convent was so notorious for the joyous life its inmates led, that many young men of the first families entered it; not for the purpose of relinquishing the vanities of the world, but that they might enjoy them more freely. The Belenites, especially, were celebrated for their great wealth, having a revenue of about a million dollars to be divided between twenty-two, of which their order consisted. They were excel-

lent boon companions, and the usual order of furnishing the table was, by the steward receiving from each monk a list of what he desired, so that the dishes were as various as their respective tastes; and as each daily invited his particular guests, and all sat down to a common table, the most fastidious could have his palate gratified.

Of all these numerous churchmen, who must once have swarmed in the city, but one or two may now be seen passing through the streets; his humility unaffected, and apparently his greatest care being to prevent his large shovel-shaped hat from being knocked off by the passing throng.

In those parts of the island much traversed by strangers, and where strangers have settled, the padre is no longer seen at the cock-pit; but in the less frequented spots, where the procession of the host still brings every one down on his knees, he is often found among the betters on that debasing sport. The current anecdotes of their vices, and which are freely circulated by their own parishoners, if true, in many cases place them on a level with the lowest characters; still many are found among them, whose gentle, manly deportment, and devotion to their peculiar forms of worship, secure the love and respect of their flock, and who in other respects act the part of faithful pastors.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ISLE OF PINES.

*La Evangelista*, discovered by Columbus June 24th, 1494, is now known as the Isle of Pines, and lies south of the western part of the island of Cuba, to whom it belongs. It is about one hundred and fifty miles from Havana, a journey of some ninety miles by rail to Batabano, and the remainder of the way by steamer. The island is in great repute as a resort for invalids and the record of cures accomplished by its wonderful mineral springs, is astounding, and almost miraculous. Invalids flock to these healing waters as pilgrims to a shrine. It is the "Lourdes" of the new world and among its visitors are those from Europe and the United States as well as from the Island of Cuba. The air is of the purest, dry and balmy with the breath of the gentle wind that comes over the forests of pine, bearing their fragrance and healing. The quarries of the island are celebrated for their fine marble and exquisite rock crystals as well as for the efficiency of its medicinal springs. Santa Fé, is the point at which the steamer will land you, although you can land at Nueva Gerona if you wish. The last named place is where a number of troops are stationed, for the seat of government is located there. Santa Fé is situated on the bank of the river of the same name, some distance from the landing. It is a poor affair of a town, with wretched houses built around a square or plaza; as every Cuban

town must have its plaza, so has Santa Fé hers, but here it is given over to refuse, mongrel dogs and stray donkeys; instead of being the resort, the promenade, the common meeting ground of the people as on the Island of Cuba. There is at least one good hotel in Santa Fé, and living is not high. If you come here to drink the waters and take the baths, there is a sort of routine to be observed. A glass of the water first, then a bath at the "Templado," when the water has a temperature of about eighty-two degrees, then another glass after remaining in the bath for about fifteen minutes. This is the program for the forenoon and for the afternoon alike. If it were possible to transplant these springs to the United States, such resorts as Saratoga would have to look to their laurels. There is nothing of interest in Santa Fé for the invalid; books and luxuries must be brought by the traveler, else life will be very monotonous. Lovely walks and drives are frequent some way out of Santa Fé, and carriages and horses are to be had at all times. The island is thinly inhabited and the *haciendas* (farms) which are few in number, raise a few vegetables and some cattle. A pineapple plantation is cultivated much as cabbages are raised in the United States, and with the exception of some in the eastern part of the Island of Cuba, it is not common to find a plantation devoted exclusively to this purpose, except in the Isle of Pines. The visitor to these shores, will find the inhabitants hospitable, friendly and kind; naturally dignified, their knowledge of the ways of the world is apparently very slight, and the innocence with which they allow children to go about entirely naked, is one proof of this. This practice, however, obtains all over the Island of Cuba, as well.

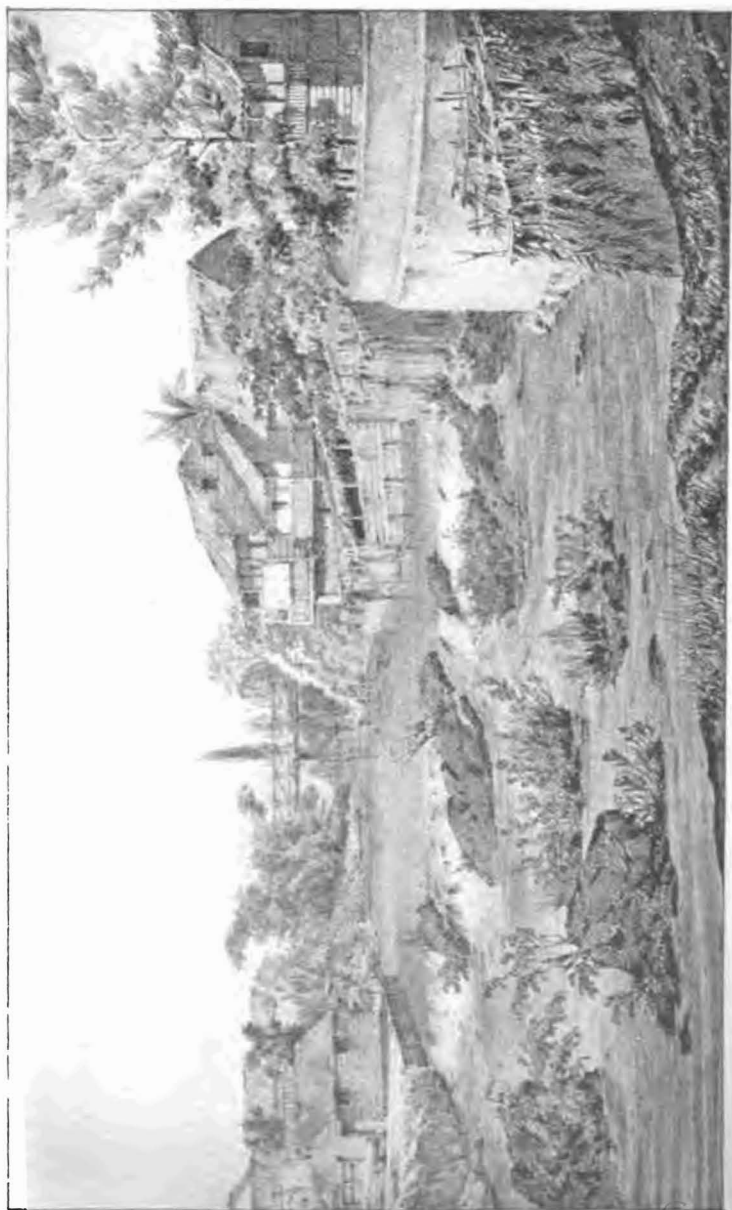
Naturalists will be interested to take the journey to the immense swamp know as "Cienaga," which is the home of the largest of the crocodile family. This swamp is on the southern coast of the island, and along the shores of Cape Frances, are wonderfully beautiful and rare shells, and coral formations.

In Cuba, the common name of the aligator is *caiman*. But once you are in the Isle of Pines, do not leave it without obtaining the beautiful views from the Crystal Hills, nearly in the centre of the island and about twelve miles from Santa Fé. The road lies through wild and beautiful scenery, and the summit once reached, commands the finest views on the island. To the south, the hills known as the Sierra de la Cañada, interpose their fifteen hundred feet of altitude—behind them is the great swamp just mentioned; to the north are the hills of Nueva Gerona, while east and west, water and sky mingle across hill and valley. It is intensely tropical and surpassingly lovely wherever the eye rests. This island was once a celebrated resort or hiding place for the pirates who infested the adjacent waters. The bold buccaneers held high revel on these shores, and here the booty taken from many a galleon was hidden. An evil name in consequence seems to have attached to the island, as the authorities make of it a sort of penal colony, turning loose upon the villages, without allowance or provision for support, political prisoners and the scum of the population.

You leave Santa Fé by steamer, on the return trip to Havana, and duly find yourself again in the small, struggling village of Batabano, finishing your journey by rail. Be sure that you have by no means exhausted the attractions of Havana. You are tempted to prolong



RESIDENCE IN PUNTES GRANDES.



PUNTES GRANDES RIVER.

your stay in the capital city, but unless you decide to remain permanently, there must come a time when farewell must be said to the city and to the island, and you will buy your cigars, your oranges and your sweetmeats and have them sent on board, with the souvenirs you have picked up in many a quaint and curious place.

This leave-taking is a strange process and has strange effects. How suddenly a little of unnoticed good in what you leave behind comes out, and touches you in a moment of tenderness, and how much of the evil and disagreeable seems to have disappeared, as you stare out of your carriage to read the familiar signs, the names of streets, and the pretty and fantastic names of the shops. You think even the narrow streets have their advantages, as they are better shaded, and the awnings can stretch across them, though to be sure, they keep out the air; and there will be a something regretted, a sort of sad tinge to your thoughts as you stand on the steamer's deck to get your last look at the lovely island while the warm tropic breezes, recall pleasant, easy, listless and interesting days and journeys.

To an American from the United States, Cuba is an object of singular interest. His mind is occupied and almost oppressed by the thought of the strange problems that are in process of solution around him.

The educational system of Cuba under Spanish rule is such that many of the wealthy population are not liberally educated, and of the poorer classes, very many are ignorant of the first rudiments. Over every effort to instruct them the mother country watches with a jealous eye; and Cuba, so long as she remains subject to her, will have cause to mourn over the ignorance of her indigent classes.

Too much praise cannot, therefore, be rendered to those noble spirits among her citizens, who struggle amid every obstacle to diffuse the blessings of education among her population ; for there have not been wanting patriotic men, both in public and private life, who struggle ever against obstacles, which no one living under a free government, can conceive. Although frequently in indigent circumstance themselves, many teachers have given their services gratuitously to one-half as many as all the societies and the government paid for, and in many cases adopted the scholars, to rescue them from ignorance.

Cuba is linked to us by strong ties of interest, and a constant secret tide of liberal views flows ever from our Republic into her rising generation. Many of her sons are educated among us ; and everywhere on the island will be found the Anglo-Saxon emigrant with his restless spirit, forcing upon his adopted country the improvements he has brought from his native land. For years the separation of Cuba from the mother country, has been considered as within the possibilities of time ; and the picture of her quondam sisters on the South American Continent, has had a very alluring aspect, and has served to arouse a spirit of emulation in the breasts of Cuban patriots.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE DECAY OF SPAIN.

THE pity of it! Spain, once almost peerless in her royal splendor, and with a power that overshadowed Europe, is now barely able to hold a few fortified cities in one of her insular possessions.

The loss of her dependencies on the South American continent has seemingly rendered Spain more haughty, and more arrogant, and she forgets the sad experiences and lessons of her history, in the contemplation of Cuba among the sisterhood of American republics.

One would almost think that in the matter of Cuban affairs, the determination of Spain to hold on to the administration of them, in order to enjoy the revenues of the island, would beget conciliatory measures at least. But any lessening of the old arrogance is not in evidence, and at no time in the history of the "pearl in the mire," as the island of Cuba is called by her native writers, has Spanish oppression been more severely felt than at the present time; and no better summary of the present condition of Spain could be given, than a recent editorial in *The Evening Bulletin*, of Philadelphia:

"No people in Christendom are in such miserable plight as the Spaniards, not even the Italians or Turks. It is one of the significant lessons of history that whenever a continental people have given themselves up to an alliance with the British they have descended the



scale of well being. By giving themselves up, is meant the conditions that exist between British greed and personal government. During the last two centuries of Spanish decadence British diplomacy has virtually ruled the Spanish Court. Spain gave promise of resurrection for a year or two when the French expelled the British in 1808. But the Bourbons were willing to pay any price to get a new lease of power, and thanks to Napoleon's Russian reverses in 1812, the British were able to resume their sway in the peninsula after 1815. Until the French revolution British influence kept Italy in the same condition of suspended development. For a few years under the stimulus of French ideas the Italian people were aroused and gave promise of becoming worthy of their ancient lineage. They, too, were thrown back into political, industrial and moral slavery by the absolutist triumph of Waterloo. They were rescued by Napoleon III., and when the empire fell the needs of the House of Savoy gave the British a chance to plant her potencies at the Court of the Quirinale, as the friend and protector of the Savoy monarchy.

"The story is unvarying. Every power or people accepting British alliance has sunk to national lethargy or has been despoiled into nothingness, like Denmark, Holland, Turkey. A blight and curse follows British domination, as in Ireland, India and the Balkan States! During the years, from 1815 to 1830, while the British held the Bourbons on the throne of France, the character of the people changed almost beyond recognition. Industry fell off, national enterprise was suspended, internecine feuds divided all ranks. A half century of Bourbonism, held in place by the British, would have

made France what Italy and Spain—Turkey and Denmark are to-day. It would be a long story to tell, the amplification of the monstrous administration or mal-administration of Ireland.

“It was British intrigue and money that restored the Bourbons to the misgovernment of Spain in 1875, just as the people were on the eve of making the republic a reality. Some of the story is told in Disraeli’s flabby novel, ‘Lothair.’ It was Disraeli himself who engineered the plot, and his sketch of it is lifelike. With the House of Bourbon ruling, Spain’s affairs are virtually guided by the British. All the commercial interests of the monarchy are insidiously controlled by British syndicates until it is safe to say that the Spanish treasury is mortgaged to Great Britain. The Bourbon kings knew so well their dependence upon their greedy task masters, that they never ventured to go far in a purely Spanish policy. When a ministry feels the royal power declining too far, in the minds of the people, ‘insurrection’ or attempts to assassinate royalty are invented to touch the popular heart.

“When Alfonso’s excesses had, a few years ago, chilled the ardor of even the most loyal partisans of monarchy, a particularly odious attempt on his life was made, at the very portals of the palace. In Spain, as in Italy, men can be bought for any work. Even Radicals can be procured to perjure themselves to the strengthening of the Royalists, who threw the blame of pretended attempts at assassination upon the Liberal parties seeking to restore liberty to the masses. It never seems, however, to strike the credulous public that all attempts against the King fail, and in the most awkward way, while the only attempts that succeed

are those in which the lives of the Liberals or revolutionary statesmen are sought by the aristocratic cabals. Years ago Prim was the only obstacle to monarchical Bourbon restoration. He was cut off in a night, in the public highways, in the white marble porch of the Cortes, and to this day there has been no one punished for the crime. Yet the deed was done just as boldly as the ridiculous farce enacted a few years later at the royal palace porch. There was, however, this difference: The one was done by the royalist chiefs openly, the other by the royalist agents covertly. The people in Spain who are tired of the Biblical punishment—kings—have no wish to get rid of them by assassination. The most effective way to abolish kings is found to be to drive them out and pension them, as was done with Isabella.

“What with the misery of high taxes and the cancer in Cuba, the Spanish people are in a miserable plight. The republican spirit is rising everywhere; hence the junta found a little while ago that there was crying need of an assassination! The little King, against whom the most vehement Radical has no hatred was announced in peril of his life. A plot was invented and the Spanish heart made ready for firing. But the spark didn't catch. From one end of Spain to the other it was recognized as a ‘fake’ plot, and the whole affair smothered. But just in time to help the Royalists came the belligerency resolution from Washington. Mobs of so-called republicans were extemporized in all the large cities to ‘outrage’ the United States and prove to the timid property owners the danger of entrusting the affairs of State to such intemperate hot heads!

“With the press bound hand and foot, the masses

never read a line that the monarchical Junta wish suppressed. Not long ago the military groups in Madrid pretended to take offence at something said in a Liberal paper; the editor was challenged by a score of military men and his death was never punished. On the contrary, a law was passed forbidding any allusion to the army in the newspapers. British sympathy is with the Junta, and British aid unstintedly ready when it is a question of perpetuating the miserable rule of the House of Bourbon. There can be no manner of doubt that Spain would have sold Cuba long ago, or given the people autonomy, were it not for the secret promptings of the British.

"But in face of a threat to despoil Spain of Cuba, republican vies with monarchist in patriotic fidelity. The most significant evidence of this is the uprising in Catalonia. The Catalans are the most independent and democratic of all the peoples of Spain. It was in Barcelona that the Federal republic was declared. It was Barcelona that withstood the French armies most determinedly from 1808 until 1813. The Catalans now proffer the government twelve thousand men to defend Cuba by war with this republic! But the ministry—that is, the monarchy—does not want war. The result would give Spain too clear an insight into the incapacity of its Bourbon rulers. It would expose, furthermore, the rascality that has been going on for twenty years. For it would reveal an army as helpless and ill-provided as the legions of Napoleon III. in 1870.

"In spite of enormous outlays, Spain is really a less formidable power than Holland, Belgium or Denmark—so far as an army and navy are to be counted upon

for strength. In the travesty of war a few years ago, carried on against the Riff coast marauders, Spain was compelled to do her utmost, and then only succeeded through the coöperation of the Sultan of Morocco, who put his flying squadrons at the disposal of Martinez Campos! Cuba has well-nigh drained Spanish resources. If the ministry are forced into war with us by the anger of the people, we shall probably see the same thing happen in Madrid, with the first serious defeat that happened in Paris after Sedan. The monarchy will be abolished and the republican government will hasten to make peace on any decent terms obtainable. It is the prevalence of this, rather than any inclination to go to war, that represses that ardor of the government presses and restrains the tone of the ministers. They know that the first blow struck by the Yankees would result in the downfall of the Bourbons—perhaps the massacre of the plotting Junta which is responsible for Spain's present decadence. Not the least threatening menace to the monarchy is the silence of Martinez Campos, who has his score to settle with the rivals, who have succeeded in putting him under a cloud."

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CUBA OF TO-DAY.

By Captain Ricardo J. Navarro, of the Cuban Army.

THE word *failure* is written across the efforts of Spain to quell the Cuban Revolution. When on February 24th, 1895, the war broke out, Captain-General Callejas then in supreme command of the Spanish forces, announced that it would be suppressed within three months. He tried to treat with the insurgents, but after two months was so far from having fulfilled his promise that General Martinez Campos was assigned to succeed him. Campos was considered the foremost of Spanish military heroes. He possessed a thorough knowledge of Cuba and its people, having fought several years in the last war, which he brought to a successful close by the treaty of 1878. After constructing a trocha or military line across the island at Baga, and believing that he had thus confined the uprising to the eastern province, he wrote home: "All danger is past."

Within nine months General Campos had been pursued into Havana by the insurgents who encamped only twenty miles away. The Spanish people attributed his failure to a lack of severity, and named to succeed him, General Weyler, whose cruelties during the previous war had earned for him the soubriquet of "the butcher." The new commander promised the Spanish planters they should begin grinding sugar cane

within fifteen days. Yet at the end of that time, only those who had paid taxes to the insurgent leaders were allowed to grind by the Cubans. After fortifying the trocha of Mariel, General Weyler asserted : that no insurgent forces would ever cross again into Pinar del Rio. Yet a few days after, the Cubans broke the military line and invaded that province. Another promise made by this General was to complete the subjugation of Cuba within two years. It is safe to assert that this pledge will be broken like all former Spanish pledges.

Most persons will no doubt be surprised to learn that during the first year and a half of the war, with its scores of battles and hundreds of skirmishes, scarcely two thousand Cuban soldiers have lost their lives. According to official statements reported from Havana to Madrid, the Spanish have lost during the same period from wounds and disease no less than thirty thousand. These statements seem incredible in view of the fact that Spain controls all the seaports with a strong navy and harbor fortifications, and that the Spanish army of one hundred and sixty thousand men is well equipped with arms and ammunition. The Cuban army on the other hand, consists at most of but fifty thousand or sixty thousand men of whom not more than half are fully armed. The war has cost Spain \$100,000,000. The Cubans have spent less than \$1,000,000. At this rate any school boy could figure out that Spain and not Cuba will be beaten within the two years' proposed time.

It is not denied that several thousand Cubans may have been put to death, but these were not enrolled in the Revolutionary army. Some idea of the proportion.

of such deaths in a Cuban war can be formed from the fact that during the former rebellion, although there were never more than seven thousand or eight thousand soldiers in the Cuban army at a time, no less than thirteen thousand non-combatants were slaughtered. The names of these thirteen thousand victims, furnished by their relatives, are all printed in what is called "The Book of Blood," published in New York a few years ago. It is more difficult to estimate the exact number of Cuban soldiers who fell during the whole 'Ten Years' War, but the most liberal estimates place the figure considerably below half the number of non-combatants killed. During that same period the Spanish loss, although publicly stated to be some twenty-one thousand, was afterward authoritatively admitted to have been over one hundred and eighty-seven thousand. Leon y Castillo, the Spanish Minister for the Colonies, read these figures in the Spanish Cortes from the private official dispatches after peace had been restored. That the number of Cuban soldiers killed during the present war is not here underrated might be proved from records of losses in every engagement kept by Dr. Joaquin Castillo, Chief of the Sanitary Corps, and Colonel Federico Perez, Aid de Camp to General Maceo, both of whom are now in New York.

How is it possible that Spain with its splendid resources has achieved so little and lost so much? A brief examination of the comparative physical and moral conditions of the two armies; their respective organization, and methods of warfare will answer this question.

The Spanish soldiers are chiefly drafted out from the peasant population. This is because the residents of



cities get the benefit of many exemptions not within the reach of the ignorant countrymen. These poor creatures born in a cold, dry climate, and half nourished on a purely vegetable diet, are utterly unfit to live in the tropics. The hot and humid atmosphere of Cuba and the hearty rations of fresh beef with which they are then fed, renders them the easy prey of malaria, dysentery and yellow fever. The weary stragglers abandoned on every march by the roadside to die, swell the figures of Spanish losses, although never included in official bulletins.

Pitted against such sorry warriors, is the sturdy yeomanry of Cuba. It is true they are both of the same blood but there all resemblance ceases. Inured to hardship from infancy, the Cuban thrives on coarse fare, nor have the diseases peculiar to that climate any effect upon him. As a horseman and lasso thrower, he is fully equal to the American cowboy, while early training and constant practice makes the machete, or Cuban cutlass, an almost irresistible weapon in his hands. Every native Cuban is besides a born hunter and it has well been said that hunting is the School of War.

But the greatest source of strength to the patriot army is neither the dexterity nor the vigor of its troopers. The secret of their success lies in the deep conviction of the justice of their cause which is shared by the humblest negro and the richest planter alike. It is through this devotion to the cause of human freedom as against tyranny, that they are willing to serve for an unlimited period without compensation, cheerfully facing hardships and death. This is in turn the weakest point in the equipment of the Spanish invaders of

Cuba. Forced into the service and roughly treated by their officers, they fully appreciate the risk they run, though many of them have but little sympathy for the cause they support. Even the most enthusiastic are actuated mainly by a hope of improving their fortunes, and all sigh for the completion of their term of conscription.

At first glance the Spanish army seems more perfectly organized than that of the patriots. But this superiority is more apparent than real. The conditions which are peculiar to Cuba being exceptional, require a special form of organization. Much of Cuba is a jungle of tangled forest in which for stretches of sixty and eighty miles, neither roads nor human habitations are to be found. A European army is ill adapted to operate such regions. Every Cuban is a guide, and when ordered to do so may be relied on to strike out for himself through those seemingly impassable wilds. The Spanish columns have to march in solid ranks dependent upon the services of a guide whom they distrust and is liable to be picked off at any moment by a rebel sharpshooter. Besides, the scarcity of towns in the interior compel the Spaniards to take with them huge trains of pack mules loaded with provisions which they are not always able to protect. Among the Cubans, each one is his own quartermaster, having learned as a hunter to find his food in the forests. The Cuban army is therefore unencumbered with a commissary department, and often marches forty miles a day. A small band will go much farther. The Spanish army seldom marches further than four leagues, or twelve miles, in a day.

The advantages of the Cuban military organization

are shown in the tactics ordinarily pursued by them. On account of their knowledge of the country and the mobility of their forces, they are always able to engage or avoid the enemy just as it suits the condition of the moment. For the Cubans, repulse means only delay, a quick retreat and a possible engagement later. To the Spanish, however, every battle presents one of two alternatives, victory or annihilation. The rugged topography of the island renders artillery a useless encumbrance in many districts. There are not only a few instances where rather than carry heavy cannon over cliffs or across gorges, they have spiked and abandoned them. And without their guns the Spanish army is seriously crippled, as they rely on them for support in many of their manœuvres.

Although the Cubans are deficient in artillery, they more than make up for this in the clever alternate use they make of cavalry and infantry against their less rapid foes. Of course when a body of infantry is attacked by one of cavalry the universal tactics are to form either a hollow or a solid square, in order to repulse the latter by a concentration of their fire. On the other hand, when fired on by infantry it is customary to deploy, thus scattering the mark. In Cuba the patriot forces are usually able to approach the enemy under the cover and surprise them. The first move is for the Cuban army to feign a charge. This causes the Spaniards to mass their forces, affording an excellent mark for the Cuban infantry ambushed at different points. The effect is deadly, the Mausser rifles throwing a bullet which sometimes pierces three bodies before its force is stayed. Panic stricken, the Spaniards scatter to escape these volleys and are then charged by

the Cuban horse. In this way, they will alternately mass and scatter, until either the Cubans' ammunition is exhausted and the engagement abandoned, or the Spaniards are defeated.

When in too small numbers to attack the invaders in open fight, the Cubans will sometimes adopt an effective method of harassing their enemies. They divide their forces into two equal parts, one of which is sent ahead a dozen miles along the line of march which the Spanish are pursuing. The purpose of this manœuvre is to give the advance force a chance to sleep and hold itself in readiness for night service. Meanwhile the remaining portion attack the enemy in flank, front and rear keeping up a running fire under cover of the woods. The Spanish never daring leave the beaten track, waste their ammunition shooting at random. This is kept up all day. When night comes and the weary Spaniards think their troubles ended, the fresh band of Cubans relieve their comrades. Darkness augments the horrors of the day. The worn-out Spaniards are forced to spend the whole night in warding off the attacks of their active assailants. It is easy to imagine the losses which three or four days' march under these conditions will inflict upon any army.

A striking illustration of the efficiency of this manœuvre is afforded by Colonel Sanchez Echavarria's retreat from Jiguani. Repulsed at that point, he started for Bayamo with eight hundred men. After a terrible march under a constant fire from two alternate bands of only a hundred men each, he entered Bayamo with scarcely more than four hundred men. The rest were left dead and wounded all along the road; their arms and ammunition falling into the hands of the

patriots. Countless instances could be cited of similar engagements, which figure in the official reports as Spanish victories. Such engagements explain nevertheless how the Spaniards, though eternally claiming the advantage, have lost thirty thousand men to less than two thousand on the Cuban side.



STREET SCENE IN BAYAMO.



**RUINS OF THE CONVENT OF ST. FRANCISCO, BAYAMO.**

## **PART II.**

### ***CAUSES AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.***

**BY R. M. MERCHÁN.**

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#### **CHAPTER XI.**

##### **CORRUPTION OF THE SPANISH ADMINISTRATION.**

BEFORE the commencement of the present war some of us, natives of Cuba, who are conservative patriots, might have preferred a legal fight to the appeal to arms. Five years ago the writer, believing the revolution to be impossible, or rather, that it would be lacking in the elements of success, endeavored to make manifest the advantages of securing for Cuba an autonomic administration within the Spanish Empire. The author believed that, though Spain was unwilling to grant such concessions, she would, in the end, yield to the force of circumstances. But those who were on the ground, and felt the oppressor's yoke, it must be acknowledged, were the only judges as to the limits and suffering and endurance. They rose in arms on the 24th of February of last year, and those of us who cannot look with indifference upon the affairs of our country are forced to choose between two alternatives; namely, we must side with our compatriots, or we must side with those who kill our compatriots. To present the problem in this



shape, and there is no other way to present it, is to resolve it.

My business then is to put in evidence the justice of the cause of those who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the independence of their country. The Autonomists or Home Rule party of Cuba have not denied that this justice exists. They simply doubt the expediency of the last resort. But they have never dared to deny, as I shall show further on, that there is a just cause to appeal to the Arbiter of War.

I shall take up first the corruption of the public administration in Cuba, and I shall not have to go back to those times when, according to Lord Palmerston, Cuba was "a centre of abominations."

#### CORRUPTION IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

So grave is the matter whereof I treat that I shall prefer to employ the words of others.

Those who do not know that I never assert what I cannot prove might suspect that I am carried away by exaggeration or fiction. I therefore yield the floor to the very highest authorities in the Spanish Government.

My first quotation \* is taken from the *Journal of the Spanish Cortes* of the 28th of June, 1890. Thus spoke Mr. Romero Robledo, who has been Colonial Minister in the Spanish Cabinet, before the assembled Cortes of the Realm.

"In these days it is scarcely necessary for bandits to

\* The American reader will please understand once for all that the civil as well as the military administration in Cuba is entirely in the hands of the Spaniards. That the employees and officers are appointed in Spain. That the whole machinery of the government may be said with propriety to be of the Spaniards, by the Spaniards, and for the Spaniards.

run the risk of the highway. Why should we expose ourselves to run counter to the rural police when a man can quietly steal six and a half millions of dollars from the thrice bolted public safes, and no one is arrested except a poor porter who was absent from the building at the time of the theft? Why run the risk of the highwayman when the Vice President of a Provincial Assembly can commit a murder on his wife and marry his own servant without anybody caring to expose the criminal except that it is said that he is a public functionary?"

The same Señor Romero Robledo in the same session read a memorial letter addressed to the Minister of the Colonies by General Salamanca, who was then Captain-General of the Island, January, 1890. The General was an honest man, that is, he would not steal, though he did give his sanction to some electioneering crookedness. He had set out to moralize the administration, but his hopes were shipwrecked upon the shore of traditional methods and the influences from Madrid that are directed toward shielding both the offence and the offenders. Perhaps the moral sufferings of the man may have caused his brief sickness and unexpected death. The letter in question speaks of the frauds upon the revenues and says:

"It is the most scandalous thing ever seen; it is really impossible to conceive of it. Because, though we may understand how frauds are promoted by organized impunity, one cannot conceive how they can escape the scrutiny of the Board of Accounts and the Ministry of the Colonies, to both of whom the accounts of all transactions are forwarded. If anyone were to disclose these things to the nation the frightful spectacle might well bring about a cataclysm. The judicial proceedings in

the cases of forgery concerning the Provincial Treasuries were opened in 1881. The Courts of Justice issued the order of arrest against the parties that were supposed to be culpable. But at the same time the famous Royal Decree was issued, instructing that the courts should not interfere in such cases, until the administrative proceedings were finished. The criminal proceedings were thus stopped, the prisoners were set free, and strange to say, for reasons unknown, the administrative process also ceased to move forward at the same time. Since then, nine years ago, no prosecuting attorney has been appointed; and all this goes on with the approval of the courts, of the intendants, and of everybody, while some of the accused officers occupy high positions in the government.

"*War Accounts from 1879-80.* You have on your desk the seven documents I forwarded through my Adjutant, Roquet, and you are aware of the importance of the defalcation which, with so many others, sleeps the sleep of the just. This was the cause why my friend, Balaguer, suppressed by cable the Board of Accounts of the Island, which happened to be on the trail of the delinquents. Since then the affair seems to have been lost in some unfathomable well. The gravity of the business is that, as you know full well, the process refers to enormous sums of money that cannot be accounted for, and that are saddled upon imaginary transportations of troops and furnishing of supplies. Some respectable houses, one of which played a very important part at the time, are involved in this affair."

Mr. Romero Robledo said further: "I shall not read all of the memorial, but I wish to bring before the congress one fact. What is the amount of these defalca-

tions? They represent the sum of twenty-eight millions, eight hundred and eleven thousand, five hundred and sixteen dollars. Did the government ignore this? What has become of this amount? I cannot proceed. I have no comments to make, but will simply add that when Mr. Sagasta landed in Cadiz with General Prim in 1868, the keynote of his manifesto was *Long live Spain with honor*. A fine way, indeed, of honoring the fatherland."

The sentences I am about to quote from Mr. Vega de Armijo, ex-Minister of State, and from Mr. Moret, who has also been Minister of State and of the colonies, were spoken, not at the same session of the Cortes, but some years previously. They were repeated, however, by Mr. Romero Robledo during the session I am speaking of.

The Marquis Vega de Armijo said: "The immorality of the administration in Cuba is a theme of general conversation. Let us add, gentlemen, that the pernicious influence of this immorality is also felt here."

Mr. Moret: "To eradicate this leprosy of administrative immorality, which goes together with what is called the system of bosses; to break down this repugnant and unhealthy system of wheels within wheels, which commences in the distribution of the spoils of office, and goes on in the election of councilmen, the election of congressmen, and involves, as a matter of course, the rise of bureaucracy with its influence upon the government and the judiciary; to break away from all this we require a strong government."

Read now the following extract from the official organ, *La Epoca*, of Madrid, of August 23d, 1890:

"We have heard for the last three years in Parlia-

ment, and we read in the public press, that the proceedings instituted in the cases of fraudulent accounts of the public debt seem to sleep the sleep of the just ; that evil tongues will say and repeat that the famous ex-Secretary of the Board of Public Debt carried out his pilferings in connivance with important functionaries in the department of the colonies ; that if the said secretary were forced to speak, his revelations might bring trouble upon many. . . .

" Another scandalous fraud was discovered in 1887. The supposed authors, according to public rumor, live in plenty and enjoy their summer vacations with the best, as if we had no government, no tribunals, no anything ; while honest employees live modestly or are dismissed to make room for the favored pick-pockets.

" The *Comercio* and the *Diario de la Marina*, newspapers of Havana, attributed the repetition of these defalcations to the impunity enjoyed by the perpetrators who have been called ' bandits with Royal Grants.' "

General Pando, who has resided many years in Cuba, and who took an important part in the war of 1868-78, presented serious charges against the government in the session of the Cortes of March 22d, 1890. I shall copy an abstract of his long speech, as it appeared in *La Epoca* of Madrid, on the following day :

" A general, and a public man, endowed with great energy and aptitude for the details of business, General Salamanca, after sustaining a rude campaign in the Senate against Cuban immorality, (that is to say, the immorality of the Spanish administration in Cuba), was for this very reason appointed by Mr. Becerra to the chief command of the island of Cuba. One

should suppose, in view of these antecedents, that the new Governor-General would have the support and the facilities that it was possible to grant to him besides those that are inherent to his office, in order that he might be able to struggle against the many-headed Hydra with the same good will as his predecessors, and with better success.

"This notwithstanding, the government of General Salamanca has been very unfortunate. The corruption has been greater than ever. The embezzlements have been more scandalous, and the General has succumbed in the struggle,—a victim of his temperament, of his tireless energy, and perhaps other factors.

"The problem the General set out to solve has become more threatening than ever, and the frauds recently discovered in the accounts of the Board of Public Debt have culminated in the disappearance of its secretary, Mr. Oteiza, and the successful request for his extradition.

"We are not surprised to have heard the question asked by General Pando in yesterday's session of the Cortes.

"It is very apparent, then, that no branch of the state business in Cuba has escaped the pervading epidemic of immorality. In the Internal administration, we have the frauds that go by the name of Oteiza, and the defalcations recently discovered in the subtreasury of Matanzas. In the Judiciary we have judges financially interested in cases that they are to pass judgment upon. As to the Department of War, we find General Pando asking in yesterday's session what action has been taken upon the proceedings instituted in the cases of swindles discovered in the disbursements for sup-

plies and transportation of troops. As to the Custom Houses, the same general inquired yesterday what was the amount represented in the Havana Custom House by *wet paper*, or drafts bearing imaginary names. This amount is believed to reach the sum of five million dollars. If we add to this the frauds in the public debt and in the administration of confiscated property, General Pando believes that we can strike a grand total of forty million dollars as a fair estimate of these pickings and stealings.

"What could the Minister of the colonies answer to these overwhelming charges? That he is prepared to continue the campaign of moralization in Cuba; that he will furnish the Cortes with all the documents that may be called for; and that he relies upon the assistance of honest men to carry out his good purpose.

"We find that the second part of the debate was not less interesting than the first. General Pando, after referring to the current rumor that General Salamanca had died of poisoning, stated that when he was exhumed by his son it was found that all the viscera had been removed; and the General accused the government of failing to support the authorities in the island whenever the local opposition became a political power."

Mr. Castañeda, who is a Spaniard to the marrow, in the session of the Cortes of June 24th, 1891, said:

"Can anyone doubt the immorality that exists in Cuba? General Prendergast has sent you (the Minister of the Colonies) a list of three hundred and fifty names of employees of the Custom Houses, and of the administration, who have been prosecuted for defalcation and not one of them has been punished. This

theft—for we must call things by their names—in the Custom Houses increases the annual deficit. And how can we put a stop to all this, when the embezzler of to-day is found worthy of promotion on the morrow.”

In the session of the Cortes of the 7th and 8th of June, 1892, Mr. Romero Robledo declared in a speech, that he had ordered a balance of the accounts to be struck in the Cuban treasury, and the result had been, that the amount of nineteen millions, three hundred and thirty-two thousand, eight hundred and sixty-five dollars should have appeared to the credit of the treasury, but, the orator continued :

“Now, these nineteen millions of dollars reduce themselves to about half a million of useful money. Useless paper, imaginary sums of money transferred from one cashier to another, mysteriously sealed packages that contain worthless paper, some of which are dated as far back as 1865—this is about all that can be found.

“No registry is kept of the transfer of property or of the disposal of public lands. To determine whether any such transaction has been effected, one has to inquire from old employees of the estate, who may or who may not remember if the property was transferred or sold.

“In 1834 the government purchased a building to be used for public offices in one of the Cuban provinces. The house was purchased for forty thousand dollars in gold. Quite recently the building was condemned as unsafe and the offices were ordered to be removed. The house was sold for two thousand dollars in paper (eight hundred in gold). The government offices remained where they were and now the government pays seventy-two dollars a month for the



rent of the house. An administrator of the treasury ordered the building to be sold, and another administrator bought it.

"But what more do you want? Do you believe we have tax assessors and assessments in Cuba? We have nothing of the kind. There are only certain lists written with pencil; upon which lists names come and go at the will of the manipulators. Everything is after this pattern. We have no register, no archives, no basis of any kind for a business-like administration."

Now let us listen to what the Queen Regent has to say upon the subject.

In a Royal Decree appearing in the *Gazeta de Madrid* of November 25th, 1892, it was stated that there was reason to suppose from official information received, that serious thefts were being committed in the section of *Passive Classes*, that is, in the payment of pensions for military decorations obtained during the last Cuban War of 1863-78. Subsequent investigations made good these suspicions of criminal speculations, which were spoken of by *La Epoca* of Madrid, on the twenty-fifth of the same month, as the "most audacious frauds ever conceived." Listen to the bitter sarcasm used by the highest authority of the realm in regard to this matter.

"It is worthy of attention, first, that twelve years after the war that desolated the island, such a large number of applications for pensions should be presented by soldiers who served in those trying times, but seem to have overlooked their rights, if we are to judge by the silence they have kept during the years immediately following the return of peace; second, that the number of pensioners seems to increase as we

recede further from that date. So that, while their number in the province of Santiago de Cuba in 1887 was four hundred and fifty, we find it increased in 1891 to nine hundred and fifty, beside the hundreds of applications that have not been decided upon; and third, that we find, against all the calculations of vital statistics, that the deaths have numbered no more than one for the year 1889-90, two for 1890-91, and none for 1891-92. We may say therefore that the pensioners seem to obtain together with their pensions, the privilege of immortality."

The Royal Decree further states that so soon as the order was given for pensioners to present themselves in person to the Governor of the Province their number fell instantly from nine hundred and fifty nine, to five hundred and ninety three.

The reader should be here cautioned against believing that, because these pensioners belonged to the Spanish army, the people of Cuba were not affected by these frauds. As we shall see when we come to study the Budget, the moneys expended in the pension bureaux are derived from Cuban taxes.

All these declarations from newspapers, members of Parliament, Ministers, and even the Monarch, show that the ulcer is broad and deep, and that the public power has no means to heal it. To bring about the punishment of Oteiza, the integrity of a Salamanca was needed, and we have seen how dearly the latter paid for his energy.

The extradition of Oteiza was obtained from the United States and he was severely punished. He was a rare exception in the midst of the general impunity that prevails in such cases.

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In the session of the Cortes on the tenth of June, 1887, the Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Balaguer, in answer to an interpellation made by the Autonomist Deputy from Cuba, Mr. Fernández de Castro said:

“With respect to the proceedings opened in 1877 for embezzlements committed through fraudulent payments of employees of the Board of Accounts for the West Indies, I may say, that all action is held in suspense in expectation of the establishment of responsibility by the Supreme Tribunal of Accounts. Other frauds committed in 1878 are still waiting action by the same Tribunal.”

How is it that these proceedings could lay dormant, as it were, for periods of nine and ten years. The organ of the Autonomist Party, *El Pais*, which now supports the government, explained the whole thing in the following manner in its issue of July 5th of the same year:

“In the midst of this prevailing plague of dishonesty, is it possible that public functionaries can commit these crimes without the aid of accomplices? Certainly not. If they are punished with severity, the same rigor should be shown toward those who abet and condone the crimes of the employees.”

And unfortunately, to make matters worse, we find that all, or most, of these functionaries and those who are directly or indirectly their accomplices belong to the family of our brethren from the other side of the ocean; they come from the Mother Country, or carry on from thence, in connivance with their protégés, this criminal industry. The immorality then appears to be an important aid for the enrichment of those who prey upon the Colony; or, perhaps the corruption is a

political instrument with which to accomplish the degradation of the people and their perpetual domination.

In 1879 a Colonial Reform Commission appointed by the Cortes declared :

“But all reforms of the Impost System will be useless, and will even work contrary to the purposes of the government, if we do not put a stop to the ruinous procedures of the public functionaries in other portions of the community. The immorality of the administration assumes every day more alarming proportions, not only in extent, but also in the organized character of the methods and its activity. The honest portions of the population regard with regret the distrust that all this entails, not only of the national treasury but of the national honor.”

I could fill volumes with documents referring to this repugnant matter, but I suppose I may be relieved from further reaping in this sadly fertile soil. Unless evidence be called for that the same maladministration continues at the present time. In that case we may follow one of the more recent disclosures to its fountain-head. In 1887 a speech delivered by Mr. Fernández de Castro on the 18th of February, before the Autonomist Club of Havana, was denounced to the government and proceedings were instituted against the author, though he was a representative in Parliament. In this speech we find the following paragraph :

“There is a leak in the Custom Houses. The revenues of the state which should be employed in the public services for the public good, seem to disappear mysteriously among the employees and some of the newspapers. The public debt is augmented by embezzlements committed by the very men who should en-

deavor to reduce it. They seem to understand this reduction in a peculiar way; namely, the reduction of the public treasury and of private debts. Here all accounts are mythical, conscience is a heavy load, common decency, a troublesome luxury, public office, a rich vein to be worked to make a fortune in the shortest time possible. There is in other words, ample opportunity given to carry on with impunity the occupation of highwaymen."

This language is strong, but every word of it is true. The author repeated at a later date the same charges before the Cortes on the 1st of July, 1887, and General Pando observed that Mr. Fernández de Castro had not gone far enough. The administration, however, seems to have taken offence at the statement that some of its employees made free with public property, and instituted proceedings against the offender. Now, precisely six months after the date of the objectionable speech, great excitement prevailed in Havana because Captain-General Marín took military possession of the Custom House, removed all the employees, and came in person to investigate the cause of the great falling off in the revenues. "Guards were placed," says a contemporary journal, "not only around the Custom House, but also along the avenues leading to it, and in all the railroad stations of the city." A few days later, calls for a public manifestation were profusely circulated. They were worded as follows:

"Honest Spaniards.

Come to the meeting.

Bring flags with inscriptions.

Down with the thieves.

We want Salamanca."

There were indeed several manifestations and the government at Madrid became so much alarmed as to consider the advisability of calling a special session of the Cortes.

I shall not stop to consider the details of this scandalous affair, but shall simply state that there was no punishment inflicted, other than the removal from office, and that it was clearly shown that nearly all declarations of dutiable articles were more or less falsified. The result was a remarkably sudden increase in the revenues.

Unfortunately in Cuba these frauds, like Banquo's ghost, will never down. The *Diario de la Familia*, of Havana, in its issue of August 16th, 1894, showed conclusively, that in the year ending June 10th, 1894, another branch of the external revenues had been defrauded of one million dollars. This was easily demonstrated. One million two hundred thousand tons of sugar had been exported: the export duties, at the rate of one dollar per ton, should represent a corresponding number of dollars, and yet only four hundred and ninety-eight thousand had been collected. A deficit of seven hundred and two thousand is left that cannot be accounted for.

"If we add to this sum more than four hundred thousand dollars that are missing in the export duties on tobacco, we have a deficit of more than one million dollars this year; and it is very probable that it is no less in the previous years. We need say nothing as to the import duties, for everyone knows what is going on there."

In a speech delivered by Mr. Edward Dolz, a Spaniard, in the Ateneo de Madrid early in 1895, we find

the following paragraph as black as anything written by Dante:

"That administration is a national disgrace, it is corrupt and rotten to the core, it is a cancer demanding immediate extirpation, it is unworthy of a civilized people. Were I not ashamed to draw the veil that covers that great social ulcer, and were it not that I am convinced that the existence of the trouble, and the necessity of finding a remedy were well known, I would give you such details as would sorely perplex you; I could make revelations that would rouse your indignation; I would lay bare everything that makes up the plot and roots of that great public calamity. But I must tell you one thing, I must expose at least one fact that will lead you to form an idea of the condition of affairs: In the last twenty-five years, including the Separatist War, and the period immediately following, the frauds in the Custom Houses of Cuba amounted to two hundred million dollars; that is a total almost equivalent to the public debt of the country. An amount, therefore, with which the debt could be liquidated and the public budget relieved of this incubus. The public services could be improved, the taxes could be reduced, and agriculture and the industries could receive the fostering care of the government. All these hopes, however, are swept away by the black hand of immorality and fraud."

In the excellent book entitled *Cuba and Cubans* which has reached seven editions in a few years, we find that Mr. Raimundo Cabrera, the author, states:

"Is it to be wondered, then, if we meet almost at every turn, scandalous proceedings such as the falsification of the notes of the public debt commission? Is



HILL OF GIBARA IN VUELTA ABAJO.





THE "JAGUEY" COFFEE PLANTATION NEAR GUANTANAMO

there any reason to be surprised because on one fine morning we find the bolts and bars of the depot of stamped papers filed *from within*, and that a large quantity of the same has been removed? Who can wonder if two different numbers appear at the same time drawing the capital prize of \$200,000 in the National Lottery? Who can wonder if the Criminal Courts are crowded every day by criminal proceedings for similar acts, for the stealing of stamps, and of lottery tickets which should be burnt, for defalcations, embezzlements and all sorts of inconceivable scandals, great and small, that are committed in our public offices, and which, in the technical jargon of the initiated, are ingeniously labled by the names of *Chocolates*, *manganillas* and *filtrations*?"

I have quoted this paragraph from the edition of 1889 in order that it may be seen that the frauds in the drawing of the lottery which occurred on the 1st of February, 1895 (twenty-three days before the beginning of the present insurrection) are not the first in the history of that much troubled revenue.

My task might end here. In order to justify the present war for independence it is not necessary to remind the reader of the corruption which prevailed during the first half of this century and which is partially set forth in a memoir written by Captain General José de la Concha, and dated December 21st, 1850; nor is it necessary to expose the frauds that are going on at the present time in the Antillan Colony in the several branches of public debt, public estimates, commercial legislation, elections and education. I shall however, take up some of these, in special chapters, in deference to the general interest that attaches at the present time

to all matters concerning Cuba. The vindication of the Cubans who are struggling to put into effect the great ideals of Bolivar, will be thus made more complete.

That the Spaniards should make great sacrifices to maintain the Colonial spirit in the remnants of their great transatlantic empire (though this is not done by all of them, since we find not a few who have joined the Cubans); that the Spaniards should understand their duty in this way, is reasonable; either from a sincere, though erring and retrograde patriotism, or from a natural desire to perpetrate interests that will crumble through the Separatist movement. Let us grant that, but even if we do not, the period of peaceful discussions between the colony and the Mother Country is past. Any soldier of the Cuban Revolution who might be reproached as having no justification for the appeal to arms might answer: "If our cause is not just, then justice stands with an administration whose leaders, from the monarch down, have called it corrupt, confessing at the same time their incapacity to purify it; if our ideal deserves abomination, then all respect and reverence is due to the high priests of plunder; if we must repent and submit, it must be because our consciences were wrong in rebelling against a government, which, notwithstanding the good wishes and rectitude of some of its leaders, (ornamental leaders) does not show any honesty in its past history, none at the present time, nor any guarantees for the future.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PUBLIC DEBT.

THE Cuban debt, or, more strictly speaking, the Spanish debt in Cuba, exceeds one hundred and seventy million dollars. (See addition at the end of the chapter.)

*L'Economist Français* published in its issue of the 19th of January last that the debt amounted to nine hundred and thirty million dollars. Had the publication said *pesetas* instead of dollars it would have been more nearly right.

In 1890 the Spanish Government did not know what the amount of this debt was. Mr. Fabié, who was subsequently minister of the colonies, so confessed it before the Upper House of Parliament on the 28th of May of the same year. He gave as a reason for this ignorance the emission "of false and illegitimate titles of the debt which had been included in the general scheme of conversion." This was about the time when Oteiza was carrying on the operations which landed him in the penitentiary.

About the middle of 1892 Mr. Romero Rebledo, Minister of the Colonies, quoted the amount of the debt at \$173,262,200. This gives us a ratio per capita of \$106, basing our calculation on the population of one million six hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven, as given by the census of 1887. The amortization of the debt and the payment

of interests on the same weigh upon the budget of expenses at the rate, in 1893, of \$10,435,183, or at the ratio of \$6.39 for each inhabitant. With the exception of France, I know of no country in which the public debt imposes so enormous a sacrifice. In the Argentine Republic the ratio is \$5.56; in Holland, \$5.20; in Italy, \$4.51; in Belgium, \$3.63; in Great Britain \$3.52; in the Spanish Peninsula, \$3.23. In France and in Cuba \$6.39.\*

But besides being excessively onerous, the debt is unjustifiable in itself.

The first entry dates back to 1841. By an agreement signed on the 17th of February, 1834, in Madrid, Spain recognized a perpetual debt to the United States, paying five per cent. interest. Spain was not able to fulfill this agreement, and by a Royal Decree of the 2d of April, 1841, it was ordered that the Cuban treasury should pay these interests in the future. The principal amounts to \$570,000, the interests \$28,500. The source of this debt has nothing whatever to do with improvements for Cuba. It arises from damages suffered by American citizens during the War of Independence of Spanish America.

In 1850 the Budget of the Island did not amount to \$14,000,000, and was kept within \$17,000,000 up to 1865.

"After 1865 the Mexican Expedition, and the occupation and war of San Domingo increased the expenses,

\* These figures, and others that will be used later on, have been taken from statistics that were compiled in Havana in 1891, and revised in 1894 by Mr. Manuel Valdes Rodriguez. These I have rectified with more recent data, the source of which have been the *Annuaire de l'Economie Politique et de la Statistique*, by Maurice Block; the *Statesman's Year Book*, and the *American Almanac*.

and the revenue had to be made double that of 1850. But as this was not sufficient the debt was created that has since weighed upon the Cuban treasury."

This statement is found in pages 29 and 31 of a pamphlet entitled *Cuba Su Presupuesto de Gastos* (Cuba and its Budget) published in Madrid in 1883 by Mr. Mariano Cancio Villa-Amil, a Spaniard, who has been intendent of the Cuban treasury. He did not mention, however, the expenses of the war against Peru; but this forgetfulness was remedied by another Spaniard, an adversary also of the Cuban Separatists and Autonomists, Mr. Perez Castañeda who spoke as follows in the Senate on the 24th of June 1891:

"The Cuban debt was born in 1864 by a small emission of \$3,000,000, and amounts to-day to the fabuloussum of \$173,000,000. . . . . Where are we to look for the origin of this Cuban debt? In the wars of San Domingo, Peru and Mexico. And were not these national questions? If they belong to the whole nation why should Cuba pay the debt? But still further, if we understand (and Spain, in her generosity, would never consent to such a thing) if we understand that the Cuban debt has been made to weigh exclusively upon the Colony as a punishment for the insurrection, then, why has not the same action been taken toward the Basque Provinces which have been also in rebellion? Has the debt incurred on account of the Carlist War in the Northern Provinces, and the Communal insurrection of Carthagena been imposed exclusively upon those provinces? It would then be a matter of common justice, and a very wise political measure to bring about a unification of the national debts."

But Mr. Perez Castañeda also forgot another item of

the debt ; namely, " The advances made to the Peninsular Treasury during the last Carlist Wars," according to *El Pais* of Havana, July 3d, 1892.

The loans obtained during the last Cuban War have been much more expensive than what is customary, because the government, guarding against the possibility of the emancipation of the island, was not willing to give the guarantee of the nation.

The debt has continued to increase in spite of the fact that \$115,336,304 have been paid between 1878 and the 30th of June, 1891, toward charges for interest and management of the debt. See *El Globo* of Madrid, October 27th, 1891. As the estimates show a yearly deficit fluctuating between eight and ten millions of dollars, we may safely estimate that in the four years ending in June, 1895, at least thirty millions of dollars have been added to this burden. The same Mr. Castañeda, before quoted, has shown that in the process of conversion of a part of the debt in 1890-91 the amount was actually increased by \$50,232,500 through a blunder of the Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Fabié. This includes twenty million four hundred dollars which were part of the loan raised to withdraw the depreciated paper of the Spanish bank of Havana. Instead of applying the amount to the object for which it was raised, it was diverted as a temporary loan to bridge over a crisis of the Bank of Spain in Madrid. A similar loan of one million dollars was subsequently made to the general Transatlantic Company.

These conversions of the debt are frequently unfortunate because they are not effected by carefully studied provisions, but through an authority vested in

the Minister of the Colonies, and vaguely implied in the third article of the Law of Public Estimates.

When the Revolution of Yara broke out in 1868 the debt arising from the campaigns of San Domingo, Mexico and Peru had not been liquidated. The Budget of expenses established in 1850 had to be quadrupled. In 1874-75 the revenues amounted to fifty and a quarter millions of dollars and the expenses to forty and a half millions. "Meanwhile," says Mr. Villa-Amil, page 32, "all reproductive services ceased, and for thirty years the island fails to advance one step toward civilization."

I shall return to this subject when I come to speak of the Budget. I return now to the debt.

Heavy expenses were occasioned from 1861-65 by the incorporation of San Domingo, the invasion of Mexico and the war in the Pacific against Peru and Chili. If the object of these enterprises had been to foster the development of Cuba, it would have been reasonable to demand that she should bare a proportionate part of the expenses. Such was the case in Canada where the debt resulting from the construction of railroads, canals and other public works in Manitoba was assumed by the Dominion. But the object of the Spanish enterprise was to increase the power of the Spanish nation, and the nation as a whole should have borne the burden, Cuba contributing her share of the debt, and no more; but the whole amount, why? Had our opinion been consulted, the great majority of the Cubans would have expressed their sympathies with the Dominicans, the Mexicans, the Chilians and Peruvians. The government was wise



enough not to ask our sanction for its arbitrary action, knowing full well that the saddling of its expenditures upon the Cubans could not meet with our approbation. There was therefore no ground of justification for the creation of the insular debt; it was to bring no benefits to the Cuban people. These enterprises had not our sanction; they were undertaken for glory, for national pride, for the vindication of supposed national rights, or what you will; they were certainly national undertakings.

With respect to the debt occasioned by the insurrection of 1868-78 the arguments of Mr. Pérez Castañeda, above quoted, are unanswerable. It is well that they have been advanced by a Spaniard, though they had been suggested long before by many others, both Spaniards and Cubans. And it is no use replying that Spain contributed during the insurrection the blood of her children, because there was a goodly part of the Spanish population on the island that took up arms against the insurrection; and if all the Spanish subjects were not furnished with arms for this purpose it truly was not because of a charitable impulse to prevent the shedding of Cuban blood, but simply because the loyalty of the Cubans could not be trusted.

If on the other hand we look at the imposition of the debt upon the Cubans as a measure of chastisement, then the blow was most unjust, for it fell equally upon the friends and enemies of the National Government.

It is precisely a feeling of resentment against this injustice, that has led many Spaniards who are domiciled in the island, and who fear its independence, to harbor

certain sentiments that are not compatible with the sovereignty of Spain.

The Spaniards are wont to defend this imposition of the Cuban debt with a very transparent sophistry, to the effect that Cuba does not carry any portion of the national debt. We shall hear what Mr. Cánovas del Castillo, "the Administrator of Spanish Decadence," as he has been called, has to say upon this subject. He delivered himself in the Senate session of the 22d of February, 1888, as follows:—

"Justice will lead Mr. Jorrín to inquire if this enormous public debt (the national debt) which reflects our history from the discovery of America to the present time, and which could not be liquidated in toto by all the resources of the Peninsula; he shall have to inquire, I say, whether it is a debt of Cuba that the Peninsula should pay, or whether it is a national debt. I believe it should be paid proportionally by the inhabitants of the Antilles and of the Peninsula."

"Mr. Jorrín must know that a part of this debt proceeds from the Catholic kings and from Charles V. and Philip II. - There is a very considerable portion (for the expenditures were heavier then in spite of the frequent balancing of accounts) that belongs to the times of Charles III. and Charles IV. when the protection of our Americas, and of the Antilles necessitated the maintenance of fleets that were out of proportion with our means. Granting that much of this was expended upon the American continent, and for which we had no returns, still Mr. Jorrín must acknowledge that the continent was finally lost both to Cuba and to the Peninsula."

It is very easy to attack this line of argument. I shall limit myself to two considerations:

1st. The debt of Spain amounts to \$1,211,453,629.

The charges for interest and the management of the debt are estimated yearly at . . . . . 56,752,355

The annual charges of the Cuban debt amount to . . . . . 10,435,183

Total . . . . . \$67,187,538

Population of Spain in Europe. . . 17,545,160

" in Cuba. . . . . 1,631,687

Total . . . . . \$19,176,847

Let us say nineteen millions in round numbers, and observe that I do not include Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The sixty-seven millions of dollars that are absorbed by both debts annually would correspond to \$3.53 per capita, which is very little more than one-half what is paid now by the Cuban population (\$6.39), and would be but a trifling increase over what is paid now by the inhabitants of the Peninsula (\$3 23.) Mr. Canovas has been often enough the head of the Spanish Cabinet, and has had the authority and the means to consolidate the two debts. If he has not done so it is simply because he did not wish to do it. What nonsense then to talk about the Cubans not feeling the weight of the national debt. Do they govern in Madrid; is it their fault or his?

My second argument is that Spain has withdrawn from the island enormous sums of money. If the Spanish statesmen did not choose to employ them for

the liquidation of the Peninsular debt, that is none of our business. The fact remains that the money was taken from Cuba to Spain, and we do not count the proceeds of manipulations that are *non sanctas*.

In the session of May 9th, 1887, Mr. José del Perojo stated in Parliament:

"We have obtained more material produce from our Colonies than any other nation. In the four centuries since the discovery of America, the Spanish treasury has received in the form of tithes and fifths more than nine hundred and eighty millions of dollars, of which one hundred and thirty-seven were contributed by the Island of Cuba."

And I return now to the history of this debt, to which the insurgents are not willing to submit.

*El Relator, of Bogotá*, in its issue of May 24th, 1890, states:

"The history of the Cuban debt with its annual charge of eight and one-half millions of dollars is as follows:

"All the expenses of the Dominican, Mexican and Peruvian campaigns, together with the expenses of the Spanish American Consulates are charged to the Cuban treasury. During the last insurrection the treasury adopted the system of furnishing officers with money for the expense of the troops, and taking their receipts as vouchers with a view to liquidate the amount at stated periods. But this was never done, and the receipts accumulated in the treasury to the amount of eighty millions of dollars that constituted an active element in the Cuban debt. Though the fraud is evident, these documents, apparently to help the public credit, have been accepted and paid for in currency or in

bonds that are quoted at good prices in the market. These bonds after being paid for the second time, return to the market to be paid for once more. But this seems to disturb nobody—it is a custom of the country. The same treasury is responsible also for the frauds of the lottery.”

It was my intention to have done with the subject of financial corruption, but it is impossible to approach any of the avenues leading to the centre of government, without encountering the stench of this hospital of putrid sores.

Mr. M. Figueroa, spoke as follows in the session of Congress of July 23d, 1886 :

“For the benefit of my colleague I shall now account for a portion of this debt. It represents, in part, the profits of a few individuals. The gentleman certainly does not ignore the fact that criminal proceedings have been instituted against contractors, and that as a general rule all those who made contracts with the government, accumulated enormous profits, some of them honestly and others not. I am pleased to observe signs of assent from General Daban. The truth is, that the system of privileges could benefit only certain individuals.

“I am not dominated by passion, and shall not throw the responsibility upon Spain, but rather upon individual depravity and avarice, as well as upon the reproachable conduct of some governing officers. We must admit, however, that during the progress of the war, we were carried by a whirlwind. Take for instance the following case, and I state it without fear of contradiction. A train loaded with supplies for the army would leave Havana and then stop at the station Las Minas,

nine miles from the city. From thence it would return to Havana with its cargo to start once more on the same errand, never getting beyond the above named station. The treasury, however, paid for each trip as if the supplies had reached their destination. I have the proofs of this transaction and am ready to submit them. In this way you see a portion of the Cuban debt may be accounted for."

*Post Scriptum.*—The above article was written early in August, 1895. We have received since then other data that may be epitomized as follows :

By Royal Decree, on the 27th of September, 1890, one million seven hundred and fifty thousand Bills of Credit of \$100 each were issued, with a normal value, therefore, of one hundred and seventy-five million dollars. These were to be applied, first, to the charges of the floating debt that resulted from the annual deficits of the Budget. Second, to the resumption of specie payment (these two objects have been accomplished.) Third, to redeem the debt contracted in 1882, (and this also has been carried out almost totally.) Fourth, to the conversion of the issue of 1886, (this has not been done), and fifth, charges of issue and conversion.

In June, 1896, there were in circulation fifty-one million, six hundred and ninety thousand dollars in Bills of the issue of 1890. Of the rest, eight hundred and ten thousand dollars had been amortised, and there were one hundred and twenty-two and a half millions that were held in readiness for the conversion of the debt of 1886, as above stated. But in the summer of 1895, the government asked the Cortes for authority to suspend the conversion and raise funds for carrying on

the war. The Cuban debt, therefore, amounts now to nearly three hundred million dollars distributed as follows :

Bills of Credit in circulation in June, 1895,	\$ 51,690,000
Amount intended for the conversion of the debt of 1886 and diverted to war expenses . . . . .	122,500,000
The same debt of 1886, which amounted in 1892 to . . . . .	113,768,200
Total . . . . .	<u>\$287,958,200</u>

The total will easily exceed three hundred million dollars if we take into consideration the existing debt to the United States, the payments for infractions of commercial treaties, the claims for damages to citizens of the United States. (The Mora claim of the last war alone amounted to nearly one and a half millions of dollars); the surcharge for the failure to pay interests which I believe to be inevitable, and other accidental sources that I cannot foresee.

Suppose that things came to no worse a pass (and this is scarcely possible) we would have a per capita distribution of the debt at the rate of \$184.00. The charges for interest and management of the debt amounted in the Budget of 1895-96 to twelve millions of dollars on a debt of one hundred and seventy-five millions. If this is raised to three hundred millions the annual charges will amount to twenty millions, which is very near the total of the revenues obtained in recent years.

The deluge we may say. Fortunately Gomez and Maceo, with their sixty thousand men, are building the ark of salvation.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### NEGROES AND FOREIGNERS.

A NEWSPAPER correspondent of the *Gaulois*, of Paris, quotes Mr. Canovas del Castillo as saying "that the white race had taken no part in the Cuban insurrection."\*

Those of us who read the papers that are published in Cuba and the United States in the interest of the Spaniards find therein facts that do not conform with the statements of the Prime Minister. I shall make some extracts from these, not, however, before reminding the reader that during the last war the same statements were constantly circulated by the Spaniards with the view to debase the Cuban cause before the world. It would be easy to quote numberless official declarations and newspaper articles of that date asserting the insurgents were nothing but bands of negroes and bandits. But we should rather attempt to contradict,

\* The same statement was made by him in an interview published in the *New York Herald*. In another part of this interview, however, the Prime Minister complains that Spain had been deceived by the Autonomists who, he implies, were Separatists in disguise. Are the Autonomists then the negroes? The Spaniards knew very well from the beginning that the Cuban war was not a race war. In the propagation of this falsehood they hoped to obtain two ends. First, to throw discredit on the Cuban Revolution; this they succeeded in doing in some quarters; and second, to draw the Cubans into a discussion of the matter that might lead to their disparaging the negro and refusing him his importance as a factor in the Cuban Revolution. The colored race naturally would have resented this and the object would have been attained of creating dissensions in the Cuban army. In this the Spaniards have utterly failed because the bond of union of the two races in the ranks of the patriots is more strongly cemented than the Prime Minister knows.



from Spanish sources, similar statements made in regard to the present uprising.

General Salcedo, who had recently arrived in Spain, from Cuba, expressed himself as follows in the *Porvenir of Carthagená*, December 12th, 1895 :

"It (the war) was an outbreak of an adventurous spirit of the island with the hope of political and economic gains. The younger part of the population took up arms and whites fought against whites in a fratricidal strife."

*Las Novedades*, a Spanish paper published in New York, which draws much of its information from the press in the island (under Spanish influences) gives us the following data :

June 6th, page 3, column 4.—"After the fight at Dos Rios, where Martí died, fourteen bodies were found upon the field, they were all whites and one of them an American."

June 20th, page 1, column 1. "Santiago de Cuba, June 12th.—Hundreds of Cubans have flocked to the standard of Gómez in Puerto Príncipe. The Marquis of Santa Lucía has taken the field with several deputies (of the Provincial Legislature) and young men of good families."

The same, column 3. "Havana, June 18th.—Colonel Enrique Mola, one of the most prominent men of Puerto Príncipe has gone with the revolutionists. Colonel Mola is a member of one of the best families of the Province, and the Cubans attach much importance to him, as they believe he will have many followers. He took an active part in the last revolution and was chief of the staff of General Máximo Gómez. Since the last war he has been in business.



**RUINS OF THE DEMAJAGUA SUGAR PLANTATION.**



THE "PORTUGALETE" SUGAR ESTATE.

The same paper, page 2, column 3, copying from *El Orden*, of Caibarien, reports that a party of fifty-three men had left the city of Remedios to join the insurgents: "Eight or nine of the party are white youths of the best families of Remedios; the rest are field hands, and a few are negroes."

June 27th, page 6, column 3. Copy of a letter from Manzanillo, dated the 11th.— . . . . . "The most distinguished of them are surrendering to the authorities. Vilalta, Plana, Cabrera and others from Campechuela and from this city, with several students of Cienfuegos and Havana. *All the men who have surrendered are white men.*" These words are underscored in *Las loved a des*, probably to emphasize the fact that there are no whites among the insurgents. These must have changed their color in passing from the insurgents' camp to the city. It is to be presumed that those who remain out will blacken their faces up to the date when they may surrender or die.

July 4th, page 6, columns 3 and 4.—The paper copies here a general order of the Spanish General Luque, according to which, the commandant of volunteers of the Camajuani Regiment "who was at the same time alcalde, and had charge of the depot of arms, had joined the insurgents with seventeen volunteers."

*El Pais*, of Havana, in the evening edition of July 1st, mentioned the rumor that four hundred of these volunteers had deserted the Spanish ranks, but the paper was able to assert that there had been only twenty-seven desertions. It is very probable that the number was larger, because it is scarcely possible that the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, Mr. Jose

Linero, would have committed suicide because of the desertion of twenty-seven men.

*El Pais* in its issue of June 25th, page 27, column 2, reproduces an article from *El Pueblo* of Puerto Príncipe in which it is stated that "in that section of the country, a number of respectable persons, all worthy of the greatest consideration, have joined the rebels."

To these witnesses we may add the following which is reproduced by the *Star* and *Herald* of Panama, April 11th, from an American paper:

"Tampa, Florida, May 22d, 1895. The telegraphic dispatches from Nassau (N. P.) to the New York *Herald* asserting that the negroes in Cuba are endeavoring to turn the present revolution into a Race war, have been largely commented upon here.

"The Cubans in general, and *La Nueva Era*, published in Havana by a colored man, Morúa Delgado, deny this emphatically, and they assert that the revolution is a movement of the whites and blacks against the Spanish government.

"Colonel Figueredo was questioned to-night on this subject and said: It is merely a rumor started by the Spanish government to discredit the revolution. There are many negroes in arms, but the whites are undoubtedly in the majority.

"That the rumors are unfounded is proven by papers recently received from Havana, in which it is reported that the distinguished lawyer, Mr. Portuondo, of Santiago de Cuba, a white man, has left the city with thirty or forty young men of the best families of the Province, to join General Guillermo Moncada, who is a negro. There are many whites in General Moncada's command."

A great deal was made of the incident of the separation of Mr. Eduardo Yero from the ranks of the revolution. Mr. Yero is a prominent journalist, and it was said that he had been rejected by General Moncada with these words, "We want no whites here." The truth has leaked out since, that Mr. Yero was unjustly suspected by the general of being in touch with the Autonomist Party. Mr. Yero has since established very clearly the sincerity of his purposes, by taking an active part in several expeditions to carry arms and ammunition to Cuba.

*La Nueva Era* in its issue of June 16th states :

"If there be anyone who, in spite of our arguments to the contrary, still believes that the war is a race war, and that the greater number of its partisans, and the chiefs of the movement, are blacks, we recommend to such the reading of the following account of the distribution of the insurgent forces published in *La Lucha* from data obtained by one of its correspondents in the eastern department :

"President and political leader, José Martí, *white* General-in-Chief, Maximo Gómez, *white*.

"First division covering the departments of Cuba, Guantánamo and Baracoa :

"Major General Antonio Maceo, *colored*. Brigadier General José Maceo, *colored* ; Pedro Pérez, *white* ; Quintín Bandera, *colored* ; Alfonso Goulet, *colored* ; Felix Ruen, *colored*.

"Second division, comprising the departments of Manzanillo, Bayamo, and Cauto.

"Major General, Bartolomé Maso, *white* ; General José Rabí, *colored*.

"General officers ; Amador Guerra, *white* ; Jesús

Rabí, *colored*; Juan Vega, *colored*; Saturnino Lora, *white*.

“Third division, comprising the districts of Holguín, Mayarí, Tunas, and Guáimero:

“Major General (vacant); Brigadier General, Francisco Borrero, *white*.

“General officers; José Miró, *white*; Luis de Feria, *white*; Angel Guerra, *white*; N. Marrero, *white*.”

If we add up we find that there are twelve whites and nine colored; the chief officers, with the exception of three, being whites.

The divisions above named, belong to the eastern department. Since the revolution extended to the central and western provinces, no one has said that in the latter sections the chiefs belonged to the colored race, or even that a great number of the followers are colored.

The Cuban organs, *Patria* and *Porvenir*, published, in their issues of the 10th, and 17th, of June, letters from their correspondents, Mr. José Miró and Mr. Juan Maspóns Franco, in which letters it is stated that the district of Holguín had furnished General Maco “four thousand white recruits, all of which had been Autonomists.”

Lastly, the Duke of Tetuan, Spanish Minister of State, repeated recently in an interview published in the *Temps* of Paris some unwarrantable accusations. *El Pais* of Havana, commenting upon this interview in its issue of November 20th, 1895, affirmed: “The Duke is mistaken when he states that only negroes and mulattoes have joined the insurrection. Unfortunately, the phenomenon has become a much more complex one.”

There are negroes in the Revolution. The movement could not successfully justify itself before the world were the whites to exclude the negroes, when the only practical result of the last campaign of 1868-78 was the emancipation of the negroes. Cuba is the Mother Country of the negroes as well as the whites. As the *Porvenir* of New York observed in a recent issue: "If Ignacio Agramonte (a white leader) was loved and respected by all during the last war, so was Antonio Maceo (colored leader)."

An interesting fact in this discussion, is, that the Spaniards have also organized a negro militia when they could, and that Eusebio Puello, a colored man, was made by them Commanding General of the important district of Camaguey during the last war.

The lamented patriot Martí, who was the soul of the present revolution, would never have undertaken the task of liberating the island, if to do it he would have had to sacrifice one race to another. Those of us who know him well, are aware that his noble soul could harbor no such bastard scheme.

It is true that in recent years there have not been wanting in Cuba, some who were willing to instigate the negroes to a racial movement, but these schemes have been fruitless, the colored race having turned a deaf ear to the tempters.

In an interview with Mr. Canovas, previously referred to, it is also asserted that the revolution is the work of adventurers and foreigners. I know of no war, civil or international, or war of independence, in which foreigners have not taken a part. Modern Greece is proud of the support so generously given in her struggle by Byron, and this undertaking is the purest



glory in the life of the poet. Shall we have to remind the Spaniards of the death of General Moore in the Coruña, and of the victories gained by Wellington on Spanish soil for Spanish independence? Máximo Gómez, the Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban forces is not an adventurer. Though born in San Domingo, he fought through the ten years' war in Cuba, and achieved distinctions for his military sagacity, his modesty, his discipline and honesty. Calumny itself has not dared to touch his reputation. *Las Novedades* (a Spanish paper) has called him an honorable soldier (June 18th). He was engaged until recently, in the land of his birth, in agricultural pursuits. But he had tendered his sword to the Cuban people after the peace of Zanjón, and he has come now to fulfil his pledges. We know how deeply he loves our country; how much better than the plunderers of public property that Mr. Cánovas and Mr. Sagasta have not been able to send to the penitentiary.

No Cuban as far as I know ever called the Count of Casa-Moré an adventurer. He was born in Columbia in 1816. He came to Cuba a poor but honest and thrifty man. When he died in 1890 he left several millions of dollars. He interested himself in the development of the island, though he was a supporter of the absurd system of Spanish Centralization. I believe no one ever asked the followers of the reactionary party, the Union Constitucional, if they did not have in their ranks, among the Spaniards, one capable of guiding them in the place of a foreigner, Mr Moré, whom they chose as chief, and whom, I may add, was during the last years of his life a propagandist of the plan of annexation to the United States.

When the Cubans have called for outside assistance, it has been only in the form of military chiefs. They are at the same time, glad to welcome with open arms those who come to divide with them the sufferings of the struggle. In the hour of peril however, they also, like Martí, know how to give up their lives and can say with the heroes of Byron,

**"We have lived too long not to know how to die."**

## CHAPTER XIV.

### POPULATION—RACES—IMMIGRATION.

It is estimated that from nine to ten millions of people could easily live in Cuba, and yet we have scarcely over one and a half millions of inhabitants. After four centuries of possession the Spanish government can only present a population of a little more than one million whites, and nearly one-half million blacks, or thirteen inhabitants for each kilometre square. Were it that the government had not known how to stimulate the healthy growth of the population, we should call it incapacity. But the truth is that the state has purposely barred the increment of the white population and favored that of the other races. This we should call perversity.

Let us look for the proofs of our assertions in the legislation and the acts of the government.

It virtually prohibited the immigration not only of white foreigners, but even of European Spaniards. The state favored the importation of negroes, dragging out of Africa, for Cuba alone, more than nine hundred thousand of them. Spain violated its pledges after receiving from England in 1817, four hundred thousand pounds to abolish the slave trade. Later on the government attempted once more to perpetrate the infamous institutions of slavery by the introduction of the Chinese.

Up to the beginning of this century foreigners were  
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positively prohibited from domiciling in the country. Of this I shall not speak, for the same erroneous practices in colonization prevailed then throughout the world. But subsequently the human conscience saw the light, and all Europe changed the system with the exception of Spain, for whom history seems to shed no light—this is true at least in American history—Spain seems to have slumbered in the dark.

Let the reader decide if it were possible for foreigners to settle in Cuba under laws such as these found in the Royal Order of 1878 :

“ Article 1st.—All aliens from friendly nations who wish to settle or are already domiciled in the island of Cuba, must give proof that they profess the Roman Catholic religion ; failing in which they shall not be permitted to settle in the territory.

“ 2d.—Those who can comply with the above named article will swear fealty and vassalage to the Governor.

“ 3d.—At the end of five years, and on condition of residing on the island perpetually, they shall receive the privileges of naturalization. . . .

“ 4th.—During the first five years they may be permitted to remove whatever property they brought with them, but if they have accumulated any within the territory they must pay for it at the rate of ten per cent. . . .

“ 18th.—Foreign colonists shall not be permitted during the first five years to engage in maritime commerce ; nor shall they own stores, warehouses or ships ; but they may operate in companies that are conducted by Spaniards. . . .

“ 22d.—It is hereby declared that the customary sequestration of the properties of dead foreigners will

never be put into effect except in the case of those that are not domiciled. . . .

"28th.—All foreigners at present residing on the island who are not domiciled, will leave within a period of three months under penalty of punishment for disobedience."

One can understand that Spain should strive to maintain religious unity in her dominions; but no matter how devout a Roman Catholic a man may be who immigrates in search of a fortune, or on account of political persecution, or to avoid conscriptions, or for his health or any other motive, he certainly does not wish to swear fealty or vassalage to a strange government on the date of his arrival, nor does he care to renounce forever the home of his youth. How can he, in other words, submit to the humiliating articles above mentioned?

In 1867, one year before the last revolution, these laws were still in operation, and I do not know that they have ever been rescinded. If they have not been put in force in recent years, it was simply because their object had been accomplished; namely, to curtail the immigration of the whites.

With respect to the immigration of the Spaniards, the obstacles were no less insurmountable. There was a law to the effect that no Spaniard could leave the peninsula between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three years without having deposited previously four hundred dollars to pay for a substitute in the army. Those not included within these ages were free to go to foreign countries; but no one, no matter what his age, could, according to the Royal Decree of the 24th of December, 1834, ratified in July 1835, pass from the

Peninsula to the West Indies unless "he present an official declaration to the subdelegate of police of his district, showing that he has no intention to abandon his family, but that he has on the contrary, obtained a legal permit from the same, for the voyage. That he is not, furthermore, endeavoring to evade any law, or authority, or military services; nor attempting to elude engagements or obligations that he may have contracted. He must show that his reputation is good, and that his presence is not likely to be prejudicial in the colonies; and finally, that there should be no rational impediment to his departure." Anyone who disobeyed these instructions, was to be sent back at the expense of the skipper who brought him over.

It is for this reason that the Spanish immigrants have preferred always the Argentine Republic and other American countries. Though they do not find there the protection of their own Bureaucracy, they find the freedom and facilities for labor and thrift that they lack in the colonies of their distrustful Mother Country. According to the data obtained in 1885 (see P. S. Lamas, *Aperçu Economique et Financier de l' Amerique Latine*, Paris, 1895, page 19) there were at that time seventy thousand Spaniards in the Argentine Republic, forty-five thousand in Uruguay, twenty-three thousand in Brazil, one thousand in Chili—a total of one hundred and eighteen thousand three hundred in the four republics. There is reason to believe that the number would be more than doubled if we were to add the Spanish immigrants in the other republics.

Let us add to this the degradation of labor in Cuba, and we shall understand why there was not a greater increase in the population during slavery times. It

was not to be expected that many white colonists should be willing to become field laborers together with gangs of slaves. The same influences were traceable in the South before the war of secession.

I can show by the following arguments that the climate of Cuba has never had the pernicious influences ascribed to it in debarring the white man from agricultural pursuits :

1st.—According to the statistics of 1862, the total of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits in Cuba was 853,242, divided as follows :

Whites, 53½ per cent.

Freedmen, 12½ per cent.

Slaves, 44½ per cent.

2d.—Out of 793,484 white inhabitants that resided in Cuba 454,597 were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

3d.—Of these there were 41,661 employed in sugar plantations, and their number was subsequently increased.

4th.—In the District of Holguín there were thirteen sugar plantations worked entirely by white hands of various nationalities. About two hundred such sugar estates conducted by white labor alone, existed throughout the island.

5th.—Stone cutting in the quarries, and railroad construction are labors requiring more muscular tension and constant effort than the raising of sugar cane. Such labors were and are still done without inconvenience by European Spaniards, Canary Islanders, North American Irishmen, and Germans.

6th.—Beside these, we have the construction of roads, the labor about wharves and baking ovens, and

foundries and several others that require great vigor. Many of these require also exposure to the tropical sun, and yet we find engaged in these pursuits white men from all the nations of the globe.

7th.—In Porto Rico more than three-quarters of the white population were engaged in agricultural pursuits.\*

When the progressive spirit of the age made it impossible to continue the African trade, our masters turned their eyes to Asia, and they brought to us gangs of Chinese; from this, however, they had to desist in view of the active resistance of the country, the population having become alarmed by the degraded and criminal tendencies of the new colonists.

Subsequently, efforts have been made to foster immigration, but without success, for want of a careful study of the problems involved. The government still has a fear of foreigners, on account of international complications that they may give rise to; and with respect to the European Spaniards, the inducements offered to them have not been sufficient. The government still considers at the present time the advisability of importing Chinese. With us, it has come to be a proverbial phrase that the Spaniards have done everything in America they wished, except to raise Spanish children. For this reason the Mother Country has been mistrustful of too great an increase of the Spanish population

\* *Examen del Proyecto de Colonización Africana en Cuba* by Mr. José de Frias, 1861. Communication from the "Junta de Informacion" of 1866. I could further support my argument with reference to the island of San Domingo, but this would carry me away from the main object. Consult *San Domingo, Its Past and Present*, by Mr. Hazard: The report of the commission sent by the United States to San Domingo in 1871, and *La República Dominicana* by Mr. José Ramon Abad, chapter 7.



in Cuba. It has been looked upon as the clay from which the future generations of Separatists would be moulded. General Salamanca established agricultural colonies of Andalusians, but he failed for want of a definite plan. For one thing the Andalusian is not the best immigrant. He was rejected, together with the immigrant from South Italy, in the Argentine Republic. Besides, the General established these colonies in sections of the country where there were no roads, nor any access to the ports through which they could export their surplus.

We find almost every year in the Budget of expenses an item to favor immigration ; but this is done only for show, so says the organ of the Autonomists, *El Pais*, in its issue of the 6th of June, 1891 :

“ To satisfy somebody, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars are ascribed to immigration. Year after year we find even larger amounts destined nominally for these purposes. But they have never been employed for this object. They are included in the Budget simply to deceive the credulous and ignorant, and to transfer the amounts in good time to cover the deficits that result in other sections of the Budget. It is not always convenient to inform the nation as to how much has been really expended in these other sections.”

Everything has concurred then to repulse the immigration of white laborers : first, the mistrustful spirit of the laws, and then the lack of roadways and the absence of public security, the country being infested with bold and unpunished bandits. Also the high price of the necessities of life brought about by the enor-

mous taxation, and finally the conditions of the electoral franchise, which as we shall see in other chapters, gives the agricultural population scarcely any influence in the Legislature. The fertile soil of Cuba then offers no attraction to the European colonists.\*

It has been always a part of the Machievelic system of the governing classes in Cuba to maintain what was called the "Balance of Power between the Races." It was always the purpose evidently, without giving the black race a preponderating power, to make it still an element of danger, when the time came for the emancipation of the colony. "Cuba must be Spanish or she must be African" was said in 1859 by Mr. Dionisio Alcalá Galiano. The moment has now arrived to raise this scarecrow, and the Iberians and their allies in both worlds, raise their voices prophesying the return to savage life, as a recompense for the heroism with which our combatants are sacrificing themselves for the Cuban people.

\*(There is another process by which Spain has kept down the white immigration and the white population in Cuba—a process that is more criminal than any that has been mentioned by the author; I refer to the yellow fever. This question is of vital importance to us as Americans; not as casual readers interested in the history of Cuban grievances; but as close neighbors to the island who have been sorely tried once and again by the epidemic outbursts from that centre. This grievous offence of maintaining a yellow fever centre at our very doors has exerted a baneful influence upon white immigration, not only in Cuba but in the whole extent of our South Atlantic and Gulf states. Since we succeeded in stamping out the disease as an epidemic from our shores, every epidemic in our Southern states has been imported from Cuba. Spain has never taken a single step to attempt at least the eradication of the disease. The Spanish government in Cuba does not even include it among the communicable diseases. Ships leaving Havana in the midst of the ever recurring summer epidemics of yellow fever, are given clean bills of health by the Spanish authorities. And yet we seem to be willing to bolster up that pest house of political and infectious corruption at our very doors.—

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

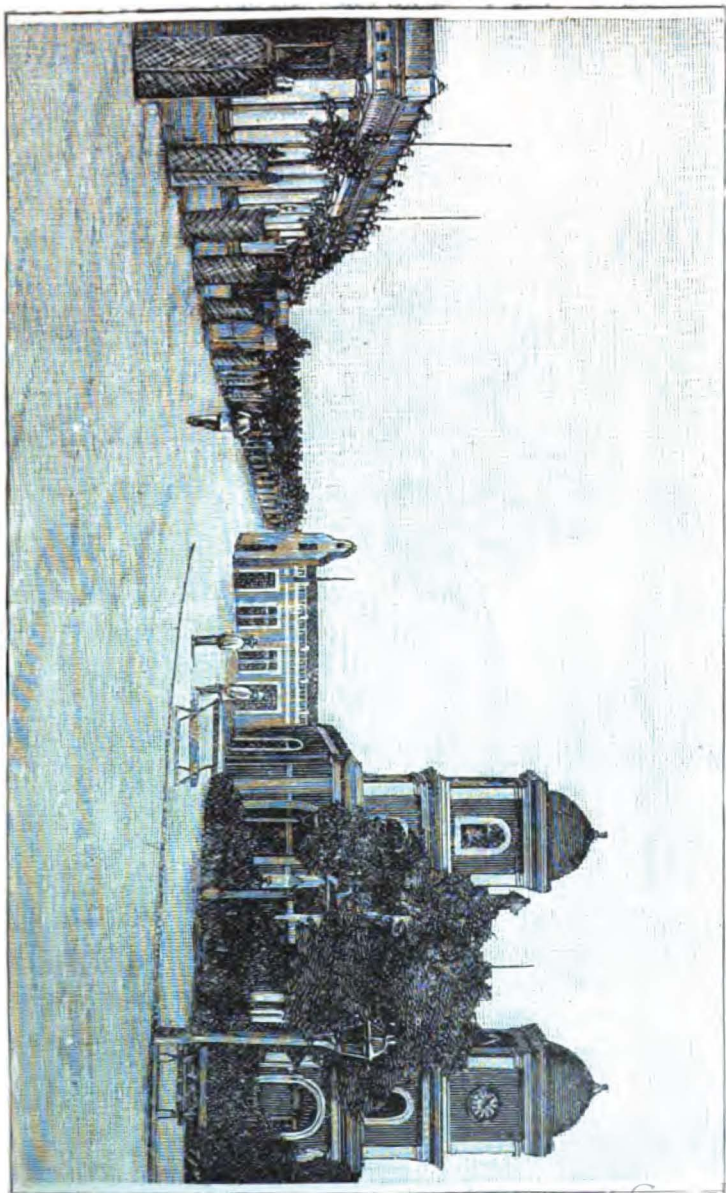
Statistics, however, present the following satisfactory statement :

YEARS.	WHITES.	BLACKS.
1804	234,000	198,000
1819	239,830	318,208
1830	332,352	423,348
1841	418,291	589,388
1850	479,490	494,252
1860	632,797	566,632
1869	797,596	602,215
1877	985,325	492,249
1887	1,102,689	485,187

The above table shows that the colored population increased during the existence of the slave trade ; and if we find at times no evidence of this increase, it is because the government was not willing to report the number of negroes at their true figure. In recent years, however, there has been a gradual decline in the colored population, with a greater increase in the white.

Those who fear that the independence of Cuba will bring about massacres like those of the Island of San Domingo, and that the pearl of the Antilles will be lost to the white race, have not taken the trouble to compare the difference of conditions existing in both islands. In the Dominican Island six hundred and sixty thousand negroes threw themselves upon a population of forty thousand whites and completely annihilated it. The proportion was of sixteen blacks to one white. In Cuba the proportion now is of sixty-nine whites to thirty-one blacks, or rather more than two whites for one black.

It is prophesied that racial conflicts will arise as soon



CHURCH AND CLUB HOUSE AT GIBARA.

## POPULATION—RACES—IMMIGRATION.

Statistics, however, present the following satisfactory statement:

YEARS.	WHITES.	BLACKS.
1804	234,000	198,000
1814	239,830	313,203
1834	322,352	423,343
1854	415,291	589,333
1874	479,490	494,252
1894	635,797	566,632
1904	797,596	602,215
1914	955,225	492,249
1925	1,102,689	485,187

The above table shows that the colored population decreased during the existence of the slave trade; and if we find no other evidence of this increase, it is because the government was not willing to report the true figures as their true figure. In recent years, however, there has been a gradual decline in the colored population with a greater increase in the white.

It is well known that the independence of Cuba will bring about conditions like those of the Island of San Domingo, and that the pearl of the Antilles will be lost to the white race. We have not taken the trouble to compare the differences of conditions existing in both islands. In the Dominican Island six hundred and sixty thousand negroes threw themselves upon a population of thirty thousand whites and completely annihilated it. The proportion was of sixteen blacks to one white. In Cuba the proportion now is of sixty-nine whites to sixty-nine blacks, or rather two whites for one black.

It is prophesied that racial conflict



CHURCH AND CLUB HOUSE AT GIBRALTAR.



SPANISH TROOPS AT HAVANA.

as the independence of the island is established. No one will pretend that a country that has existed during four centuries, under the domination of the most incapable of the colonizing powers, can reconstruct itself with perfect symmetry, twenty-four hours after the termination of a gigantic revolution. Yes, it is possible that in the first years we may have political commotions; but on the one hand we do not have with us religious antagonisms, nor have we Indians full of rancor who dream of the resurrection of their past power. All the aborigines of the Island of Cuba perished on the gallows, or by the sword and fire. It is feared that the blacks will demand their places under the triumphal arches, and that they will lay claim to the title of liberators now, that they have conquered in the bloody fields. And why not? If we are true republicans, true democrats, we must grant them equal rights before the law, and if they have, equally with the whites, served their country, I see not why we should object to them, or attempt to degrade them as in the times of slavery.

Yes, the Cuban fatherland will have its rewards for the negroes who gave their blood in the hour of need. Have not the United States given them a place in the councils of the nation, upon the judicial benches and in other important public places. Have they not been appointed diplomatic ministers abroad?

No one will be excluded for reason of color from the public functions, and whereas the Spanish Government has disdained to raise the intellectual standard of the negro (and even that of the whites) the republic will repair this misdeed, will raise public schools everywhere throughout the island, and will furnish gener-



ously the elements of civilization, in order that everyone may be prepared for the exigencies of social life, and the successful discharge of the duties of citizenship.

If it is maintained by anyone, that the illiterate masses will play dangerously with the right of suffrage, I shall remind him, that the same thing would have happened under the Spanish domination, because universal suffrage is already established in the peninsula, and the clamors of public opinion would soon have forced the government to establish it in Cuba. Three-quarters of our Cuban population cannot read nor write and the same is true of Spain. I fail to see what difference can exist between the vote of an ignorant negro in Cuba and the vote of the ignorant Spaniard in the Peninsula. Even if we concede that the negro might be attracted sometimes by the delusion of setting up a separate community, we still must admit that similar circumstances might prevail in the Mother Country because it is well known that sectional feelings agitate deeply the Spanish nation, and I am not sure but that the day may come when the several Iberic states will reestablish themselves as independent states, leaving without citizens and without colonies the monarchy that has persistently misgoverned them from Madrid. The continuation of Spanish domination in Cuba, brings with it no advantages. The negroes may be as wanting in education as you please, though not all of them, for we know of many who give evidence of a high state of culture; but I would ask, are the Peninsular Spaniards domiciled in the island, a legion of one hundred and forty thousand sages? And furthermore, the negroes will not dominate everything in Cuba, nor will

they pretend to such a thing, for the conquest of liberty has been the work of all; and the negroes know this well. Nor have they forgotten that they owe the abolition of slavery to the whites, and they are aware of the efforts made in behalf of their education; and to kindle within them a consciousness of the dignity of man.

In regard to the temperament of the negroes of Cuba I shall not speak for myself, though I might attach some importance to my judgment, certainly more than to the judgment of so many Spaniards, who, without ever having visited the island, and having no reason to devote a whole life gathering information as to the conditions and the necessities of the island, make bold to prophesy for Cuba the fate of Hayti. This is done without considering the fact, that in all that concerns the stealings of the public revenues and other important elements, Hayti stands to-day much above Cuba. I shall desist, however, from giving my own opinion, and shall yield the floor to a son of Cadiz, Mr. Francisco Augusto Conte, who lived in the colony since 1860 and died there in 1891, seventy years of age. He was an acute observer, and in 1889, when the negro question was being made a pretext to assail the Home Rule Party, expressed himself in the following terms:

“The negro is a factor that we must take into account, though he should never be looked upon as a perturbing element that should excite fears and apprehension. His social character, his intimate union with the whites in many affairs, the long infancy during which he has lived subject to the supremacy of the whites; all these factors give a certain degree of moderation to

his conduct, depriving him very generally of all tendency to violence, to envy, to hatred and desire for revenge.

"The negro is calumniated now as he was when, in order to maintain the institution of slavery, we had to assert that freedom would turn him over to a life of vices and rapine. We believed then that he would give up work, and would desert the fields. Experience, however, has shown that the prophecy was false, and that the negro to-day has raised the standard of production on the soil far above the level of the days of slavery." (*Revista Cubana*, x. 515.)

We have no fear of the colored race. Above the negro and the white man stands the law. The first steps of the new organization may stumble here and there; but I would ask, has the Spanish administration organized anything on the island except a system of plunder and rapine? There is no peace in Cuba, not even the peace of ignominious solitude mentioned by Tacitus. During the present century we have had a large number of conspiracies and disturbances of the public order. About 1820 we had the so-called Yorkists, the *Anilleros* and the *Cadenistas*; in 1823, the conspiracy of the "Soles de Bolivar;" from 1829 to 1831, the conspiracy of the Black Eagle; in 1850 and '51, the two unsuccessful invasions of the island by Narciso López at Cárdenas and Bahía Honda, with the insurrections of Joaquín Agüero, Isidoro Armenteros, and others in Puerto Príncipe, Trinidad and Bayamo; in 1854, the conspiracy of Pintó; and between the two great upheavals of 1868 and 1895, we have had several attempts led by G. Benítez, B. Peralta, Guillermo Moncada, the Maceo brothers, Calixto García, Limbano

Sánchez, the brothers Sartorius and others. Agitations and alarms we have had during the same period in Holguín, Las Tunas, Jiquaní, Bayamo, Manzanillo, Santiago de Cuba, Guantámano, Mayarí, Baracoa, Purnio, Cruces, Puerto Escondido, Puerto Padre, Camagüey, Rodas, Remedios. . . .

If anyone imagines that the continuation of the Spanish power is to save us from the disturbances of the South American Republics, let him first ascertain whether the present condition of Cuba be not worse than that of the Republics on the continent. We have in Cuba no rest; we know not to-day what awaits us on the morrow. Were the present revolution to fail, we should have another, and still another every ten or fifteen years, or as soon as a new generation attains the age of bearing arms. Mexico had to pass through the same vicissitudes, and is to-day one of the most powerful nations of the new world. France has finally established a republic after years of uncertainty and misfortune. Were the Spanish domination so attractive; why is it that the whole continent from Mexico to Patagonia does not submit to it once more? On the contrary, we find the children of Spain wandering away from under the wings of their government to settle in these countries of the new world, that Spaniards are wont to call restless, unsettled and ungrateful. San Domingo has twice attempted reincorporation with the Mother Country, in 1809 and 1861. On the first occasion she gave it up, to place herself under the flag of Columbia. On the second occasion, she repented also, but it cost her four years of struggle to throw off the renewed yoke.

We should not forget in this connection that the

Cubans enjoy advantages that their sisters of the continent did not possess. They have been scattered by misfortune over the world and have learned the apprenticeship of liberty in America and in Europe; they have seen and felt the experience of anarchy and of public order, in the nations where they have made their temporary homes.

The history of Spanish domination in Cuba, furnishes no ground for the belief that Spain will ever cease to be what she has been in the past. Men like Florida Blanca, Aranda and Sonora exist no more; or rather, for I may not be unjust, broad-minded and wise statesmen do exist but, as Pi y Margal and Salmerón, they are men who are never in power, or like Mr. Moret who, though in the government, finds no one to support his generous policy—*passer solitarius in tecto*. If we are to wait for Spain to colonize the island with white people, and to prepare her for a republican form of government, another period of four centuries will go by, and the same unsatisfactory state of affairs will continue after the sacrifice of ten or twelve generations. Spain has given all she could give in America; we can expect no more from her nature.

Whatever the dangers in store for us may be, they can be no greater than those that surround us in the present colonial system. We have to face resolutely the future; we must make a beginning without fear, without vacillations. The Cubans sacrifice themselves to-day, that their children may not have to go through the ordeal to-morrow. All revolutions have their drawbacks. The oppressed colony that dreads the perils of the struggle for emancipation, deserves perpetual bondage. When a cultured people are willing to confront

death, it must be that they can bear the burden no longer; and it is not noble, virile, nor patriotic, nor magnanimous, to advise such a people to prefer the present state of abjection, to vague uncertainties and dangers that perhaps will never materialize.

## CHAPTER XV.

### INGRATITUDE OF THE CUBANS.

ON the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the Spanish King, Alfonso XIII., on the 18th of May, the usual solemn reception was held in the palace at Madrid. Mr. Montero Rios, president of the committee of the Senate, read a speech in which he mentioned "that parricidal hands were lacerating the bosom of the Fatherland on the other side of the ocean." The Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, president of a similar commission from the House of Deputies, simply expressed his hopes of the prompt return of peace in Cuba. Of the answers made from the throne I shall take a capital point from the one made to the Senate. The president of the Cabinet of Ministers must have been the author of the following words there found :

"Upon Cuba's soil the victory to come will be shorn of its sweetness because it will be obtained from ungrateful children, to whom Spain has granted all the liberties that are enjoyed in the most civilized countries: such as administrative and economic reforms, peace and all the elements of prosperity. In return for all this, we hear unjustified cries of war."

These charges of ingratitude and parricide date back from 1810. They have passed, however, *sicut nubes* without leaving a trace in the souls of the children of Spanish America: simply because the great men who founded the American Commonwealths owe their great-

ness to having dared to deserve these fictitious charges. Sooner or later after the triumph of the Separatists there will be no reason why a treaty of amity and commerce should not be celebrated between the two peoples who are now engaged in mortal combat. And we can look forward to the day when every recurring 24th of February will be celebrated by the Spanish Ministers in flaming uniforms, calling upon the president of the Republic of Cuba to congratulate him on the birthday of the new nation. They will surely wish us all happiness in the name of the Mother Country, as is done now in all the other ex-parricidal countries. We need not therefore wince under these accusations. We are simply assisting to the representation of a tragedy begun eighty years ago, and we know that the vehemence and passions of some of the actors in the play will be rectified in the last act—we know how the play will end.

Still we must protest against these accusations; the inhabitants of the continent did so at the proper time;—it is now our turn.

An ex-minister of the colonies, Mr. Moret, has written for the *España Moderna* of June last, an article where he reveals great ignorance of the just causes that have led to the Cuban Revolution. The pages are written with the fire of Spanish patriotism, which I respect; but one cannot at the same time fail to entertain a feeling of compassion for the ingenious sorrow expressed in these pages. We pity the ignorance which has led the author to overlook other sorrows that are more legitimate because they are more real; sorrows that are deeper because they are of longer standing, and more ingenuous because they are the sorrows of the victims.



No one maintains that the system of government now existing in Cuba is the same dark despotism established by Tacón, and which constitutes the history of the island up to recent years. What we do maintain, is that without the revolution of 1868, we never should have gained certain rights that we were entitled to, nor should we have seen the abolition of slavery. What we do affirm, is that among the rights granted since then to the Cuban people there are two wanting, two without which no people can be considered free; we lack the right to manage the public interests, and we lack, above all, the freedom of honest purposes.

Exclusive of the army there are one hundred and forty thousand natives of the Spanish Peninsula in Cuba. The Cubans are about one million, four hundred, and their number would be much greater if many of them (forty thousand in the United States alone) had not preferred a permanent expatriation rather than submit to colonial arbitrariness. How is it that, notwithstanding these figures, the Spaniards always carry the day at the polls? How is it that the Spaniards have the majority in thirty-one of the thirty-seven city councils in the province of Havana? How is it that the city of Havana with its two hundred thousand inhabitants, the capital of the island, the colonial centre of culture and wealth, and which was until recently the seventh commercial port of the world,—how is it that of the thirty-two aldermen of the city there are only two or three that are natives of the island? Are all the Spaniards wealthy, and so poor the Cubans that the former can honestly defeat the latter through the privileges of the poll tax which amounts now to five dollars? And how about the seven hundred members of

the National Legislature whose benches are promptly emptied when Cuban affairs are up for discussion, because such affairs are too tiresome to listen to? How about the reglamentary majorities, voting against their consciences sometimes, those Cuban estimates that are the master-pieces of Spanish Bureaucracy, and out of the revenues of which, amounting to over twenty-five millions of dollars, seven hundred thousand only will be devoted to public improvements?

Do you call it gratitude to consent to, and applaud such things? Do you call it loyalty to gather around a flag under whose folds peninsular politicians carry on their schemes of plunder, under appointments that are made through nepotism or other sorts of favoritism, or perhaps to get rid of the appointees in the Mother Country; men whose nefarious practices are condemned by the public power but without hopes of repression?

They say that we have a free press; that even Separatist papers were allowed until quite recently; and that we have the right of assembly and free speech. . . . . What does it all signify, were it true that we had such privileges. It would simply mean that we had at last been given the right to complain. That would be something, for up to the period of the last war even the tears were illegal. But after all, when a public plunderer like Oteiza and men of that stamp can officially assault you and call for your money or your life, does it make much difference if he says: "I do not object to your crying out, but give me your money." All the liberties of Cuba then can be gathered in one phrase: the *liberty to complain*; but the foundation, the cause of the complaint exists now as it did before the

revolution of Yara, and as it existed in the period from General Tacon to General Lersundi.

An impartial observer would soon find that the liberties and the rights enjoyed in Cuba, are by no means as complete as they are pretended to be. In 1882 the newspapers *El Triunfo* and *La Discusión* were suspended for the reason that they had published speeches delivered in the literary and social club, *La Caridad del Cerro*. On the 15th of February of the same year the distinguished journalist, Mr. Francis Cepeda was deported to the Peninsula; in April of 1883, Mr. López, of the *Cuba Industrial* was thrown into prison, and, if I remember rightly, was also deported. We read in the *Revista de Cuba* for the same month: "Almost all the liberal papers of the Capital, as well as of the provinces, are either processed or subject to be libeled." *El Pais*, a moderate paper par excellence, was suspended toward the end of 1885 for having published the news that the king, Alfonso XII., was ill; the same illness that subsequently carried off the monarch. The same paper has been again the object of numerous prosecutions; one of them for stating that the son of the president of the Supreme Court of Havana had no legal right to fill a certain position. In December of the same year, the *Gaceta Universal de Madrid* stated: "Since General Fajardo has been governing in Cuba very few papers have escaped legal proceedings, and journalists of all shades of opinions are now suffering sentence, in the prisons of the island." In the summer of 1890, Mr. Eduardo Yero, editor of *El Triunfo* of Santiago de Cuba was imprisoned; and the journal *El Pueblo* of Puerto Principe was processed for no other crime than the reprinting of articles from Spanish

papers. In October of the same year the editor of *La Fraternidad* was also imprisoned, and Mr. M. A. Balmaceda of the *Criterio Popular* of Remedios was tried by Court Martial for having made mention in his paper of the massacre of medical students which occurred in 1871. In 1893 the *Revista Cubana* of Mr. Varona and the *Hojas Literarias* of Mr. Sanguily had one of their issues suppressed. . . . But why continue? There would be no end to the list. Had I the space to reproduce the articles that brought the hand of the government upon these journals, it would be found that in all of them the objectionable features were, either exposures of the maladministration, or news such as that of the illness of the king.

In regard to the claim that the publication of Separatist organs was permitted, we must state that great were the efforts made by the government to suppress them; but it was found that the Penal Code provided no penalty except in the case of exciting to rebellion; finally the Cortes were applied to, and a law passed prohibiting the publication of Separatist journals.

In regard to the right of assembly we know that on one occasion the Planters' Association received a message from the Captain-General prohibiting a meeting in which it was proposed to lay a respectful remonstrance before the sovereign. The Labor Association can also testify that it was brusquely forbidden to hold a projected congress in January, 1892; and the whole island will testify that in August of 1893 a circular order was issued by the government, which made it practically impossible to exercise the right of holding public meetings.

I have already stated that a speech of Mr. Fernando

de Castro, though he was a representative in Parliament, was libeled because he had dared to call things by their right name.

The Reform measures voted by the Cortes in 1895 do not constitute a Home Rule measure. Home Rule in the English Colonies signifies that the colonists are free to manage their own interests; whereas, in Cuba, the proposed Council, in spite of certain show of decentralization, would really maintain the same regime of spoliation that has existed in the past. The joke was so transparent that it had much to do with the rapid spread of the present insurrection which has been termed a work of ingratitude.

Ingratitude!

And four-fifths of the fertile soil of the island lie uncultivated; and immigration has never been favored in good faith, for fear that the children of the immigrants of to-day, might become the insurgents of the morrow!

And the twelve hundred miles of railway on the island have been built by private enterprise, without the support of the government!

And our commerce is sacrificed to that of the Peninsula; and our sugar industry, depressed already by the low prices, is further charged with numerous imposts, including export duties and warfage, while other countries, and even Spain herself with respect to her own manufacturies, protects the industry by means of bounties. So that the sugar industry is impoverished by the men who ought to enrich it, and the net product of the crops diminishes year after year!

And our tobacco, acknowledged to be without a rival, finds itself every year more and more excluded from the markets of the world. Even in Spain the to-

bacco monopoly opens the doors to its importation only half-way. Our factories are closed, our workmen emigrate to other countries, and the government, notwithstanding all this, applies export duties on the article; and when treaties of commerce are made with the Republics of the Plata, for the importation of dried beef into Cuba, Spain demands, in return for concessions, the lessening of duties, not on our products, but on the Spanish wines!

And as to public education! It is most woefully neglected. The school-teachers are not paid. The Botanical Garden is turned into a wild forest. The University has no museum, no laboratories, no paraphernalia for teaching; so that professors have been obliged to pay for sponges out of their own pockets, and the Provost has been obliged to pay for stationery, and cleaning of his offices. It has come to pass even that gas has been shut off from the building!

And as to the Cubans themselves. They either live as outcasts in the land of their birth, mistrusted by the governing classes for whom neither nature nor society evokes the charms, the memories, the pleasures, the tender emotions, nothing, in fact, of what inherently belongs to the native soil; or else they wander like a damned race over distant lands employing their energies in foreign countries where they have received honors that were never granted them by the nation that Mr. Moret is pleased to call "Holy Spanish Mother."

We are accused of not showing our gratitude for the gifts made to us by Spain, of her blood, her language, her religious faith and her civilization. We are even told that we rebel in order to retrograde to barbarism.

Are we forsooth descendants of the Aboriginal Indians? Are we affected with atavism? Are we homesick after the primeval forest?

No. We are descendants of the conquerers, and of those who came after the conquest. The Spaniards of to-day are the descendants of those who stayed at home. The civilization that our forefathers brought, is therefore our civilization, which we inherited as part of our birthright; and far from striving to destroy it, we have built upon that foundation, as is shown by the fact that we constructed railroads in 1837, whereas Spain did not begin until 1848; as is shown also by the fact that all the improvements of modern civilization, the great inventions for the elaboration of sugar, the Bacteriological Institutes after the pattern of those of Pastuer, are introduced into the island by Cuban enterprise.

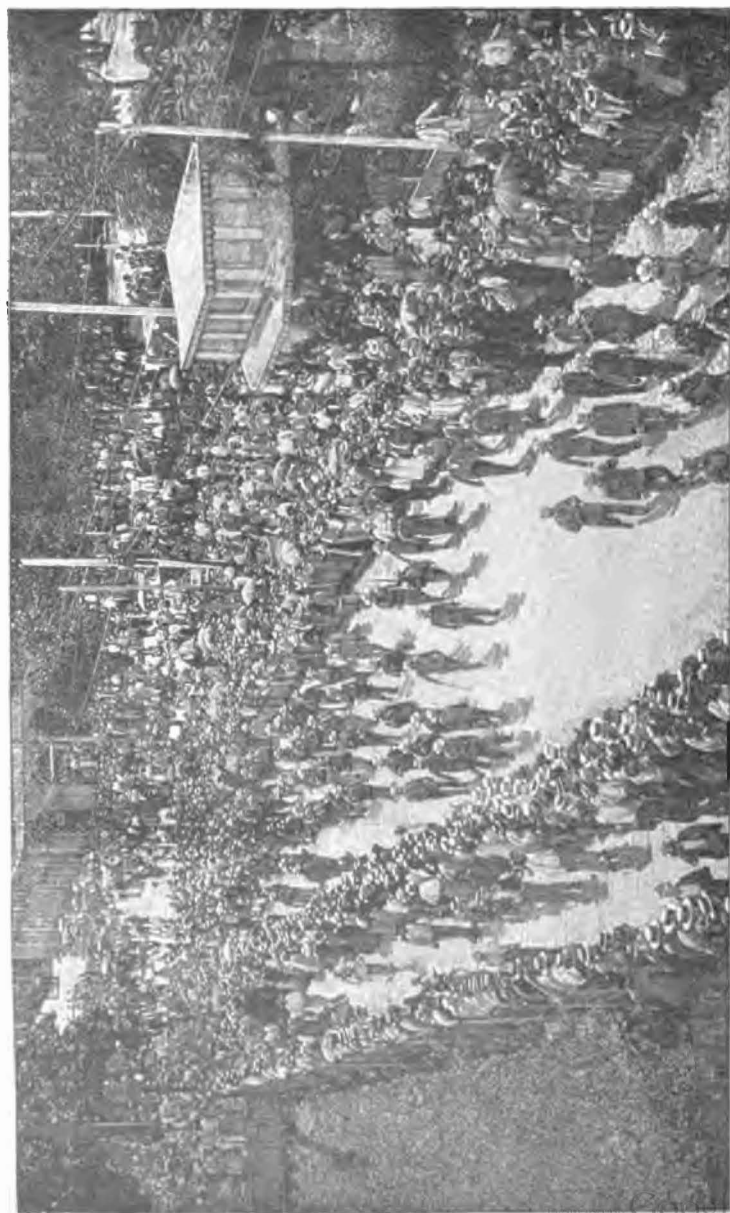
Nor are we in rebellion against the language; we do not aspire to speak Caribbean. The American Continent since its emancipation has given the beautiful language of Castile, the best grammarian (Bello), and the best lexicographer (Cuervo), that the language ever had, as has been observed by an eminent modern writer, Mr. Enrique Piñeyro.

Nor can anyone maintain that the revolution has a religious character. Much would have to be said concerning those who have scandalized the Church on that island; but it is sufficient to relate how Captain-General Francisco Lersundi took it into his head to have the church bells rung whenever he entered a city, and the Bishop of Havana, Fray Jacinto Martínez who opposed the profanation, had to leave his diocese, and was repulsed when he attempted once more to return to it. Other mat-



BATTALION OF VOLUNTEERS ON PARADE.





TROOPS PASSING THE THEATRE PAIRET, HAVANA.

ters relating to this question might also be touched upon were I not detained by a sentiment of respect. If we are to judge by what has happened in other countries, it is to be presumed that the cult will be environed by greater prestige in free Cuba, than in the present colony. Then we shall not have the importation of pernicious examples, and the faithful will not feel hurt in their patriotic sentiments by the ministers of the Church, nor shall we have Spanish ministers of the Gospel calling upon the officers as they leave for the seat of war to bring back with them dozens of ears of insurgents. (Historical).

But it is impossible to condense in one article a statement of all our grievances. The series I am writing now has for its main object the presentation of these grievances; and though I shall never be able to exhaust this bottomless pit, it will be seen at least whether or not the Cubans are justified in attempting to break the yoke of the government. I am told by many that what has been written already presents a sufficient justification. And yet, what I have written may be looked upon merely as a prologue;—a few turbid waves breaking on the beach whilst the great masses roll in the abyss below. And after all this, to be called ingrates. To deserve the gratitude of a people it is not enough to call for it in rage;—it is indispensable first to deserve it with mildness.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL OBSTRUCTIONS.

#### SUGAR, MOLASSES, ALCOHOL.

The chief product of Cuba is sugar. The soil and the climate are adapted to the cultivation of the sugar cane. Along the margin of the river Cauto cane stalks are found that measure ten yards in length and five inches in girth. Recent crops have yielded over one million tons of sugar, while in the days of slavery the yield was one half less. Thus the lie was given to those who prognosticated the idleness of the freedman and the ruin of our principal industry. These prognostications were made by those who are ever willing to raise, for political purposes, the phantoms of the negro problem. Meanwhile, the negro is a faithful laborer for the prosperity of the island; yesterday as a slave, to-day as a freedman, to-morrow as a citizen of a free Republic. The sinister auguries were not fulfilled; instead of them we have seen the sugar industry divided in two distinct branches, the agricultural and the factory proper. The elaborators of sugar do not now cultivate the cane; they purchase it, paying for it in money or in sugar at the rate of from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five pounds for twenty-five hundred pounds of cane. Mr. J. S. Jorri n, president of the *Sociedad Econ mica* of Havana, writing to the president of the Provincial Junta of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, on the 10th of October 1894, stated: "Since our planters gave up the cultivation of

the cane to devote themselves exclusively to the elaboration of the juice in splendid central factories, our field laborers have, to a great extent, abandoned the raising of small live stock, and the cultivation of corn and bananas, to throw all their energy toward accommodating the supply of cane to the increasing demands of the large factories.

The ruin of the sugar industry would bring about the ruin of the country.

Since 1884 this industry has been passing through a critical period. A specialist on this subject, M. B. Dureau, reports: "In 1880 the white sugar No. 3, admitted in the quotations of 1883, and which has since then been used as a standard of comparison, was sold at the rate of 66.98 francs for one hundred kilos. In 1884 it fell to 45.65; to 33.15 in 1887. The price rose to 42.62 in 1893, to fall in 1894 to the present price of 27.75, which may be considered disastrous.

It is true that the Spanish government cannot be blamed for this crisis, but it is also true that instead of providing the means to weather it, the government has done everything to aggravate the crisis.

The cause of this crisis has been the excess of production stimulated by bounties offered by several governments. According to the *Review of the Sugar Trade*, the world's output of sugar has reached the enormous amount of eight million one hundred thousand tons, whilst the consumption has been about six million eight hundred and ten thousand. The production of beet sugar, which amounted in 1853 to two hundred thousand tons, has exceeded the amount of four million tons in 1893-94; whilst the production of cane sugar in the two years mentioned shows the comparative small in-

crease of from over one million two hundred thousand to three million one hundred and ten thousand. The latter then has increased during the four decades in the proportion of  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , whilst the former shows an increase of twenty times the earlier production.

Not long ago Cuba stood at the head of the sugar countries of the world; to-day it stands third or fourth in spite of its great increase of production. The cane sugar, it will be seen, represents only one-third of the output of the world. This is the reason why Cuba has lost nearly all the markets for her produce. It may be said that the only market left to her is that of the United States. In 1893, only twenty-one thousand tons of sugar were exported to Spain and twenty-four thousand in 1894. Meanwhile the United States has also been active in stimulating the sugar production within its territory. The government has not only paid the manufacturers a bonus, but has also expended many thousands of dollars in experiments for the development of improvements made in Europe in the cultivation of the cane and the elaboration of the juice. In Cuba, the state does not spend money for such purposes. Some individuals may have done so, but it may be readily understood that private efforts of this kind cannot compete with those of our great neighbor. That nation evidently had for its object, to bring about the time when she shall not have to go abroad for one single pound of the two million one hundred thousand tons consumed within its territory, and for which she now pays from one hundred to one hundred and fifteen millions of dollars. In August, 1894, the system of bounties was suppressed by Congress, and in 1895 it was proposed to pay a large sum of money to the Louisiana

planters for investments they had made in anticipation of the bounties. Without these, it was impossible for the southern planters to compete with other producers. During the last eight years, the cost of production in Louisiana has been about five cents per pound, whilst the market price of sugar has not exceeded three cents per pound. Congress finally decided to continue for one year the present system of bounties, to bridge over the difficulties temporarily. To give up the bounties, however, does not necessitate the abandoning of the industry. There are two distinct policies leading to the same end. The Republicans gave sugar a free entry under the small restrictions of the McKinley Law, but they compensated the national factories with the bounty of two cents per pound; the Democrats suppress the bounty, but they impose upon foreign sugars a duty of 40 per cent. *ad valorem*. The tendency evidently is to satisfy their own demands with their own produce.

Cuba would not have to wait for this consummation before she lost the market of the United States. Beet sugar is already sold in the United States, and as the cost of production is very small, and as it is protected by bounties from different governments, it is prepared to compete with the Cuban sugar. Beet sugar is sold in fact at \$44.80 the ton, a price which is scarcely remunerative in Cuba, where in 1878 the ton sold at the price of \$86.00. In 1883 the United States imported twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen tons of beet sugar from Europe; in 1890, three hundred thousand tons; in 1894 Germany alone offered the American refiners to supply them in four months with all the sugar they needed during one year.

Here the Spanish Government comes upon the scene.

Anyone would suppose that a nation that is anxious to produce upon the world the impression that she treats her colonies as a mother would her children, should have come to the help of Cuba in this formidable struggle. With a free field, that is, within sound economic principles; in what we may call a natural competition, without artificial protections, no country could compete with Cuba in the cheap production of sugar. The beet plant could never conquer the sugar cane; and this is the opinion of experts in the matter. If the island finds herself threatened in this contest it is simply because Europe and the United States favor the industry with their bounties. If the disadvantage on the part of Cuba consists in these bounties, the remedy is clearly indicated. The good mother, Spain, should grant the same protection to Cuba, that she may hold her own in the struggle with her rivals. I should state that in Cuba no one has ever dreamed of obtaining such concessions. They have, in fact, been considered unnecessary. The proximity of the American markets is such a favoring circumstance, that Cuba should easily take the lead over her rivals.

We were saying that Spain should protect the producer in Cuba; and as it would be nonsense to take with one hand what is given with the other, it goes without saying, that no imposts should be put upon sugar that would render nugatory the benefits of the bounties.

The next step should have been to endeavor to open new markets to Cuban sugars; and as Spain is in need of this product, why not commence with the Spanish market? Is there anything more natural than that the nation should consume the articles that are furnished within her own territory?

With these three auxiliaries Cuba could easily defy all European competition; and the daughter would proudly rise, full of gratitude toward the mother.

But let us see what the Government has done.

In the first place, bounties are paid; not to colonial sugars, however, but only to those that are made in the old country. And Cuba was very near having to pay very dearly for this, for we find in the *Revista Mercantil*, of the 18th of January, 1895, published by Messrs. J. M. Caballos & Co., that the American Government had issued orders (which were later revoked) that Cuban sugars should pay the one-tenth of a cent per pound charged upon sugars coming from countries where bounties are paid. In other words, they were about to punish the Cuban producers, for the protection that is received only by the Andalusian producers.

In the second place, Spain charges heavy consumption and freight duties upon Cuban sugars, in order that they may not compete with the Spanish sugars, the production of which scarcely reaches fifteen thousand tons of beet, and about the same of cane sugar. In 1892, the duties mentioned amounted to \$3.52 per hundred kilos; later they were raised to \$6.20, as I shall explain later. When this increase was being discussed in the Cortes the *Diario de Barcelona*, of February 13th, 1892, addressing itself to the Ministers of the Colonies, said: "If the new project of law passes, the disloyalty of Spain toward Cuba will be still greater than it has been in the past." With these charges, twenty-five pounds of sugar valued in Cuba at fifty-three cents will have to pay upon reaching Barcelona, six cents for freight and seventy cents for duties of entry and consumption, that is



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seventy-six cents, or 148 per cent. The result of this maternal and protecting policy of Spain, ever watchful for the happiness of the colony, may be seen in the following figures giving the importation of Cuban sugar in Spain.

YEARS.	TONNAGE.	VALUE.
1892	58,000	\$2,516,864
1894	24,000	\$1,189,712

Thus we have our product, abandoned to itself, struggling without bounty against its rivals, and almost excluded from the Spanish markets. The "Holy Mother" extends her arms and shows her claws when the daughter knocks at her doors to seek refuge in her motherly bosom. But this is not all; there is still another duty imposed upon the sugar of the island, the so called Industrial duty which consists of ten cents per hundred kilos on white or centrifugal sugar, and five cents per hundred kilos on dark sugars and molasses. And still further, an export duty must be paid at the time of shipment. Add to all this, that nearly all the imposts of the island weigh directly or indirectly upon the agricultural products, in the shape of taxes on rural estates in general, and sugar plantations in particular. The following case is an interesting one. The machinery for sugar estates, according to the tariff of 1890, was to be nearly free of duty; but the separate pieces had to pay a high tariff. The exemption therefore was ridiculous, because the owner could not bring the machinery already mounted; nor could he import the whole machinery when he needed some portion to replace a broken piece.

At the beginning of 1895, it was announced that the Industrial duty would be suppressed, and that the export duty would be reduced by twenty-five per cent., but that these would be replaced by a duty on consumption upon eatables, drinkables and combustibles; and furthermore, with the increase of fifteen per cent. upon import duties. The result would be the "same dog with a different collar," as our people say.

In regard to molasses and alcohol, I could scarcely speak more eloquently than the official document of the 7th of May, 1892, signed by several corporations of Havana:

"The molasses and residues of the elaboration of sugar are transformed into excellent alcohol, which is the only application that can be made of them at the present time. They represent in Cuba an important figure as we may say, that they correspond to about eight hundred thousand tons of sugar. This portion of our wealth has been subjected for many years in the markets of Spain to the same duties imposed upon foreign alcohols. In spite of these unfavorable measures, the Cuban Aguardientes were forced to go to their only market, the Peninsula; but now, even that market, the only one that the want of foresight of our legislators has left for the Cuban alcohols, is to be closed, with the sole object of stimulating the distillation of the residues of the grape. In order to reach their object, the use of the Cuban Aguardientes for the preparation of Spanish wines has been prohibited. It is proposed even to go further than this, though one would scarcely believe it. It is proposed to put such impost upon the Cuban alcohols as to exclude them completely from the Mother Country. This will be a

severe blow upon the sugar industry in Cuba, and upon the collateral industries of the distillation of alcohols. There will be a loss therefore of about three hundred thousand tons of molasses."

"In this way, by the system of unjust protection and prohibition a considerable source of wealth is completely ruined."

Sad conclusions indeed for Spanish pride, must be drawn from all that we have written. Though the present revolution, now so full of strength and hope, were doomed to failure, still Spanish domination would be fatally wounded. In default of armed enemies, the beet plant alone would bring about the independence of the colony. The Viscount of Campo Grande has already said in the *Academia de Ciencias Morales y Politicas* of Madrid on the 28th of February 1888, and has repeated in the *Revista Contemporanea* of the 15th of September 1890, that Spain ought to give up the island of Cuba. When competition shall have exhausted the production of the island, there will be no revenues for the pilferings of the immoral administration; and when the day arrives when frauds shall be impossible, what interest can an immoral administration have in maintaining the Island of Cuba?

#### TOBACCO.

The tobacco industry so flourishing in former days, represented in the Western departments alone by an invested capital of twenty-five millions of dollars; an industry that paid sixty thousand dollars daily to innumerable workmen, and which fed more than ninety thousand persons, languishes now in pitiable decay. Let us follow the incline plane down which this in-

dustry goes to its ruin. Read the following table taken from the report of the English Consul of Havana, Mr. Alexander Gollan:—

Years.	Exported Cigars.	Value at the rate of \$4.00 per thousand.
1889	250,476,000	\$10,019,040
1890	211,823,000	8,473,920
1891	196,664,000	7,866,560
1892	166,712,000	6,668,480
1893	147,365,000	5,894,600
1894	134,210,000	5,368,400

The descending progression with reference to 1889, is as follows:—

Years.	Cigars.	Value.
1890	38,653,000	\$1,546,120
1891	58,812,000	2,152,480
1892	83,764,000	3,350,560
1893	103,111,000	4,124,440
1894	116,266,000	4,650,640
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	395,606,000	\$15,824,240

It will be seen that the three hundred and ninety-five millions of cigars that have not been exported have caused a loss of \$15,824,240 in five years.

The exportation of leaf tobacco in 1893 was 340,134 kilos, and in 1894, 454,412.

The principal cause of the fall of this industry is, as was well said by the Minister of the Crown, Mr. Leon y Castillo, that Cuba could not be well governed by a metropolis at the distance of forty-eight hundred miles.

As the Havana tobacco enjoys universal reputation, it has been weighted with heavy imposts principally in the shape of export duties, at the same time that the whole world is imposing upon it more or less prohibitive duties. The value of the leaf instead of obtaining for it the markets of the world, has stimulated the general desire to raise rivals against it.

In the session of the Cortes of the 9th of May, 1887, Mr. José del Perojo said: "Given our export duty, which establishes such marked differences between the exportation of the tobacco leaf and that of the made cigars, we can readily see the evil effects of our ruinous legislation, in the influence it has had upon the exports of tobacco to the United States. The United States receive 13,950,000 pounds of leaf tobacco; of cigars only 983,893. *This industry is rapidly increasing in the United States, principally on account of our export duties*; and at the same time we have driven from the island a large number of workmen who make a living now in the United States by the manufacture of a Cuban product. Thus we have not only diminished the population of Cuba, but we have at the same time driven to the United States a measure of wealth and prosperity that should belong to our Antillian Colony. This industry was valued in the United States in 1880 at \$118,000,000, a great increase over its value in 1870, when it did not exceed \$71,000,000. In 1880 the number of workmen was 87,504, and to-day it is supposed that they exceed 92,000."

These sensible observations were of no use.

Our war of 1868 drove to American shores a large number of excellent workmen, and the art of the manufacture of cigars emigrated with them. When peace

returned things might have been brought back to the state they were in before the war; but the enormous revenues extorted from the island, and the arbitrary imposition upon Cuba of the totality of the debt, which should be national, weighed upon the tobacco industry as upon all the other manifestations of activity in Cuba. The United States were not slow in gathering the fruits of our frustrated struggle. And why not? The fault was not theirs but rather of those who played into their hands. The customs duties demanded in the United States for tobacco leaf, are not as high as those imposed upon cigars. The former is needed as raw material, which is combined with American and Sumatra tobacco to produce an article to which the consumer has accustomed himself and which he can obtain at a lower price. This article is fraudulently designated as Havana tobacco.

With respect to cigars the question is quite a different one. One thousand imported Havana cigars pay \$58 duty. Hence the small extent of this importation. The following table shows the importation into the United States:

YEARS.	LEAF TOBACCO.	CIGARS.
1889	\$5,600	\$3,500
1890	7,100	3,900
1891	7,100	3,300
1892	7,900	2,800
1893	8,900	2,700

The most important measure that should have been taken by the government in favor of the tobacco industry, as in the case of the sugar industry, should

have been to diminish the innumerable imposts that weigh upon this produce from the field where it is cultivated, to the shop where it is manufactured. The revenues obtained by taxation upon this depressed industry, have certainly not been employed to construct railroads, roads and bridges to facilitate the transportation of the leaf. Mr. Tesifonte Gallego Garcia, a Spaniard and an important official of the government, in his work entitled *Cuba por Fuera* states :

"It is believed in Spain that because the Vuelta Abajo District produces the best tobacco in the world, it must be abounding in wealth ; but the truth is that of all the Cuban provinces, in this one we have the greatest amount of labor combined with the greatest poverty."

The District of Las Villas will certainly not agree to this, nor the once wealthy zone about Trinidad where innumerable houses are going to ruin, nor the Province of Camagüey. Nor will the Eastern Provinces be persuaded that their condition is any better than that of other districts. The distinguished traveler, Dr. L. Montané, related in 1893 to the *Sociedad Económica* of Havana that men were found living in that district, almost in the primitive state; from which we may conclude that the districts of Cuba, like the animals of La-fontaine : *tous étaient frappés*.

Another means of defence would have been to reduce, or abolish the export duties now paid at the rate of eighty cents per thousand cigars (one thousand cigars weigh from twelve to fourteen pounds). As the importation of the article was rendered more and more difficult by foreign customs, the exportation from Cuba should have been facilitated. But in Madrid they

never think of relieving the troubles of the Colony, rather they seem to wish to make them worse. Everyone remembers how the manufacturies in Havana were closed on the 12th of August, 1892, on account of the industrial tax imposed by Romero Robledo, Minister of the Colonies, because the increase of the tax made it impossible to continue the manufacture of cigars on a business basis. Mr. Bernardo Portuondo was ashamed to have to confess in the *Revista de España*, at the beginning of 1885, that, if some tobacco was exported from the Eastern and Central provinces, it was only under protection of frauds committed by the administration itself.

At the same time with the introduction of these measures the national market should have been opened to this commerce. To this it is answered, that to renounce eighteen million dollars of the tobacco monopoly in Spain would amount to reducing the revenues of the Peninsula about one-eighth; the total revenues for 1895-96 being \$151,703,444. The Autonomists have answered this argument with the statement that Spanish products are admitted almost free of duty in Cuba; that if they paid duties, as they are paid from Cuba to the Peninsula, it would be possible to reduce the taxes on sugar and tobacco. The patriots now in arms, go a little further, and maintain that with the independence of the Island all these difficulties will be definitely settled.

Another means of salvation might have been found in the celebration of special treaties of commerce, in the interest of the tobacco industry; but when Spain is willing, she cannot, and when she can, she is not willing. Though the company that holds the rents of the



tobacco monopoly in the Peninsula buys annually three hundred and forty thousand quintals of tobacco in the United States, the American government has not favored us in any way, because it endeavors to develop and not to destroy its own tobacco industry, and because that commercial country has frequently been irritated by the conduct of Spain, and her frequent endeavors to impose heavy duties upon American products. During the existence of the Reciprocity Treaty many of these American products were admitted free of duty in Cuba, with the decided opposition of the Spanish producers, principally those of Barcelona. By some mistake or for some other unknown reason, it appears that the interpretation of the treaty which obtained in Cuba, has given rise to claims on the part of the United States, which amounted, according to some, though it may be exaggerated, to seven millions of dollars. When the Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated, Spain endeavored once more to establish its high protective tariff against the products of the United States. These threatened to retaliate, that is, to exclude from American markets the Cuban sugars, and the government at Madrid was forced to yield. All this involves four very bitter truths for the Spanish government: First, that the United States do not have to make concession to a nation that shows no good will toward them, either commercially or otherwise. Second, that even without this argument it would not appear reasonable that the United States should diminish their imposts on tobacco, when Spain herself taxes it beyond reason and prohibits its free importation into the Peninsula. Third, that in economic affairs Spain cannot do in Cuba what she wills, except in so far as the United



THE KING OF SPAIN.



**GENERAL MARTINEZ DE CAMPOS.**

States permit it. And fourth, that the independence of the island offers itself once more, as the only solution of these conflicts.

The Republics of the Plata have excluded from their ports the Havana tobacco, in spite of the fact that Cuba buys from them twenty-four million kilos annually of dried beef, at the cost of three million five hundred thousand dollars. On the other hand, we find that in 1882 the Argentine Republic reported the importation of one hundred and eleven thousand hectoliters of Spanish wines, and two hundred thousand in 1893. It is evident that when Cuba should be able to make her own treaties, she will not endeavor to offer wines that she does not produce, but her own products. The Republics of the Plata then will receive the tobacco from the island, that we may buy from them their jerked beef. This product also may be more cheaply furnished by Colombia and Central America, as they furnished us not long ago with live cattle. Furthermore, there is no reason why this same business of drying beef may not be established on the island. Far from all this, the efforts of the Spanish government have been directed toward stimulating the cultivation of tobacco in the Peninsula. They imagined in Spain that they would obtain splendid results, that they would remedy the critical condition of the wine industry, and that they would enrich the provinces of Almería, Jerez, Jaen, Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada, Orense, and Pontevedra. A bill for this purpose was presented in the Cortes. It failed however, probably because a similar experiment previously made in the Canary Islands gave such bad results that, as was stated by *El Dia* of Madrid: "It is the rarest thing in the world to find a Canary Islander

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so patriotic that he is willing to smoke his own tobacco;" and because this innovation would reduce the revenues of the tobacco monopoly. The company holding the rents of this monopoly, is obliged to buy at least three million kilos of tobacco in Cuba (and I have read somewhere that this contract is not fulfilled). If the Peninsula was to produce an abundant crop of tobacco, it is evident that much less of the leaf would be imported from Cuba. This certainly would not be a great grievance for our protecting brethren from the other side of the water, but the inferiority of the article would leave it without sale, or would diminish the consumption, and nineteen millions of dollars are always nineteen millions.

### COMMERCE.

The idea of establishing a coastwise or interstate trade between Spain and Cuba might appear as the manifestation of motherly affection on the part of the Metropolis. Those, however, who know the economic condition in both countries, and understand the ins and outs of this interstate commerce, will think differently. Could there be anything more patriotic, high-minded and just, than the admission of Cuban products free of duty in the Peninsula, and the admission of Spanish products into Cuba on the same conditions? Certainly not. But let us for a moment look into this coastwise trade as the Spaniards understand it.

The law governing exports from Cuba to the Peninsula was passed in June 30th, 1882, and that governing exports from the Peninsula to Cuba was passed on July 20th of the same year. They both implied a

gradual reduction of duties with their total abolition at the end of ten years.

Now come the ifs and the buts.

1st. Tobacco was excluded from the provision of the law because it was already subject to special laws governing the *Estanco* or tobacco monopoly. Yet we know that the tobacco is second only in importance to the sugar trade.

2d. The colonial products which were at once allowed free entry were of minor importance.

3d. The products of major importance were to pay, besides the customs duties, which were to be affected by the gradual reduction, a special impost called *Transitorio* and the so called Municipal tax equal to the Special tax. The amounts to be paid per one hundred kilos are shown in the following table.

Products.	Customs	Special	Municipal	Amount	
100 Kilos.	Duty.	Duty.	Duty.	Total.	calculated per ton.
Sugar	\$2.40	\$1.76	\$1.76	\$ 5.92	\$ 59.20
Coffee	4.00	5.40	5.40	14.80	148.00
Cocoa and Chocolate }	5.00	3.20	3.20	11.40	114.00

A guardiente, or sugar cane rum, was to pay for each one hundreds liters \$2.00 customs duty, and 75 cents Special tax, to which were added subsequently Consumption and Municipal taxes amounting altogether in 1892 to \$5.30 per hundred liters. An attempt was made by Romero Robledo to raise this to \$16.40.

4th. The Spanish products, on the other hand, enjoyed the gradual reduction of customs duties without the additional Special and Municipal taxes.

5th. For Cuban products the reduction of customs

duties was a figment. For instance, with respect to the sugar, we find that the high tariff was maintained on all sugar transported in foreign bottoms. The sugar transported in Spanish vessels, which was favorably affected by the reduction, suffered on the other hand, a surcharge of the Special and Municipal tax from \$3.52 to \$6.20. The result was that actually a ton of sugar paid \$2.80 more after the reduction of customs duties than it did before.

The great principle, however, was saved. Who talks of customs duties? No, sir, we have nothing of the kind. Our Colonial Provinces have been brought into our Commercial Sisterhood. We have a coast-wise trade. You speak of special and municipal taxes. Nonsense. They are intended only to protect Spanish productions, not to damage our "ever faithful" children. We do not impose special taxes on Spanish products because Cuba does not produce the same articles that we do, and which would require protection. Cuba does not produce wheat as Santander does; nor textile fabrics as Cataluña does.

What is the result of all this? Spain exported to Cuba in 1889 merchandise worth thirteen millions of dollars, and in 1894, twenty-five and a half millions. Whereas, Cuba exported to the Peninsula more than eight millions in 1890 and less than six millions in 1894.

We are told that Littré was a great vegetarian. His physician knowing the importance of animal diet for the great philosopher, arranged with the cook to play a trick upon him, and he was served daily with finely cooked meat balls well covered with flour. The old man would eat them smilingly and knowingly, his health and strength improving at the same time. He

continued, however, to defend the vegetarian doctrine, and the principle was saved.

So the Madrid government continues to rob our commerce, but the great principle of free trade with the Colonies is maintained.

With the same view to protect Spanish products, and to increase the customs revenues a heavy duty, amounting to actual prohibition in some cases, is imposed upon all foreign merchandise.

For instance. In order to stop the manufacture of soap in Cuba and to force the purchase of the article in Barcelona, a duty of \$6.68 per hundred kilos is imposed upon American tallow in Cuba; whereas, the same article pays only 20 cents import duty in the Peninsula. See *Diario de la Marina*, October, 1891.

The following table shows some of the high protective duties imposed in Cuba against foreign importations. The table is taken from the report presented by a Spaniard, Mr. Laureano Rodríguez, president of the League of Merchants, Manufacturers and Planters of Havana, before a conference held in Madrid under the chairmanship of the Minister of the Colonies. See *Gaceta de Madrid*, August 1st, 1891.

#### CUSTOM HOUSE DUTIES.

Merchandise.	Of Spanish Manufacture, or foreign, imported into Cuba through Spain.	Foreign Merchandise imported directly from foreign countries.
	Pesetas (francs.)	Pesetas (francs.)
100 kilos of linen fabric, crash, and others, of ten threads . . . . .	\$ 1.27	\$ 22.50
100 kilos in Spanish Creas of 16 threads. .	3.88	75.00



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100 kilos of cotton goods in damask, and others . . . . .	2.95	52.50
100 kilos of cotton hose, . . . . .	10.95	195.00
100 kilos of cotton stamped goods in per- cales of sixteen threads, . . . . .	2.65½	47.26
100 kilos of woollen goods . . . . .	15.47	800.00
100 kilos in bags for su- gar and coffee . . . . .	4.69	82.50
100 kilos in linen hand- kerchiefs of 20 threads, hemmed . . . . .	16.64	812.00

Thus the following anomaly has become legalized : That merchandise of foreign origin may be imported in the Peninsula to become there nationalized, and to be subsequently brought to Cuba, thus benefiting the Spanish customs in Spain and in Cuba, but not benefiting the Cuban purchaser who has to pay more than he would if he could import directly from the foreign market.

In the report presented October 2d, 1890, by Mr. R. Montoro to the *Sociedad Económica* of Havana, and accepted by the latter, we find the following :

“ A barrel of flour purchased in New York is shipped to Spain, say to Santander. From thence it is re-shipped to Cuba and when landed in Havana has paid, all told, \$8.79. The same barrel, if sent directly from New York to Havana, would have to pay \$11.46. It is good business then to take the longer route,—good business for the speculator in Spain. It is not good business for the consumer nor for the commerce of the island.”

What are the consequences of such policy? First, That American flours are not excluded from the island. Second, That the Cuban is not supplied with fresh flour. Third, That the price of the flour is increased by freight charges and customs charges that benefit the Mother Country alone. Fourth, No threat or harm to our *fraternal* national flour is averted, for Spain does not produce enough flour for the home consumption. She has imported as much as twelve million dollars' worth of flour in one year. Would it then not be better to allow Cuba to provide herself from the nearest market by reducing the tariff against foreign products? Oh, no. In that case the Spanish Custom Houses would have been deprived of so much income from foreign flours. It makes no difference that the Cubans have to eat bread made of stale flour. *Salus hispani populi suprema lex cubana esto.* The only salvation of Cuba has been the attitude of the United States. This government has put some check on the unbridled cupidity of the Spanish administration by repeated threats of retaliatory measures against Cuban sugars. We can thank the Americans if we do get fresh flours once in a while.

The above-mentioned Mr. Rodríguez presented in the conference referred to, a letter from a Spanish merchant to certain commercial houses in Havana. The letter is as follows :

"DEAR SIRS:—I take the liberty to present for your consideration a transaction that will be of mutual benefit if the matter is kept strictly secret and you are well prepared to undertake it. Trusting to your discretion, I shall explain my idea. If you will receive merchandise from England by the steamers of the lines Serra,

Flecha, Bandera Española, etc., etc., I can arrange matters so that the English merchandise which you receive shall appear, upon arrival in that port, as Spanish merchandise shipped from here. You will thus economize the differential duties of the tariff between home and foreign products. If you are disposed to coöperate with me in this business, we shall decide upon a basis of an equable distribution of the gains. Please answer by return mail if you are prepared to take part in this transaction in order to forward to you the necessary instructions, and to advise you of the banking houses in this port where it will be necessary for you to deposit some funds."

*El Economista*, of Havana, publishes in October, 1894, the following fact, which appears almost incredible:

"During last August one thousand, nine hundred and seventy-seven bags of Spanish beans were imported from the peninsula. No one will believe that these beans had been cultivated on Spanish soil, for we find that during the same month forty-three hundred and nine bags of the same were exported from Vera Cruz to Spain. If these things can happen at the end of the nineteenth century, what titles of justification has the Spanish Colonial Regime?"

On the 20th of the same month of August, 1894, the *Boletín Comercial*, of Havana, reproduced the following from a Barcelona paper:

"We have received several consignments (1175 bags) of Spanish beans from Santander, grown in Mexico. They sell four or five pesetas cheaper than the national product, though we all know that Spain is the land of the Spanish bean."

at this rate we may imagine that the day is not far off, when even drinking water may be found to be cheaper imported, than when taken from Spanish rivers.

It is not my object to laugh at the agricultural, industrial and commercial decadence of Spain, which dates from far back to the days when she drove the most civilized portion of her population from her shores, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If at the time of the emancipation from her power, of the American continent, Spain had hastened to reestablish the commercial relations with those republics where her products were well known and appreciated, she might have preserved permanently, markets that she is to-day struggling to reconquer. But if it is true that I do not delight in the misfortune of any people, not even the Spanish people, much less can I delight in the misfortune of Cuba. I cannot applaud the attempt to correct the economic mistakes of present and past Spanish statesmen, by the destruction of the producing power of the land where I was born. Would to God that Spain had ever enjoyed prosperity! Perhaps then she would not have drained the resources of Cuba to such an extent.

One thing that is not generally known in the South American Republics is that Spain was the cause of the American treaty of reciprocity, by virtue of which several articles from these countries, such as coffee and hides, were excluded from the United States. The McKinley bill was being discussed by Congress at Washington, and there was no reciprocity provision attached to it, when the Spanish Government ordered an increase of twenty per cent. in her Cuban tariff, and

this surcharge, together with others established about the same time, brought about an increase of nearly fifty per cent. in the customs duties. Mr. Blaine, alarmed at such action which practically excluded the Cuban market from the American commerce, started an active campaign in his speeches, and in his letters to Mr. Fry, which resulted in the addition to the McKinley bill of the Aldridge Reciprocity clause. In this clause, a prohibitive duty was established upon sugars, molasses, coffee, tea and hides from nations charging certain customs duties to American products.

If we take into account the exemption from duty in Cuba of Spanish products, and foreign products that come through Spain, if we add to this the reduction which was imperatively demanded and obtained by the American Government, and furthermore, if we take into consideration the system of robbery that prevails in Cuba, it is not surprising that the customs revenues fell considerably. Hence the necessity of imposing new taxes upon the elaboration and export of Cuban products, as we have seen in previous chapters.

Is there no reason then to demand the independence of the island? No matter how poorly my compatriots may manage their affairs after they are free, I believe that their system can never be as absurd as the one, the principal features of which I have just pointed out. It is not necessary to know much in order to govern with a little more sense. The Chamber of Commerce of Havana, composed of Spanish merchants, manufacturers and shiprights stated in a memoir dated the 5th of September, 1890 :

“ . . . The tariff reforms established by the law of 1882 benefit the products of the Metropolitan Provinces

only, whilst the products of this island, such as sugar, tobacco, aguardiente, etc., are subject, upon importation in the Peninsula, to special taxes and other imposts that render the reciprocity proposed by the law entirely illusory . . . .

"On the other hand the exemption from duty established by this law has not caused the slightest fall in the price of the articles imported from the Peninsula for our markets; . . . . either because the surplus of the Spanish production, after satisfying the necessities of the home market, is very small or none at all; or rather, because, controlling the monopoly of these markets, the Spanish exporters endeavor to obtain from them the greatest advantages possible . . . . so that the Cuban taxpayer, who is always obliged to make up the deficit caused in the revenues by the concessions made to importations from the Mother Country, does not receive even the natural benefit of the reduction of prices which should follow the concessions made."

One might suppose that the gentlemen who thus express themselves were Cubans! These complaints will account for the fact that many rich Spaniards, under the leadership of Count Casa-Moré, were inclined to ask for annexation to the United States. It explains also why they have not shown, during the present revolution, that wild frenzy against the Cubans with which they scandalized the whole world during the last revolution. And we understand finally why it is that many of the Spanish volunteers have deserted with their arms to the insurgents, as happened recently at Camajuaní.

The synthesis of the commercial legislation in Cuba is found in the following lines delivered by Mr. Emilio Terry in the *Ateneo de Madrid* on the 27th of January,

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1895, one month before the beginning of the present revolution.

"The commercial relations of the Antilles at the present time may be described as follows: Freedom for the products of the old country, which closes its markets against us; restriction against the products of the United States who consume the greater portion of our products; and an almost absolute prohibition for the products of other countries."

I shall add to all this that foreign houses are willing to concede as much as six months' credit to the Cuban merchants, whereas the transactions with the Peninsula are made on a cash basis, or at the most, at sixty days' sight.

I shall not conclude this chapter without presenting some data concerning the export commerce of Cuba. As we have no well organized statistical bureaus in the Island, it is difficult to obtain tables of this kind. It is almost always necessary to obtain them from private individuals, or from consular reports. The following data have been supplied by Mr. Pedro Lopez Trigo.

### CUBAN EXPORTS DURING 1890.

Countries.	Values.	Percentage.
United States,	\$58,557,641	82.938
Spanish Peninsula,	8,121,814	11.502
British America,	995,890	1.410
France,	733,851	1.039
Germany,	657,068	.930
England,	394,616	.559
Porto Rico,	269,191	.381
Columbia,	258,008	.365
Mexico,	211,902	.301

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Uruguay,	159,522	.228
Canary Islands,	91,778	.129
Hayti,	83,274	.47
Venezuela,	82,768	.47
Costa Rica,	27,497	.39
Danish America,	21,791	.31
San Domingo,	17,309	.25
Holland,	11,119	.16
Dutch Colonies,	10,157	.15
Balearic Islands	8,472	.05
Philippine Islands,	290	...
Total,	\$70,608,958	100.00

The exportation to Columbia was higher than in 1887 when it amounted to \$129,076, and less than in 1888 when it reached the sum of \$279,982.

The monthly circulation of values in Havana according to official data amounted to from one and a half to two millions of dollars.

Since 1890 the exports have increased considerably. In 1891 they amounted to \$89,862,514. In spite of this the situation of the producers has not improved, according to the statement of the Spanish paper, *Dairio de la Marina*. The importation amounted to \$56,265,315; and the difference of \$33,597,199 represents the enormous amount of gold, with which the debt is paid to foreign countries; and other things that I shall mention in the chapter on currency and banks. This explanation is not original with me. It will be found in the issue of the same *Dairio de la Marina* of the 9th of December, 1898. The *Diario* is the organ of the Spanish Reformist Party.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE JUDICIARY.

I BELIEVE Cuba to be the only country in the world where the administration of justice, is a source of revenue to the State. I take at random two annual budgets of recent years, and find in one of them that the expenses for the year in this department, amounted to \$402,256, while the revenues from the sale of stamped paper, and from fines collected, reached the amount of \$479,150. Another year, gives an expenditure of \$475,000 and an income of \$750,000. The result of this speculation, is a net profit of \$7,000 for the first, and \$275,000 for the second year. As a consequence of this, we find some very strange things reported in Mr. Cabrera's book, "Cuba and the Cubans."

It is known, for instance, that the clerks of the courts have been obliged to render their services gratis in criminal cases, and have even paid out of their pockets for assistants, clerks and room rent. The municipal judges are obliged, also gratis, to give preliminary hearings in criminal cases, and to take charge, without pay, of the Civil Register. The only emoluments they are entitled to, are derived from the very meager tariff of the Criminal Courts. Notwithstanding all this, these positions are sought after, and they are given as prizes to the friends of the Government, because they offer chances for making big steals that can only be exceeded by the shamefulness of the pro

ceedings. Mr. Cabrera mentions the case of an ignorant storekeeper, who left his tavern to sit on the judge's bench, securing a much better profit there than he did behind the counter. He mentions also the case of an escaped convict, who was for many years a notary public and clerk of a court. The appointments to the Judiciary department are made in the Ministry of the Colonies: the presidents of the courts, the judges, the magistrates, the district attorneys, the solicitors, the proctors and the clerks of the courts: not one of these appointments is made in Cuba, except the porter and the constables; and even these must be retired soldiers.

To form an idea of what the administration of justice is in that country, it is only necessary to mention the fact disclosed by *El Correo* of Matanzas near the end of October, 1893. A man named Patricio Criollo, suffered twenty years' imprisonment in that city. He had been sentenced to death in 1872, and the sentence had been commuted to ten years' imprisonment. But the proper authorities forgot to notify him of the action of the court, and he remained ten years over his time awaiting sentence. Does not this read like a story of the Bastille, or the dungeons of the middle ages?

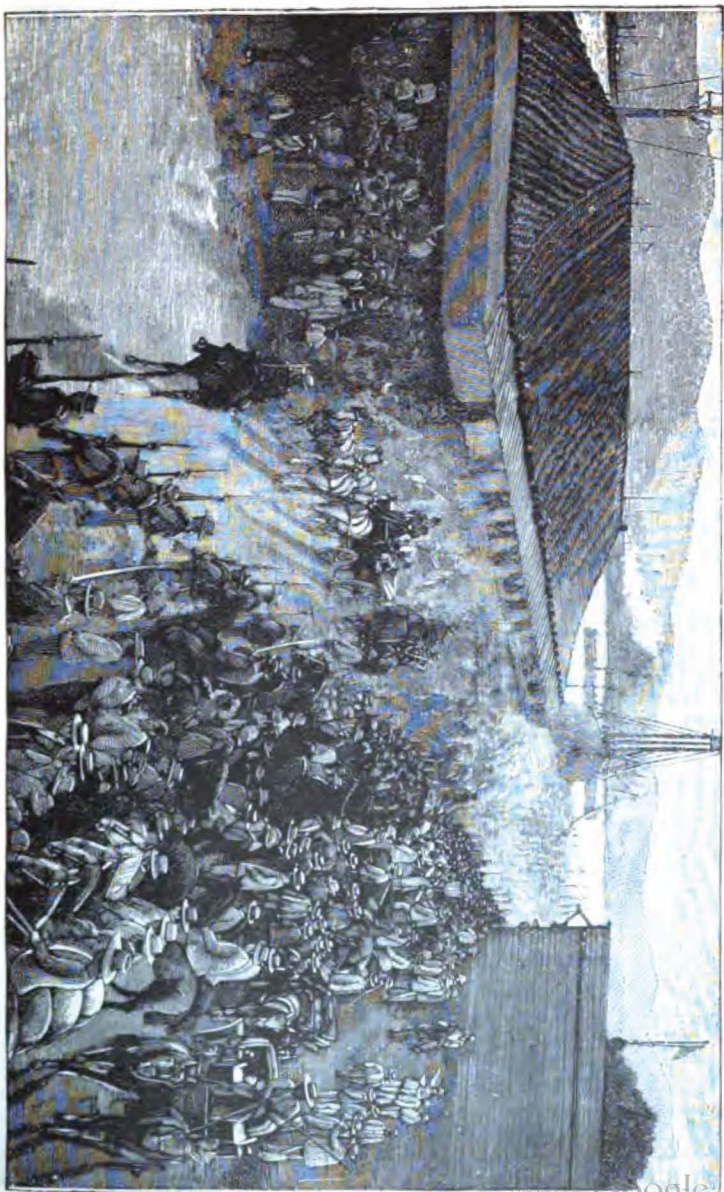
The Judicial power is deprived of all independence. To prove this, I have only to look into the manner of appointments of the municipal judges. According to the law, the presidents of the Superior Courts, should make the appointment from three names submitted by the judges of the lower courts. In practice, however, things are done differently. The Captain-General takes it upon himself to indicate what names should be placed upon the list, and the judges accept his indications. If they even attempt to show their inde-

pendence by submitting a list of their own, it is simply returned to them, with the statement that it is not satisfactory. Now, as the Captain-General is usually under the influence of the Spanish or Reactionary Party, it comes to pass that the lists are really made up by the Central Committee of that party; they are approved by the Captain-General, and then take their normal course. What I have just related, does not refer to the last century, but to the present time, as may be seen in *El Pais* of March 29th and June 12th of 1890.

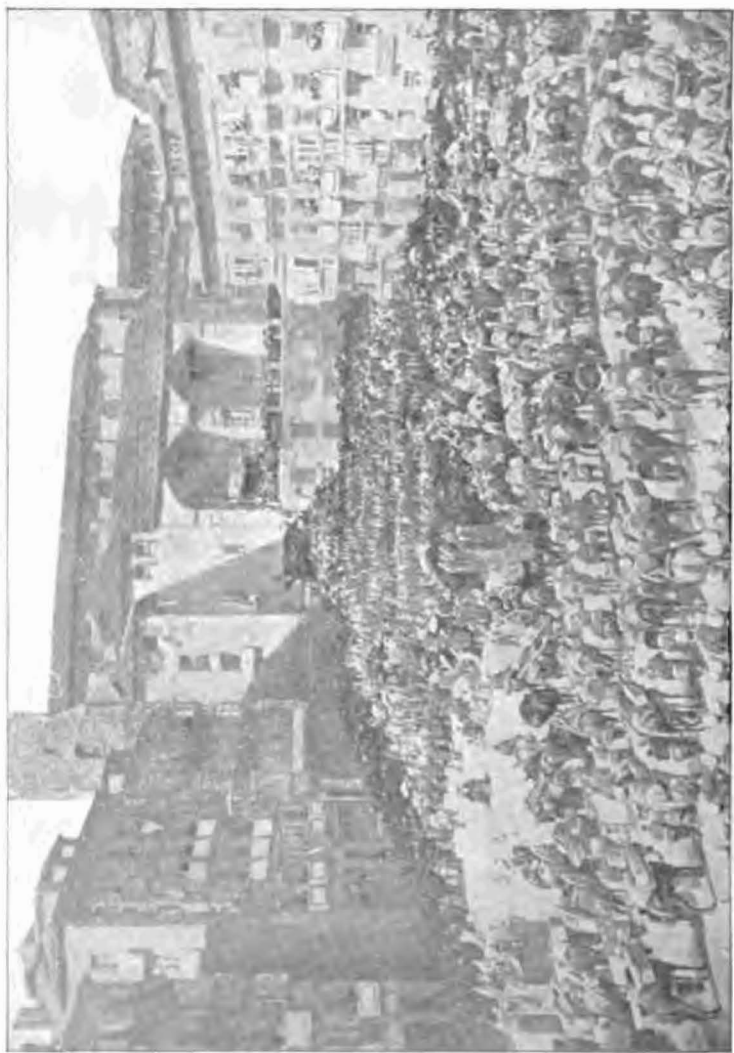
It was also in this same year, that a criminal court ordered a certain prisoner to be released from prison. The Governor immediately punished the three judges by transferring one of them to another office, retiring the second one and deposing the third.

Article 80 of the Constitution states: "Magistrates and judges are immovable, and they shall not be deposed, retired, or transferred except in the cases and in the form prescribed by the law." But, as the government in the Colonial possessions is authorized "to apply *with such modifications as it may deem advisable*, the provisions enacted for the organization of the administration of justice in the Peninsula," the government has, under the said rule, authorized the presidents of courts, to suspend the judges of the lower courts at the request of the Captain-General.

With respect to the transferring of judges, the organic law of the department, for the Peninsula, requires that said change shall never be made to a bench of higher or lower category and emoluments than the one vacated. In the West Indies, however, the government sets this aside and does in this matter what it pleases.



LANDING OF GENERAL CAMPOS AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA.



PAPAL BENEDICTION OF TROOPS AT VITTORIA, SPAIN.

Article 237 provides, that in the Peninsula the removal to another district shall be made after consulting the Council of State, and by the decree of the Cabinet, countersigned by the Minister of Justice. In the Colonies the matter is disposed of *ab irato*, without even giving the interested party a hearing. We can relate in this connection some interesting occurrences such as the following: *El Triunfo* of Santiago de Cuba, edited by the fearless writer Mr. Edward Yero, related on the 15th of June, 1892, that Mr. Louis Gaston, judge of the southern district of that circuit, had made up his mind to put a stop to the gambling that was scandalizing the community. This action did not please our moralizers. A short time afterward instructions were received by *telegraph*, granting the request of interchange of places between Judge Gaston and the judge of Villuenda. Great was the surprise of Mr. Gaston who had not requested an exchange nor anything else. Moliere could not have invented a more interesting case of exchange *malgre lui*.

The Code of Justice assimilates the Antillian Colonies with the possessions in Africa and in the Southern Pacific, in that certain common crimes, together with sedition, rebellion, and political crimes, come always under the jurisdiction of the military, instead of the civil courts. This shows the most disgraceful discrimination in favor of the Peninsula, where all such cases must be tried by ordinary tribunals unless there be a state of siege.

But this is not all. The governor of the central region, Mr. Juan Ales, Marquis of Altagracia, in the summer of 1892 gave out an edict, such as no one would dare to publish in a civilized community at the

present time, and for which he certainly could find no authority in the above mentioned code. The edict said in part :—

“Article III. The persons accused of theft or murder will be surrendered to the military tribunals.”

In December, 1891, there was a strike of longshoremen in Cienfuegos, and the Civil Governor of Santa Clara, Mr. Carvajal, could not think of a better measure than to deport them all to the Isle of Pines. When the governor's wrath calmed down, for it should be known that temper is an interpreter of laws in Cuba, when his wrath smoothed down, the same governor suggested to the Captain-General, who had in the meantime approved of the measure, that only four of the men should be so treated. The Penal Code declares positively, that deportations cannot be ordered except through Courts of Justice, and only after conviction of a crime. Strikes, however, are not included among crimes in any Code.

A simple enumeration of the defects of legislation would fill a book. Why mention, for instance, the unlimited privilege granted to reject judges in cases of civil suits?—a privilege, greatly abused by parties in bad faith, who will establish themselves permanently in houses for which they refuse to pay rent, rejecting at the same time all judges before whom the suits are brought.

With absurd and tyrannical laws; with faculty to interpret them arbitrarily, or suppress them at will; with badly paid judges who are subject to the will of the Soldier Dictator who rules in Cuba, with all such things in existence, no one will be surprised to hear that justice does not exist in Cuba. We have seen already

how when General Marín took military possession of the Custom House, everybody escaped punishment. The weight of great influences, was more powerful than his determination to punish the guilty.

The Spanish writer, residing in Panama, to whom I have already referred, endeavoring to refute what I have said concerning the administrative corruption, writes as follows :

“What does Mr. Merchán prove by the authorities quoted, and many others that he might find in the Acts of the Cortes? Does he prove anything, except that the government, and its prominent supporters have endeavored to remedy an evil for which they are in no way responsible. If Mr. Merchán has proven anything by his elaborate argument, he has certainly shown the rights, privileges and liberties that are enjoyed in the Spanish Provinces, to protest against abuses committed by bad governing officers, to ask for their removal, and to apply the condign punishment. We have the example of Oteiza, whose extradition was obtained from the United States and the man was brought to the convict's chain.

“The pleasant memories of the days of Tacón(!!!!), and the more recent times of the much lamented Salamanca, and many others that might be mentioned, will bear witness that not everything is corruption, and that if there have been immoral governors, as there are such in all countries, there have also been men, who, full of noble and righteous zeal, have deserved the confidence placed in them by the nation, and have fulfilled their duty to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Provinces.”

*Las Nevadas* of New York, evidently enjoyed the



reproduction of these specious paragraphs and declared :

" These quotations from Spanish authorities, if they prove anything, is precisely the opposite of what Mr. Merchán thought he was proving."

As far as I myself am concerned, my quotations prove my impartiality, and that I do preserve the " coolness of judgment " that *Las Nevedades* accuses me later of losing, and that I am not guided by the stupid maxim, that no credit whatever should be granted to the enemy. Whatever good Spain has done, I shall be the last one to deny, because it is not necessary to appeal to injustice in the defence of a just cause, and because it is very evident that the little good done, is swept away by the avalanche of evil.

I have affirmed three facts: First, that there is in Cuba, and that there always has been, the most profound immorality.

2d. That *some* governors, certainly a small minority, have endeavored to punish and remove it.

3d. That they *have not been able to accomplish* their object.

Of what use would it have been for me to maintain that all the authorities in Cuba and Spain were thieves? I am not blinded by patriotism. It would be out of place, however, for me to write here an eulogy of the Spaniards who may have deserved one. I did not take up the pen with that object, but rather to expose as far as time and space would permit, the intolerable character of the Spanish administration in Cuba. I may say in passing, that if all the Ministers of the Colonies, and all the Captains-General had been honest and benevolent men, as we have had a few (*rara aves*), the island

would not be in arms to-day. The country would have been governed with that justice that tempers evil laws, and the system of public plunder and spoliation would never have been established.

What really happens in Cuba is that a clean administration is not possible under the Spanish regime. The authorities that have endeavored to establish such administration, have either confessed their inability to do so, or have succumbed in their efforts. Others have fallen into the beaten track, and others have launched themselves into the Sea of Corruption like a vessel under full steam and with all sails set.

I shall now take up my assertions in detail.

#### 1ST. THE EVIL SYSTEM.

That the Madrid Government is responsible for what happens in Cuba, I shall prove with the arguments advanced by Mr. Edward Dolz, a very respectable witness who is not a Separatist, nor even a Home Ruler. On the 19th of January, 1895 (too late!) in a brilliant speech of great eloquence delivered at the *Ateneo* of Madrid, Mr. Dolz explained how it was impossible to extirpate the existing speculations, maintained within my country by the Government.

"The immorality of the Spanish administration in Cuba has various points of origin: the first of all is the prevailing system. Public officers are appointed without regard to aptitude, capacity for work, or honesty. They have no stability in office, and no responsibility. Through favor and influence they are sent to distant lands, where they run the risk of death from disease. To reach them, they must abandon home, family and private interests. Cases are on record where the ap-

pointee has come to Cuba on the same vessel with an order for his removal. Every transatlantic steamer that arrives there, recalls the sword of Damocles to some, or brings their doom to others. The great army of employees live thus, between the uncertainties of to-day and the privations of to-morrow. These men are beset at the same time, by the temptations of bribery and the many alluring profits that promise to hasten the gathering of the crops. These men reside, and discharge their functions, in unfamiliar places where they constitute a floating population, and where it may not be to their interest to show themselves too honest. No wonder that they are easily persuaded to change their moral standards, until they return to their homes and families. And finally, though we may be ashamed to tell it, the fact is, that those whom we see leaving the island, loaded with plunder and stigmatized by public condemnation, very frequently give us the spectacle of returning before long, to some more lucrative position."

## 2D. CONFESSIONS OF IMPOTENCE.

In the session of the Spanish Senate of May 3d, 1890, Mr. Vasquez Queipo said :

" Perhaps the measure adopted, had its origin in some private remarks of my own, concerning a certain fraud in Cuba, involving about five million of dollars, which occurred eight years ago, and which we seem to have forgotten, though I raised my voice several times in Congress, to demand an explanation from Mr. Balaguer, then Minister of the Colonies. I told him at the time that some poor clerk might possibly be found guilty, but no one else. Subsequently, I myself, seated as judge,

had to pass sentence in the case. Everybody was proven innocent, except a poor clerk with a salary of \$500 a year."

In the session of June 3d, of the same year, one of the Ministers of the Colonies, was asked if he had read the report of a Commission "on the evils of the administration in Cuba and their remedy." The Minister replied :

"I have read the report. The signers of it complain that bribery and all sorts of immorality, prevail among the employees, *but they do not know how to correct the evil.* They state further, that *it is not always possible to make public the names, in order that the guilty shall be punished,* and they suggest as a remedy, what all of us have thought of; namely, some guarantee of tenure of office, and the selection of good and tried men. The report does not propose any other measure. Though it was written by men of ability, still it gives no practical solution of the problem."

A distinguished writer, Mr. Manuel Villanova, writing in the *Revista Cubana*, X, 85, relates that Mr. P. Savall, a district attorney for the district of Havana, and much esteemed by the Spaniards for his aversion toward the Cubans, was called to the Captain-General's palace July, 1886, and was there told by General Calleja that there was no use in his trying to reform the public administration, for even if the courts succeeded in proving some men guilty, their punishment would certainly be prevented by powerful influences. As Mr. Savall related this to a Cuban friend, he became indignant, and exclaimed,

"I cannot understand how you Cubans are not always in arms."

## 3D. CONQUERED IN THE STRUGGLE.

The punishment of Oteiza was an isolated case, and there are suspicions, not started by me, that General Salamanca was poisoned by the accomplices of Oteiza, in order to stop the work initiated by the General, and to deter his successors from ever attempting in the future, to enter the shop-temple with a lash in the hand.

Captain-General Calleja had to resign his high office because, after suspending three delinquent employees, he found that orders from Madrid had simply transferred the culprits from one office to another. This secret was revealed by the *Diario de Barcelona*. A Collector of Customs, convicted of fraud, was transferred with promotion to Porto Rico, and a substitute Custom House Inspector involved in the same affair, was transferred to another place with a permanent appointment.

## 4TH. THE DEVIL AS PREACHER.

Mr. Romero Robledo was unusually energetic in denouncing the frauds committed during the administration of Mr. Sagasta. In good time the turn came for Mr. Romero Robledo to listen to the following words of Mr. Marengo, delivered in the session of the Cortes of June 14th, 1892.

“The source of all corruption is to be looked for upon that blue bench (the ministerial seats.) Mr. Romero Robledo, Minister of the Colonies, has furnished the Transatlantic Steamship Company with five millions of pesetas. As he is a stockholder in that company, he has furnished himself with a part of that amount. Were there many ministers like Mr. Romero Robledo,

all the national steamship companies would be in a flourishing condition.

"For a similar transaction," added Mr. Pedregal, "the Minister of the Treasury of Portugal was impeached."

Mr. Gabriel Millet, in a very interesting pamphlet entitled "My Last Visit to Cuba," relates another Parliamentary scandal, affecting the same minister and unearthed by General Ochando. Mr. Millet says:

"The General qualified some of the appointments of the Minister as corrupt, maintaining that the appointees were not fitted for the positions. Among the appointees, for instance, there were a barber of the Minister and a son of a matador." He further added: "In order to avoid all restriction in placing his porteges, the Minister actually revoked the law that established certain requirements for appointees to the Colonies."

"Do you wish still to know something more of this minister?" continued the orator, "I can tell you that he appoints as governors of provinces, the superintendents of his own estates. He has done so recently in Matanzas. And do you wish to know what kind of superintendents are employed by Mr. Romero Robledo? Here I have a sentence passed upon one of them for misappropriation of \$118,000." The general pulled out of his pocket, well filled with documents, the sentence and read it. The name given was that of Mr. Pablo Gamiz, one of the attorneys for Mr. Romero Robledo, and member also of the Lower House from the same province of Matanzas."

"But this is not all. The well informed general, after drawing a complete pen picture of the Minister of the Colonies, reminded his astonished hearers that the same

Romero Robledo, Minister of the Interior, had stopped by cable proceedings, that were being instituted in Cuba, against more than forty employees of his department.

#### 5TH. CORRUPTION IN HIGH-QUARTERS.

From an eloquent pamphlet, "*Cuba Versus Spain*," recently written by Mr. E. J. Varona, I quote as follows:

"Every official who comes to Cuba has an influential patron in the Court of Madrid, for whose protection he pays with regularity. This is a public secret. General Salamanca gave it out in plain words, and before and after General Salamanca, all Spain knew it and knows it now. The political leaders are well known who draw the highest income from the office-holders of Cuba. and who are, as a matter of course, the most fervent advocates of the necessity of Spanish Rule in Cuba. But Bureaucracy is so deep-rooted in Spain, that it has succeeded in shielding itself even against the action of the Courts of Justice. There is a Royal Decree (1883) in force in Cuba, which provides that ordinary courts cannot take cognizance of such offences as defalcation, abstraction or malversation of public funds, forgery, etc., committed by the officials of the administration, if their guilt is not first established by an administrative investigation. The administration is therefore its own judge. What other security does the corrupt office-holder want?"

Does the New York paper, *Las Nevadas* and its Panama friend, see now that my quotations are to a purpose?

They say that the same things happen elsewhere, but we find that it has been asserted in the Cortes, in

the Spanish press, in the Ateneo, and by all methods of public expression, that in no country in the world is the corruption as deep as it is in Cuba, nor as inveterate and irremediable.

Elsewhere, the same Spanish writer from Panama asserted, that patriotism should inspire us to search for the means of purifying the government, and not to disrupt national union for such a cause.

And when there is no means of purifying, what must one do? The people who do not have to emancipate themselves from other nations, change their governments when public sentiment is justly aroused by outrages, and the impunity of the offenders becomes exasperating. Do not my contestants know why it is that President Alfaro is now victorious in Equador? If the French Republic has not fallen recently, as the monarchies of the earlier part of the century did, it is because the rotten limbs of the tree have been pruned without mercy. Were Spain to-day, a Roman colony, she would certainly renew once more the Wars of Viriatus, to get rid of the oppressive rapacity of the proconsuls. The only remedy for Cuba is to break the Spanish yoke. *Las Nevedades* and its compeers advise a humble submission. That may do for the Spanish element, but will never do for the Cuban Separatists.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### CRIMINOLOGY.

I KNOW very well, that it is not customary in criminologic studies, to include the wrong-doings of the government. This seems to me unreasonable, and I shall begin, as in courtesy bound, by giving our government the place of honor.

At the end of the last revolution, the brave Chieftain, José Maceo, capitulated to General Pando in the district of Guantánamo. The conditions were, to relinquish all past claims on both sides, and to furnish General Maceo passage to Jamaica on a foreign vessel. The French and English Consuls figured as guarantors of the agreement. The Spanish general invited Maceo to breakfast at the sugar estate San Ildefonso. Maceo was allowed to go to Guantánamo, and he sailed from that port in the English steamer, "Thomas Brooks." He had scarcely steamed four miles, when the ship was stopped by two Spanish gunboats that had been stationed for that purpose. Maceo was taken out of the steamer, and transported to Porto Rico, to the Chafarine Islands, and finally to the convicts station in Ceuta, Africa. On December 18th, 1892, Maceo wrote a letter to the *La Epoca* of Madrid, where he gave the details of the whole transaction.

Here is another one. On the 6th of February, 1891, the bandits, Domingo Montelongo Leon, Eulogio Rivero, and Francisco Delgado, alias *Nango*, took passage

on the steamer "Baldomero Igleseas," that plies between Havana, Colombia and Venezuela. They had been pardoned by the Spanish government, on condition that they should leave the island; and they had, previous to their departure, been allowed to appear without molestation, on the streets of Havana. The vessel was crowded with passengers, and their relatives who had come to see them off. Just before the start, the police, dressed in citizens clothes came aboard to detain the passengers. The friends of the passengers were ordered to leave the boat, the doors were closed, and guards were placed at the gangway. The bandits were ordered to surrender; they resisted, and a serious encounter took place. Domingo and Eulogio, after being wounded, threw themselves into passing boats, where they were afterward killed by naval forces that had been called to the assistance of the police. The third bandit was also killed on board and with him, the two brothers of the two men first mentioned.

It is a matter of record, that these men had surrendered on condition that they be allowed to leave the island. The most accessible document to prove this, will be found in the speech of Mr. Moya, delivered in the session of Parliament of June 23d, 1891.

It is difficult to decide which is the most scandalous feature of this transaction: whether the degradation of authorities who enter into compacts with highwaymen, or whether the violation of faith implied in the pardon, or whether the passport given to bandits and assassins to leave Cuba to go to a friendly nation, or the combat prepared before hand, to take place in the midst of a peaceful assembly.

Mr. Moret, deceived by fanciful information, denied

in *La España Moderna*, that any executions of political prisoners had taken place in Cuba since the peace of Zanjón.

This has been answered by my compatriots in the following manner. Mr. Varona, in the pamphlet already quoted, "*Cuba Versus Spain*" states :

"General Polavieja has declared with utmost coolness, that in December, 1880, he had two hundred and sixty-five persons seized in Cuba, Palma, San Luis, Songo, Guantánamo and Sagua de Tánamo, and transported the same day and the same hour, to the African Island of Fernando Po. At the close of the insurrection of 1879-80, it was a frequent occurrence for the government to send to the Penal Colonies of Africa, Cubans who had capitulated. The treachery of which General José Maceo was a victim, carries us back to the darkest times of the Wars of Flanders, and the Conquest of America."

Cuba recalls with horror the dreadful assassination of Brigadier-General Arcadio Leyte Vidal, perpetrated in the Bay of Nipe, in September, 1879. War had just broken out anew in the Eastern department. Brigadier-General Leyte Vidal resided in Mayarí, assured by the solemn promise of the Spanish Commander-in-Chief of that province, that he would not be molested. One month had scarcely elapsed since the uprising, however, when on a visit to Nipe, he was invited by the Commander of the gunboat "Alarm" to take dinner on board. Leyte Vidal went on board the gunboat but never returned. He was strangled by three sailors, and his body was cast into the sea. This criminal deed was committed in compliance with an order from the Spanish General, Polavieja. Francisco Leyte Vidal, a

cousin of Arcadio, miraculously escaped the same tragic fate.

Mysterious deaths of capitulated Cubans, have been frequent in Cuba. To one of these deaths was due the uprisings of Tunas de Bayamo in 1879.

Mr. E. Trujillo in *El Porvenir*, of New York, July 22d, 1895, reminds us of the massacres of hundreds of citizens ordered by General Polavieja in 1879-80, two years after the Zanjón Agreement, and he adds :

“The blood flowed from the Morro in Santiago to the city . . . . . Polavieja deported to La Carraca, Ceuta, Chafarinas, more than one thousand peaceful citizens, who had taken no part in the movement of August, 1879. Captain-General Blanco, meanwhile, gave his consent to these atrocities while he enjoyed life in Havana. We would ask Mr. Moret, also to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the administration of General Fajardo, six years after the Zanjón Agreement. We could tell him of the arbitrary sentences passed by General Pando, successor to Polavieja, and of the executions of Bonachea, Limbano Sánchez and the companions of Calixto García.”

Mr. R. García Garofalo writing from Mexico to the same journal states (August 12) :

“During the command of General Federico Esponda in the provinces of Sta. Clara, (1884), there was an insignificant uprising in the estate *Pepilla*, of the Sagua District. Victor Durán, an old Insurgent Chieftain, and a few laborers, abandoned their work and gave a few seditious cries. They had no arms, no horses ; and it was evident for many reasons, that the movement could have no importance whatever. Captain Domingo R. Almeida was sent out against them with a company

of troops. As the men were captured, they were brought into Sta. Clara during the day and taken out at night and sabered to death in the woods. About eighty poor wretches were disposed of in this way, without legal proceedings."

These examples set by the government, were promptly followed by the subalterns.

Santiago de las Vegas, and Bejucal are towns of twelve thousand and eight hundred inhabitants each, situated within twenty miles south of Havana.

On the 6th of August, a ball was to be given in Bejucal, and many of the families from Las Vegas had been invited, in return for a similar occasion which had been recently celebrated in the latter place.

A few days before the sixth of August, mysterious and anonymous papers were circulated in Las Vegas, threatening the lives of some of the prominent citizens. "About three in the afternoon of the sixth," says *La Evolucion* of that city, "persistent rumors were current, that were very disquieting to the individual safety of those who proposed to attend the ball." I should add that the Cuban element predominates very decidedly in Santiago de las Vegas.

At a quarter past six in the afternoon, the carriages and omnibuses started from the city to Bejucal.

Between seven and half past seven . . . . . but we shall take our description from the local paper, *La Evolucion* :

"When the omnibuses arrived midway between Santiago and the farm Los Cocos, a shot was heard and then another. This was evidently a signal for the assaulting party, the members of which, about ninety, were hidden behind the fence and divided into three



EMBARCKING TROOPS FOR CUBA AT SANTANDER, SPAIN.



1. THE SOLDIERS' WARD.



2. DON RAMON MOROS Y PALACIN, SURGEON IN CHARGE.



3. THE OFFICERS' WARD.



4. ONE OF THE CORRIDORS.



5. EXTERIOR OF BUILDING.

1. The Soldiers' Ward. 2. Don Ramon Moros y Palacin, Surgeon in Charge.  
3. The Officers' Ward. 4. One of the Corridors. 5. Exterior of Building.

groups. These succeeded one another, firing in squads for about fifteen minutes and winding up with a general volley. The men in the wagons called out in vain to the cowards to come out in the road and show themselves."

One, Mr. Pedro Alvarez was killed and two others seriously wounded.

The Mayor and the Municipal Judge were absent. The Chief of Police was in town, but he took no part to prevent or follow up the dastardly crime.

*El Pais* in its issue of the 12th of the same month, supplements our information and gives expression to our sentiments in the following language :

"Such infamous conduct makes the blood boil. About seventy or eighty fiends, after drinking deeply in the Spanish Club, marched out ostentatiously, armed with sticks, and carrying concealed weapons. They paraded the streets insolently, and at the appointed hour, placed themselves on both sides of the road leading from Santiago to Bejucal. The first carriages to arrive, were crowded with women on their way to the ball. The valor of these heroes, who were ready to murder defenceless women, was only restrained by the supplications of one of their own party who had some friends in the carriages. Instead of bullets, however, they launched upon them volleys of insults such as we dare not print. Then followed the omnibuses with twenty-four men, most of whom were from sixteen to twenty years of age. These were the object of the ambush. One cannot help bringing to the memory the massacre of the medical students of Havana. A continuous fire was kept up for some time. One, Alvarez, was killed, and two men were seriously wounded. Fortunately the sides of the coach were made of metallic



plates and a frightful butchery was prevented. After accomplishing their purpose, though not as far as they anticipated, the assassins returned quietly, as if they had just performed some civic function. No one had disturbed them in the execution of their crime, though the shots were plainly heard in the city, and though rumors of the probable disturbance must have reached the authorities during the day. Where was the police; where the Military Commandant and the Municipal Judge; where was the Mayor who represents the government, and who is responsible for the public peace? His absence was probably intentional, to avoid coming in conflict with his friends, if he had been forced to do his duty. Had he been an Autonomist he would have been deposed and imprisoned by this time. The only authority who seems to have prepared for the occasion appears to be the Priest of the parish. Evidently believing that his services would be needed, he stood somewhere near the road, animated by the most fervent evangelic zeal, ready to help the dying with his blessing. They all contributed their share, some with their presence and others through their absence. And now, what is the government waiting for? Why are not the guilty arrested, beginning with the Mayor, whose responsibility in the matter is most grave? What confidence can the government have in functionaries who did not endeavor to suppress this atrocious deed? To-day Santiago de las Vegas presents the appearance of a beleaguered city. The rural police and the troops have concentrated there. What for? To suppress, perhaps, the just indignation of a people who have been deeply aggrieved. Had the legal authorities taken the necessary precautions, the crime would not have been com-

~~mitted~~ After the event the precautions are worse than useless. These occurrences remind us of recent events in Cienfuegos. There the mobs abolished the rights of meeting and of public speech. The lives of Messrs. Fernando de Castro, Figueroa and others of our friends were in danger. The Mayor, Mr. Juan del Campo, did nothing to restore order. Though his complicity in the movement was evident, not only was he allowed to remain in office, but was decorated with the great cross of *Isabel la Catolica*. This order was instituted by Ferdinand VII., "to recompense the pure loyalty and merits contracted in the defence of the Spanish Domains in America."

I can add nothing to the just indignation expressed in these lines. I shall only observe that if this crime had been committed by Cubans they would have been immediately court-martialed and punished. As I said in the last chapter, the military tribunals, even in times of peace, have jurisdiction in these cases. It is needless to say, however, that the military tribunals do not sit for the *Integristas* (Spanish Party).

The aggrieved parties presented their complaint in court, and the judge instituted proceedings against them, the aggrieved! A distinguished lawyer presented himself to defend them but he was not accepted. The Supreme Court of the island intervened in his behalf. Thus far had the case progressed up to October, 1889, one year after the event. Though I have read the papers carefully since, I have not found that the *heroes* of Santiago de las Vegas have ever been punished.

I had forgotten to say, that these heroes were not common people, but men who don the dress coat and the high hat. Another interesting fact in the case, is,

that the father of the dead man did not appear against the perpetrators, because he was a member of the same political party with them.

Mr. Moya, speaking in Parliament, session of February 23d, 1891, said :

“ With respect to individual safety in Havana, the most scandalous state of affairs exists. Encounters occur almost daily in the streets. Murders and robberies are committed in the theatres; the situation is so grave, so threatening, that the moderate organ, *El Pais* of Havana, has recently said: ‘ We beg the Civil Governor to listen to us. We ask not now for Autonomy, for liberty, for self-government, or for legislative bodies; we simply ask for individual safety, for protection of our lives and properties. This, at least, one might ask from the head of an invading army in a conquered country.’ ”

It is not in Havana alone that individual safety is set at naught. Highwaymen have infested the island from one end to the other for many years, robbing and kidnapping persons for whose ransom sums have been paid, varying from \$500, to \$30,000. Murderous attacks upon trains are the order of the day. The organization of these bands is perfect, and exceeds anything we read of in Southern Italy, the Western States of the American Union, Mexico, and even Spain. The government has had as many as six thousand men, besides the rural police and volunteers, out in pursuit of these bold adventurers, and yet for every bandit captured, we read of hundreds of poor farm hands that are beaten and insulted as harborers of criminals. All this show of force has been a source of squandering and pilfering, as well as an offence to the community,

because of the numerous executions on the public road, for supposed resistance or attempt to escape. Mr. Gabriel Millet has written under the title of "A Christmas in Madruga," a tragic description of the sufferings of that town, inflicted under the pretext of the persecution of bandits. It goes without saying, that the bandits were by no means the greatest sufferers. Early in 1895, the citizens of Sancti Spiritus and Camaguey, resolved to band themselves together against the ruffians, and they succeeded in clearing those provinces almost completely. Of course, it will be said: the people must give their support to the public powers. It should be remembered, however, that to give such support the citizens must be armed, and the permission to bear arms is not easily granted to the Cubans. The persecution had to be official, but the officials did not know how to carry it out.

And it is alleged by some, that Free Cuba will be lost to civilization! Is this state of affairs that I am now describing, is this civilization?

The report of the superintendent of the prisons of Havana, 1891-92, Mr. Antonio Calbetó, declares that the number of Spanish (Peninsular) convicts is greatly superior to that of the white Cubans. The same statement applies to the earlier statistics. In 1892 there were two hundred and ninety-five Peninsular, or Spanish convicts, and two hundred and ninety-one white Cubans. To understand the significance of these figures we must remember that the Spaniards in Cuba number one hundred and forty thousand, and the white Cubans about one million. From the latter, of course, we must exclude the groups that do not contribute to the criminal classes, such as children.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### PRIMARY AND ADVANCED EDUCATION.

"LEARN to read, write and pray; that is all that an American needs to know." Thus the Viceroy, Francisco Gil y Lemus, delivered himself before the public schools of Lima, about the middle of the last century. "Spain has no use for sages," yelled out Mr. Pablo Morillo in 1816 to the Colombians who were pleading for the life of the sage of Popayán, Mr. F. J. Caldas.

Spanish Colonists in America were not allowed to send their children to be educated in foreign countries. Scarcely had Philip II. ascended the throne when he gave out the Pragmatic of Aranjuez, prohibiting Spaniards from going abroad for their education, and ordering those who were already abroad, to return at once to the Spanish Dominions. Toward the end of the last century, Charles IV. ordered all Cubans who were being educated in the United States, to return at once to the island. Ferdinand VII., in 1828, issued a similar order, in consequence of the complaint of the Spanish Minister in Washington to the effect, that the Cuban students were brought in contact with students from Colombia and other rebel countries, in the schools of the United States.

All this might have been excused, as the Spanish poet, Quintana, hoped in his celebrated line,

"Faults of the times they were, and not of Spain,"

if Spain had devoted herself to develop school education in more recent times.

If the present system of education had been carried out strictly, we might be a long way behind our present needs, but still something would have been done toward progress. But how could the proposed system be put into operation, when the estimates of expenses of the Colony, amounting to \$26,000,000, appropriate only from six to seven per cent. for higher education (it is not expended for that purpose), and nothing for primary education !

City Councils pay for the latter. They pay for it, that is all ; for the government reserves the right to control and manage the schools in all particulars, even in matters of hygiene. It is needless to say, that they are sadly neglected, and that the City Councils can find but little encouragement in such arrangements. The result is that recently, in the Province of Havana alone, the payment of country school-teachers had fallen in arrears by \$118,000. Some of them had not been paid since 1887. A small amount of money is obtained by them, by selling their scrip at fifty per cent. discount.

The government controls the selection of text-books. Among these there is an interesting little text-book of geography, written by one of our Transatlantic civilizers, who shows his knowledge of Cuban geography as follows :

“Guanabajoa.—a seaport south of Havana.”

Someone with more wit than respect for official text-books has said : First, that the town of Guanabacoa is not called Guanabajoa. Second, that it is not a seaport. Third, that it is not situated south of Havana. Correcting these small errors, the description is excellent.

The government is obliged by law to appoint inspec-

tors, and local and provincial committees, to visit the schools, fix the days for examinations, and otherwise direct the policy of the schools. Years, however, go by without such appointments being made, and when they are made, the persons selected are sure to know nothing of pedagogics, and one may be thankful if they know even where the school is situated.

A Cuban who is a specialist on this subject, Mr. Valdez Rodriguez, writes: (see *La Educación Popular en Cuba*, 1891).

"Organization, system, methods, everything that is required for the proper control of education is either forgotten, or never was known."

In 1895, the Memoria-Anuario, or annual report on Education, for 1893-94, was published in Havana. From the data therein contained I have formed the following table concerning elementary education.

NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.			PRIVATE SCHOOLS.	PUPILS ATTENDING		TOTALS OF SCHOOLS.	TOTALS OF ATTENDANCE.
Of Several Kinds.	Incomplete.			Public Schools.	Private Schools.		
Boys	260	195	258	21,313	13,978	713	35,291
Girls	189	134	339	15,434	14,271	662	29,705
Mixed		132	169	...	...	301	...
Totals	449	461	766	36,747	28,249	1,676	64,996

The expenditures on public schools were distributed as follows:

Salaries . . . . .	\$472,870.88
For material . . . . .	113,637.01
For rent of buildings . . . . .	150,256.90
Total . . . . .	\$736,764.79

If we study these numbers carefully we come to the following conclusions :

1st. The private schools represent about forty-six per cent. of the total number of schools. We should state that we are now dealing with primary schools, only. Were we to include the higher schools, then the difference in favor of private institutes, would still be much greater.

2d. The seven hundred thousand dollars officially appropriated to primary education, represent only two and a half per cent. of the thirty millions of dollars of national and municipal taxes. I shall not inquire as to whether the seven hundred thousand dollars are actually expended for the purpose for which they are appropriated. We can leave the unpaid school-teachers, and the owners of houses occupied by schools, to answer that question.

3d. The number of public schools (910) represents a ratio of one to eighteen hundred inhabitants, that is, if we are willing to count the *incomplete* schools. A *complete* school is one in which the following branches are taught: Catechism, sacred history, reading, writing, Spanish grammar and orthography, elements of arithmetic and weights and measures, elementary notions of agriculture, industry and commerce. The schools where all these branches are not taught are called *incomplete*. An old woman, for instance, living in some poor hamlet, gathers about her ten or twelve children, and teaches them to say their prayers, to read and count, and that has the honor of being placed in a statistical table as an *incomplete* school. According to Article CXXV. of the Educational Laws, there should be in every town of five hundred inhabitants, one primary



*complete* public school for boys, and one, which may be *incomplete*, for girls. *Incomplete* schools for boys will be only allowed, according to law, in towns of less than five hundred inhabitants. In towns of two thousand inhabitants, there should be two complete schools for boys, and two for girls. In towns of four thousand inhabitants, three of each, and so forth, adding one school of each sex for every two thousand inhabitants. Almost all of the four hundred and sixty-one *incomplete* schools of the table, are found in towns of more than five hundred inhabitants. The law, then, is not carried out. In fact, if we count only the complete schools, we strike a ratio of one school to every 3,634 inhabitants. In Germany there is one school to every 700 inhabitants; in Spain, one to 660; in England and Italy, one to 600, and in France, one to 500. None of these countries pay such a high rate of taxation as Cuba.

4th. The rate of school attendance, including both the public and private schools, is four per cent. of the population. If we exclude the private schools, we get a rate of two and one-fourth per cent.

Add, if you will, the number attending the higher public schools, distributed as follows:

University . . . . .	1,317
Academic Institutes . . . . .	3,415
The Normal School, (17 males, 221 females) . .	292
The Industrial School . . . . .	42
School of Fine Arts . . . . .	375
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Total . . . . .	5,441
Primary Schools . . . . .	36,747
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	42,188

Including all these, we obtain a ratio of 2.58 per cent. This, in a country where slavery was recently abolished, where numerous schools should have been provided to educate the negro, and where only one-quarter of the population can read and write.

5th. According to law there should be:

Primary Schools . . . . .	.1,870
There are only. . . . .	449

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Schools to be established . . . . .	.1,421
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Mr. Valdez Rodríguez states:

"The condition of the public schools is most discouraging. The buildings are so ill adapted, that we find some in the capital of the island, where there is one common room for all the classes, thus giving rise to the greatest confusion. The lack of space has sanctioned the practice of restricting the number of pupils according to the space available. Some schools can manage only twenty pupils. If we compare the number of children who actually receive any public instruction, with the appropriations made for this purpose, we find our public education not only to be the worst, but also the most expensive in the world."

According to the Educational Laws, in the capitals of provinces, and in towns of ten thousand inhabitants, one of the public schools should be a superior school. In the capitals of departments and in cities of ten thousand inhabitants, there should be, besides schools for very young children, night schools or dominical schools for adults, with classes in drawing and industrial art. There should be, further, at least one school for the deaf and dumb, and one for the blind, in Havana. Also

one normal school for each provincial capital, and one of the same class for women.

Instead of this, we find that there is but one superior school for girls in the whole island, and six for boys. There is no school for very young children, unless we can except the one established by Mr. C. C. Coppinger in the Poor House and Maternity, of Havana. On the other hand, there are twenty-four cities which, because of their population, or because they are capitals of Provinces ought to have such schools. Night schools there are none, and normal schools only two in Havana, one for men and one for women.

"It may be said, then, that in Cuba everything pertaining to the primary education is in its incipency."

Havana is proud of one institution—*La Sociedad Económica*. This society may be looked upon as the only influence that has been active in promoting the cause of education, since the end of the last century. This is not the place to describe the work of this institution, but I shall state here, that had it not been for the public spirit of this society, and the generosity of its members, the advancement of public education would have been further retarded. In 1842 the government deprived the society of its official character in matters of education, and withdrew the small pittance that was paid to it for this purpose, probably because the Junta was moving a little faster than the government cared to see. The *Sociedad Económica*, however, has not abandoned this field of labor; the actual president, Mr. J. S. Jorrín, has brought it once more to the flourishing condition of its palmy days. Mr. Gabriel Millet, the noble patriot, whose publications have been more than once quoted in these pages, has presented the

society with books and works of art, and has founded in perpetuity the annual prize—Luz Caballero Prize—of gold and silver medals, with diplomas, for public school-teachers and distinguished pupils.

The government takes no part in these things, and at times even looks upon them with suspicion.

Nearly all that has been done in Cuba for the cause of education, has been done through private efforts. Some individuals have donated buildings for the schools. Others have presented them with teaching material, others have raised subscriptions for their maintenance, or to send young men abroad to study agriculture. Many others have started schools either by donations of money, or teaching gratuitously. Theatres have been raised, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to public schools, and legacies have been left for the same purpose. Many of the clubs maintain free schools, with day and night classes.

"The Rev. Antonio Hurtado founded a school in Villadara and maintained it during his lifetime. When he died, the school was abandoned, and the building was converted by the government into barracks for the militia. Subsequently, the City Councils succeeded in regaining possession of the property," says Mr. Cabrera (*"Cuba and the Cubans."*)

In the matter of legacies and donations, some Spaniards have contributed generously, and I am pleased to record it, for we bear no ill toward them, but we would rather see those who do not hate us, coöperate with us under the new flag.

On the other hand, some Spanish Aldermen have interpreted certain legacies in a very original manner. They have suppressed a school maintained by the Board

of Aldermen, and substituted for it, the one provided for by the Testator. Thus, the legacies become sources of municipal economy at the expense of education.

On the 20th of January, 1894, Mr. Valdez Rodríguez complained once more, that the material used in the school was obsolete and that the buildings were not in hygienic condition. He further added :

“ We cannot conceal that this branch of public service is in such a condition as to deserve the qualification of disgraceful. Statistics and the plain truth would easily dispose of our boasted culture.”

This was written one year before the present revolution.

Academic and superior education are provided for in six Institutes (which are supposed to imitate the lyceums of France), and one University.

The distinguished professor, Mr. J. M. Zayas, devoted in vain the last decades of his life to show the defects of the organization of the academic Institutes, the cost of which is out of proportion with the meager results obtained in them. Mr. Zayas said, that these official academies are mere offices where the Rector and the Professors fill blanks and keep books relative to the pupils, collect the matriculation fees, and care nothing for the scientific and moral training of the Alumni. There is, he stated no supervision of, and no stimulus for, professors or pupils. The whole thing is a mere machine, controlled by definite and fixed programs, imposed by incompetent authorities. Very frequently the chairs are filled by henchmen of the politicians of Madrid.\*

\*It happens often enough, that the appointee remains in Spain and a substitute, generally a Cuban, takes his place. In this wise the chair may be better filled perhaps, but the pay of the substitute is reduced to a minimum [Ed.]

I have on another occasion quoted the witty remark of the Spanish professor, V. Fernandez Ferraz, who, speaking of the official academic Institutes said :

"It is not a system of the present, nor a system of the past. If I may be allowed to use a grammatical term, I should say that it is an imperfect preterit."

I shall also repeat here, words that I have already quoted from the speech delivered in 1885 by Senator J. S. Jorrín.

"The revenues of the University have exceeded its expenses during the year 1884 to the amount of \$127,000. This is not accidental but is rather a perennial showing. The University, therefore, is not a burden to the State."

And Mr. Jorrín did not include in this, a permanent endowment of \$646,450 that belongs to the University and which yields a revenue of \$32,000.

In the estimates of expenses we find sums allotted for the seminaries. "We know," says Mr. Cabrera (*Los Estados Unidos*, page 83) "that the seminary of San Carlos of Havana is able to maintain itself with its own revenues."

I would like to ask, whether there be another country in the world where educational institutions are a source of revenue to the state. I have already asked the same question in connection with the administration of justice.

As someone might imagine that this state of things has changed since 1884, I shall show now how the spirit of progress has affected our university. I quote from the speech delivered in the Senate by Mr. Ortiz de Pinedo, a Spaniard, in June, 1894.

"For the expenses of the Rector's office, in so im-

portant a university as that, we allow two hundred dollars a year; for the library, one hundred and fifty dollars, and one hundred for the laboratory of pharmacy. What follows? The expenses for stationery and care of the office have not been paid in two years. The gas has been cut off from the building, and the very worthy Rector has been obliged to obtain the necessary supplies through his own individual credit, as a sort of charity toward the institution, and with the hope of payment at some future time. Can you think of this without a feeling of profound sorrow? The library has discontinued all important subscriptions. From one economic measure to another, it has come to pass that, the library cannot even subscribe to the official Gazette of Madrid."

"As to the laboratory of pharmacy, what can it do with one hundred dollars to-day, when all such teachings should be objective and practical. Think of it. One hundred dollars for this most important laboratory, out of an appropriation of twenty-six millions of dollars. Any professor of chemistry will spend more than that in his own private laboratory.

"Painful though it may be to expose the condition these services are in, I must add that other departments have no appropriation at all. The faculty of sciences cannot even provide sponges for the blackboards.

"The Botanical Garden, which might be the most beautiful in America, because of the character and luxuriance of tropical vegetation, has nothing in it except a keeper. It has returned to the condition of the primeval forest.

"I am told that the professor of natural history



**EXCMO. SR. D. VALERIANO WEYLER Y. NICOLAU.**  
**Governor-General of Cuba and Commander-In-Chief of the Army.**





**THE "MACHETE"—THE WEAPON THAT IS WINNING CUBA'S LIBERTY.**  
 The Test.    Peeling an Orange.    A Duel.

started once to give a scientific description of the sponge, forgetting that he had no specimen with which to illustrate his lecture, not even a blackboard sponge. I suppose I had better not continue my exposures.

"Before concluding, however, I wish to say that a representative of that University who preceded me in the honored representation of that institution, has just informed me that the Rector has not only engaged his personal credit, but has paid out of his pocket the minor expenses of his office."

Did these scathing remarks remedy the evil? I shall not answer myself but shall leave it to *El Pais*, an enemy of the Revolution. In its issue of June 1st, 1895, two months before the present outbreak, the organ of the Autonomists stated:

"Those of us who consider these important problems, are dismayed by what we see about us. Our academic and superior instruction is in no less pitiable state than our primary education. The state does next to nothing to bring this important element of culture, to the proper standard.

"To say nothing of the miserable educational laws which govern us, and seem especially adapted to stunt the intellectual development, we have to acknowledge that our chief educational institute, lacks all the elements that are indispensable for the proper discharge of its functions."

All this, however, was not sufficient. The University was still to feel a heavier blow inflicted by the Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Romero Robledo on the 19th of January, 1892. He deprived the University of her right to confer the doctor's degree. His reasons for so doing were: first, economic reasons; second, to

equalize the prerogatives of this university with those of others in the Peninsula, none of which, except the Central University of Madrid, enjoys the privilege mentioned; and third, to oblige the Cubans who might be candidates for doctoral honors, to go to Spain and become Spaniolized.

As to economic reasons, the saving would amount to \$36,650, which, as Mr. Jorin has shown, are not furnished by the state. With respect to the privilege granted to the University of Havana, it is perfectly justified by the long distance from Madrid, with the concomitant expenses and discomforts of the voyage. For this reason, the privilege which was granted in 1728, had never been infringed upon, except in 1881, (October 10th), when it was abolished as a measure of revenge, by the Count of Valmaseda who stated officially, that the University "was a focus of rebellion."

On the 17th of November of that year the decree was promulgated containing the above words that pointed the institution of learning to popular fury. On the 27th of the same month the massacre of the medical students took place—a frightful crime—a blot forever on the history of Spanish Domination in Cuba.

As to the desire to hispanicize the Cubans, it is a fact that Cubans educated in the Peninsula, are apt to bring home with them, tendencies more revolutionary than the young men who are educated in the United States, because in Spain, one inhales with every breath the spirit of resistance and contempt toward all authority, whereas in the United States, nobody thinks of rebelling against the government. Céspedes was educated in Barcelona. Martí was educated in Zaragoza.

The Minister, Mr. Romero Robledo, also stated that

in exchange for the deprivation of this University privilege, he would encourage the agricultural, chemical, industrial and mechanical departments. He did nothing of the kind, however; on the contrary, he abolished the agricultural stations.

The real causes of the measure proposed were these: The University elects one Senator who is always a member of the Liberal or Autonomist Party.\*

Now the Minister wished to fill the chairs with Spaniards, which he could do by reducing the number of Cubans with doctor's degree, who are eligible for professorial honors. Thus closing to my compatriots, this one avenue that is still left them in the public service.

Finally, the government had to abandon this measure, because the students left the University in a body, and the agitation became so great as to assume revolutionary tendencies.

I shall not speak of other defects of the University system: the deficiencies from the scientific point of view; the vacations and public feasts that take up nearly one-half of the year; the disproportion between the official teaching programs, and the time allotted for them. Neither time, or space, will permit me to touch upon the many faults, that have been pointed out by Cubans and Spaniards. I shall conclude with an extract from *El Pais* October 4th, 1888.

"The government takes no steps toward the preparation of engineers, architects, pilots, agriculturists, merchants well informed in the elements of this honorable

\*The reader may remember that in the recent elections under General Weyler, the Autonomists have refused to go to the polls, except in the election of the representatives of the University and the *Sociedad Economica*. They knew these to be the only elections they could carry. (Note by Translator.)

profession, or machinists, or industrial experts well trained in the complicated technique of modern industries. To learn something about any of these, the candidate must go abroad. On the other hand, we endeavor to ape in the most servile fashion, the organizations of diverse and ancient societies, as if we wished to make good the phrase of Merival, recently applied by a distinguished writer to the schemes of colonization of our ancestors: to create an old society in a new country."

## CHAPTER XX.

### BANKS AND CURRENCY.

A MONETARY crisis reigns permanently in this country as the result of the utter disregard of all system of finance. With respect to silver, we have Spanish coin of all kinds and dates, most of them worn and blurred and representing values of one, two, four, five and ten *reales*. We have American *medios* and *reales* (half dimes and dimes) of different valuation from that of the Spanish coins. We have also coins from other countries including those recently introduced from the Philippine Islands, which should be legally restricted to that archipelago. The diversity of monetary systems represented by these coins, would create a *mare magnum* even if the situation were not aggravated by the fluctuations of the value of silver in the markets of the world. The only gold coins at present in circulation, are the *centén* and the old *onza*—Spanish *doubloon* of \$16 (worth \$17 in Cuba) and of which but a few remain. The *centén* does not represent a multiple of the *onza*, nor are the silver coins multiples of the *centén*. The latter has the arbitrary value of \$5.30, to prevent its exportation to Spain. The same system was adopted early in the century with the *onza*, valued in Spain at \$16, in foreign markets \$15.50, and \$17 in Cuba, beside an export duty. It is a notorious fact that the absurd fiscal system of that date, tended to stimulate rather than repress contraband. Gold naturally was the favorite object of the

contraband. The perturbing influences of such measures upon the exchange, need no demonstration. Besides, the object in view can never be attained, for from ten to twelve millions must be exported yearly to Spain to pay the charges of the debt. For this purpose, customs duties are payable in gold. To this exportation of gold should be added ; first, about nineteen millions to settle the balance of trade with Spain, from whence twenty-five millions worth of merchandise is sent in exchange for six millions worth of our own products ; second, the money that is carried home by returning emigrants who have made a fortune ; third, the payment of pensions or passive classes " that are rather active " as has been observed by Mr. Govin ; fourth, payments to the Transatlantic Steamship Company ; fifth, the drafts that are sent by Spanish employees to maintain their families in Spain, as well as to settle accounts with political bosses who *divvy* with them ; sixth, the incomes of wealthy planters, Cubans, Spaniards and foreigners who reside abroad. We should note here, the folly of the arrangement by which the Cuban debt, being domiciled in Spain, the titles of it, owned by residents in Cuba, must be collected in Spain. As a consequence of all this we are not surprised to hear that the annual interest paid for money was as high as thirty per cent. in 1890, according to the statement made by the Planters' Association in October of that year.

Before the war of 1868, the money in actual circulation in Cuba amounted to \$30,000,000, or \$20 per capita. During the war there was an issue of treasury notes and Spanish bank notes to the amount of \$76,000,000. This anomalous currency depreciated very rapidly. It was not in the form of gold certifi-

cates, for they were not convertible; nor was it paper money, for they lacked the character of forced paper currency. This money never circulated except in the provinces that were willing to take it; namely, the Western Provinces.

The government and no one else could be blamed for this depreciation, because, though during the first four years (1870-74) this currency was received at par as legal tender for payment of public debts, we find that on February 28th, 1874, these obligations were ordered to be paid in gold. We find in an official document, signed by Spaniards, of March 20th of the same year:

"The treasury promised to amortize these bank notes, by means of a subsidy, especially granted for that purpose. The subsidy has been collected, but the promise has not been fulfilled. These notes were accepted on the good faith of the government by the commercial centres and the public. The latter find themselves now with a fine credit sheet on paper, but in truth there is a serious loss of capital. Their hopes are gradually vanishing. There is no basis for mercantile transactions; everything is left to chance, everything is unusual and phenomenal."

I repeat that this is an official document—a report of a commission of which a chief of administration, an official of the bank, and a prominent Spanish merchant, were members. Just before the resumption of specie payment (July 1892) this paper money was quoted at \$249 for \$100 in gold.

At this time, the Spanish bank had already redeemed the paper issued on its own account; and did so, taking advantage of the current discount, that is, speculating



with its own discredit. Later on the government adopted the same immoral tactics.

On the 24th of October, 1891, the redemption of the State notes was commenced by the same bank; but without taking the following precautions which had been advised by experts in this matter; namely, to balance the revenue and expenses in the Budget; to domicile a portion of the debt; to reorganize the monetary and bank systems. It had been decided that the notes of less than \$5 value should be redeemed in metal at fifty per cent. discount of their face value; and that larger notes should be redeemed by a sort of gold certificate, which, however, not being itself redeemable at the time, became subject to immediate depreciation. The jobbing and speculation that followed were scandalous. The notes of low denominations were immediately cornered, and all small commercial transactions became extremely difficult. Taking this as an excuse, resumption was suspended on December 18th. The real cause, however, was that sufficient metal had not been sent from Spain, because the Spanish bank of Madrid was seriously involved in speculations with the money destined to this transaction.

On the 12th of August, 1892, the redemption of notes was resumed, and concluded on the twelfth of March, 1893 at midnight. The government had previously given notice that, though it was believed that there were \$34,139,708 of paper in circulation, only \$32,000,000 (face value) would be redeemed, as it was believed that there had been some fraudulent issues. The type of the amortization was now fixed at \$249 in paper to \$100 in gold, but the holders of small notes

were authorized to exchange them at fifty per cent. discount for silver coin.

About four and a half millions of paper money failed to appear for redemption.

The gains made by the bank, and especially by the government, at the expense of the Cuban people were enormous.

The conversion being concluded, the Spanish bank issued the sum of \$6,000,000 in notes, redeemable in gold at par. Of these, one-half was placed in circulation. Five months later, there was a serious monetary crisis and many failures, due to the fact that American sugar merchants to obtain better prices, had refused to purchase the crop. It became impossible to obtain gold at any price, with which to cover the engagements of the sugar producers.

There are in Havana only two banks. The Spanish Bank, with a capital of \$8,000,000 gold, and the privilege of emission; and the Bank of Commerce, with a capital of \$7,000,000, also gold. Observe how we have moved backwards. Not many years ago, we had the Bank of San José, the Industrial, the Alianza, and the Caja de Ahorros. Thirty years ago, these, or similar institutions, reported a capital of \$20,000,000 in gold.

The trouble began with the failure of the Bank of Commerce, which was precipitated by the sudden withdrawal of two large firms representing \$4,500,000. The Spanish bank suspended on the following month the exchange of its notes, and, I find, had not resumed it, when the present revolution broke out. Mr. Eduardo Bellido, manager of the important house of Bea Bellido & Company of Matanzas committed suicide. This house discharged the functions of a bank for the

planters of that region, advancing money for the operations of the sugar crop.

At this time the government owed the Spanish bank several millions of dollars (*Revista Cubana* XVIII., page 178.) Had the Government paid immediately all, or part of the debt, that establishment might have been able to come to the assistance of the Bank of Commerce. Besides, the Spanish bank would have maintained the credit of its notes, and would have paid its depositors in full, instead of in part, as it was forced to do. But the Government that has, or assumes to have, so many powers in Cuba, when it wishes, did not now forward the money, because the Cortes had not yet voted the appropriations. The greatest obstacle to good administration in Cuba is the dependence upon the good will of the Metropolis.

The country was practically left without banks. No more deposits, no more checks, no more discounts, no more payments and obligations, no more pledging of sugar as collateral. . . . The few possessors of metal coin, hoarded it, or put it in circulation at enormous rates of interest. The absence of credit, made the want of money more sorely felt, as happens always when business is changed from a credit, to a cash basis. Without advance of money, the sugar crop could not be effected, and without sugar, the country could not live. It is estimated that there were not more than one dozen planters, who were in a situation to face this calamity. Most of them bearded it, on the plan of *trampa adelante* (default ahead.) Many had to abandon the grinding of sugar, for the absolute want of means, and others could not even pay the laborers to attend to the cane fields.

Such was the state of affairs in 1894, just before the outbreak of the Revolution.

Is it not evident that the Spanish chains must be broken? What worse than all this, if evil prophecies were true, what worse than all this, could happen to Cuba when she comes to govern herself?

I suppose if such economic disorders had occurred after our independence, we would have been told: "It could not be otherwise; we told you so; there you have the consequences of separation from the Mother Country; you know nothing, and you can learn nothing of the science of government."

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE.

**THE** Electoral Franchise has been prepared, to insure the supremacy of the Constitutional over the Autonomist Party, in other words, to establish the domination of the foreigners. This is not only apparent in the laws themselves, but was freely acknowledged by the Minister of the Colonies, the Count of Tejada de Valdosa. This gentleman had the audacity to say, that the present electoral plan could not be altered, for it had been purposely prepared to secure the success of one party—the party opposed to self-government of the country. We have, therefore, as a basis of the whole system, the control of the majority by the minority, the right of voting as a privilege of birth, the domination of one class or caste over another, the inferior class representing the great insular community.

It is for this reason, that, in a country essentially agricultural, the rural population, which is constituted chiefly of Cubans, is all but deprived of the right of suffrage. All the public employees, no matter what their standing may be, if they receive a salary of one hundred a year, are entitled to vote. The electoral franchise was also granted by the Cortes, without restrictions, to the corps of volunteers, composed of Spanish shop keepers and clerks, and whose name is inseparably connected with the bloody murder of the medical students on November 27th, 1871.

After the war, the suffrage, which, with rare exceptions, had never been granted before, was introduced in Cuba. The law requires that one representative should be elected for every fifty thousand inhabitants, as in Spain. This, according to the census of 1887, should give the island thirty-two deputies. The Royal Decree of 1890, however, fixed the number at thirty. Up to that date, only twenty-four had been allowed, in accordance with the census of 1877, which is notoriously full of errors. This is the first slice.

The Electoral law as applied to Cuba, was not the same law which governed at the time in the Peninsula, but rather a special proviso of the same, which imposed many conditions upon the right of citizenship and suffrage. To vote in the Parliamentary elections, it was necessary to pay a direct tax of at least \$25, which amounts to five times what is required in the Mother Country. To vote in the Municipal and Provincial elections, the law, as it rules in the Peninsula, was modified by a special *temporary* clause, (it still prevails) requiring a minimum of \$5 direct tax. In Spain, the franchise was granted to all those who could read and write, or who paid a tax of any kind, no matter how small.

At first, the people were satisfied to see in all this the beginning of a new era. The extraordinary war taxes still prevailing, the tax of twenty-five and five dollars opened the polls to a large proportion of the Cuban population. At the same time the Peninsulars, satisfied at the advent of peace, did not think of electoral intrigues, and the Autonomists made themselves felt as a majority. They controlled during four years, the Provincial Assembly of Havana. The Spanish Party

became alarmed when they began to see the impairment of their power. Meanwhile, the system of taxation was modified, because the exigencies of war had ceased, and the economical situation was very critical. The quota of \$25 and \$5 respectively became now excessive. Nearly the whole of the rural population was deprived of the franchise, as it required the acknowledgement of a clear income of \$1,250. This was far beyond the means of a very large number of men devoted to minor cultures. The commercial and industrial classes were not so seriously affected. Not only was a smaller number of them disfranchised, but they also found, as I shall show later on, means to recoup themselves, which were not within the reach of the Cuban population.

The Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Núñez de Arce, saw the injustice that was being done, and promised to remedy it, but he finally did nothing. The Autonomists threatened to withdraw from the polls, but the death of King Alfonso XII., in 1886, created such difficulties, that they concluded, for patriotic reasons, not to add to them by their action.

Another Minister, Mr. Balaguer, endeavored to fulfil the promise made by the poet minister, the celebrated author of the "Idyl," and he presented for these purposes, a project of electoral laws in June 15th, 1886. The committee in charge of it, however, was not even allowed to report.

The following ministers, Becerra, Fabié, and Romero Robledo, accomplished nothing, either because of the opposition of the Spanish party, or because they were not inclined to institute reforms.

Finally the Autonomist party withdrew from the

polls on the 7th of January, 1891, and proceeded to agitate the country with an active propaganda. The government became alarmed, and resolved to reduce the electoral quota, not to \$10 as had been proposed by Balaguer and Becerra, but to \$5.00. This was evident proof, that the government was not willing to yield to peaceful petitions, but would bend before energetic action.

By this time, however, universal suffrage had been established in the Peninsula since 1890, and the Cubans demanded that it be extended to the Island, because,—they said very justly,—if the law establishes that we are as much Spaniards as the Peninsulars, there is no reason why we shall not enjoy the same rights with them.

The Cubans insisted upon this, because they knew that the electoral tax limit of \$5.00 redounded to the benefit of the Spaniards. To be an elector, an acknowledged clear income of \$250 was required for land owners, \$41 for city proprietors and only \$27 for business men. In all countries where the electoral franchise has a tax limitation, the lowest limit is always put upon landed proprietors, who represent a greater effort and stability, and not upon the industrial and commercial interests, that are more accessible and unstable. In Cuba these matters are reversed.

In Spain, twenty-two per cent. of the population enjoy the electoral franchise, and in Cuba only four per cent. It will be said, I suppose, that the negroes recently emancipated, should not enjoy this privilege. To this I shall answer, by asking to be shown the evidence of culture in the Spanish masses.

“With respect to political education,” declared Mr.



Fernández de Castro in the session of the Senate of June 2d, 1890, "I do not believe that the country people here, are in any way superior to the *Guajiros*\* of Cuba. During the ten years of constitutional life that they have enjoyed, they have given evidence of wisdom and appreciation of their electoral duties, at least equal to those shown in the Peninsula."

On the 31st of May the Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Becerra, said, referring to the Peninsula:

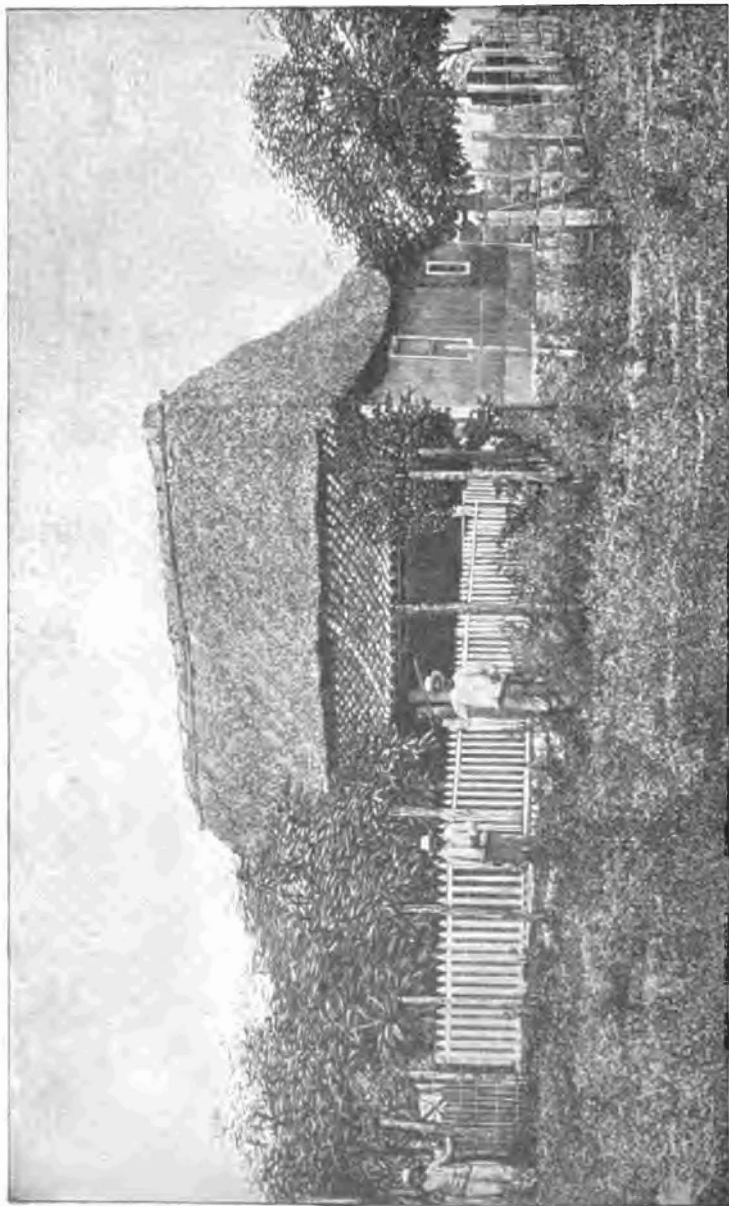
"Gentlemen, what can be expected of a Board of Aldermen, (as we have a few in Spain) of which only a few of the numbers are able to read; a Board of Aldermen that is required at the same time by law, to have a secretary who must understand the laws of public education and of construction, who must be familiar with architecture and the system of taxation, who must be in fact a sage, with a salary of \$50 a year."

The Autonomists were not afraid of the ignorance of the rural population and the negroes. They asked resolutely for the establishment of universal suffrage. But let us concede that this extreme measure should not be adopted, though it be contrary to our sense of right, to see such distinctions between citizens of the same nation. Why not at least grant the franchise to those who could read and write, and to those who pay any tax? Why were they unwilling to do this? Simply, because under these circumstances, the Insular population would have had control of the elections. The number of Spaniards in Cuba does not exceed one hundred and forty thousand. Though some of them are very wealthy, and many are counts and marquises,

\*The term *Guajiro* corresponds very closely with the word "cracker" as it is used in some Southern States.



**D. SALVADOR CISNEROS BETHANCOURT,**  
Marquis of Santa Lucia.  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA.**



**THE DEMAJAGUA HOUSE. FIRST HEADQUARTERS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1868.**

the majority of them are poor, and engaged in lowly pursuits. We have heard that the number of legitimate electors, not counting the partners of business firms *ad hoc*, is less than twenty thousand; even if we double that number, and obtain the exaggerated estimate of forty thousand, we are still short of one-half of the taxpayers, the number of which according to the official accounts, was in 1890 one hundred and fourteen thousand.

We see then, that these *permanent provisional* Electoral laws that have ruled in Cuba since 1879 are bad enough. We can add to their defects, the innumerable abuses that they lend themselves to, either, because of their obsolete character, or because of their partisan interpretation, or, because of the deliberate purpose to violate them.

One of the most common frauds, is the one committed in the Provincial and Municipal elections, and which goes by the name of *socios de ocasion* (partners *ad hoc*.)

In the circular of the 29th of August 1878, the Captain-General ordered, that it was only necessary for the managers of business firms, to present to the Municipal authorities, a list of the members of the firm, with their quota of earnings, in order to decide, in connection with the estimates of taxation, whether the said members were entitled to vote. Some of these firms will include in their lists of members, the cooks, and dishwashers, and sweepers of the house. Nobody takes the trouble to inquire if these are *bona fide* members of the firm, because the Government is as much interested as the merchants, in the success of the frauds. Thus a mob of low and ignorant fellows appear as partners of promi-

nent business men and millionaires, whilst the majority of the Cuban people, excluded from the polls, look on with astonishment at this abuse. A Royal Decree of December 29th, 1892, ordered that, in connection with the Parliamentary elections, the proper credentials of the members of non-anonymous societies must be filed in a public register. This measure guaranteed to some extent, the honesty of the list. The Central Committee of the Autonomist Party asked the Minister of the Colonies on the 3d of November, 1893, to extend the same protection to the Municipal and Provincial elections, but the Minister turned a deaf ear to their demands.

This conspicuous irregularity existed up to the beginning of the present year, 1895. It is abolished by the Abarzuza law, but we should observe that this law, which was strongly opposed, was not sanctioned and promulgated until after the outbreak of the Revolution. (It has not been put into effect.)

With respect to the common electoral frauds, it is scarcely worth while to speak: Autonomists, for instance, will call in vain upon a Mayor to furnish them with certificates that are needed to prove, within the specified time, the right to vote. They present themselves to be inscribed in the electoral lists, and they are rejected. Some, because they cannot prove that they are Spanish subjects, though everybody knows that they were born in the district and have never been out of it; others are rejected, because there is no evidence that they are taxpayers, though they may present the actual receipts of payment; others, because they have not brought with them their professional titles, though everybody knows that they are physicians, lawyers, etc.

The candidates at the same time, are *besieged* as the technical electioneering phrase goes, that is, their mail is intercepted, and the wires are always busy if they wish to use them.

On the other hand, the *Integristas* (Spanish Party) have things their own way. They include in their list every man who pronounces the "c" and the "z,"\* though the Autonomists may present documents to show that they are legally disfranchised; they inscribe the names of individuals who pay less than \$5 or nothing at all, or the names of individuals may appear, who are out of the country, or who have been long dead. Complaints are brought to the governors of the Provinces, that can be settled only by Courts of Justice, and they are admitted as good by those officers, and decided by them against the Autonomists. The mayors are forbidden to interfere with the official counting, yet they will order the votes cast in different districts for one man, to be cumulated in one district to insure his election there. The electoral lists can not be altered after the fifteen days allowed by law for their rectification, but the governors will frequently do this, to suit the wishes of the *Integristas*. A Spaniard in the Province of Santa Clara demanded once the exclusion of twelve hundred and ninety-five voters, on his mere statement that they were not taxpayers, and the Provincial Committee rejected the names. The fraudulent additions of names to the lists, the excess of votes over the number of voters, are common occurrences, and even the destruction of the ballot-box is resorted to, when no other means are offered to prevent defeat.

\* The Cubans as a rule do not pronounce these letters properly. They invariably give to them the sound of "s."

Occasionally, it is the Captain-General who annuls the electoral lists, and sometimes with such flagrant injustice, that his decision, as in the case of General Salamanca with the lists from Santa Clara and Remedios, has been reversed by Royal Order.

Mr. Segundo Alvarez, a wealthy Spanish manufacturer, owner of the cigar factory La Corona, Mayor of Havana, and President of the Chamber of Commerce, refused to run for Parliament, because he had no faith in the official proceedings,—those were his words.

The governments of Europe who look with distrust upon the independence of Cuba, fearing that the same misgovernment of the Latin Republics will prevail there, can they not see that Cuba already, is very like them? But I shall not say that. I have lived nearly a quarter of a century in Southern America, and I never heard that tickets had been distributed freely at the polls, with *printed* names upon them of witnesses, to the effect that the bearer was of age. This was done in Sagua la Grande in Cuba.

The result of all this is as follows: In the Cortes we have had on a few occasions of success, eight members (we usually have three or four) in the Lower House, and three or four in the Senate, to sixteen, and twelve or thirteen respectively, belonging to the Spanish Party. With regard to the City Councils, the reader will remember what I have already stated, or he may follow Mr. Cabrera's statement, as to the case of Güines. This Municipal district has a population of thirteen thousand inhabitants. Five hundred of these are Spaniards. The electoral census, however, includes four hundred Spaniards and only thirty-two natives. It is needless to say that there is not one Cuban

in the Board of Aldermen. With respect to the Provincial Assembly, the same author reminds us, that out of twenty members, only two or three are Autonomists. The official organ of that Party, stated with reason enough on the 4th of February 1894, as follows :

“It is evident that the representative system here is a farce. It becomes a centre of infection, an occasion for impudent fraud, a stepping-stone to vulgar ambitions. Why speak of the will of the body of the electors? Body of a courtesan! Abject will! The political parties that do not care to show the most scrupulous respect for the natural exigencies and conditions of the electoral system, do not deserve to live. They vitiate the free air that is needed for the hearty growth and development of civic organizations. In the presence of such shameful frauds as those committed in the districts of La Punta and Colon, the franchise and the ballot box must be repugnant to an honest people. The representation of the country is placed in impure hands; it serves only for the individual profit of rapacious adventurers.



## CHAPTER XXII.

### MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

To be a Provincial and Municipal elector, one must pay \$5 tax, must have resided in the district at least two years, or he must be a father of a family and keep a house, or must be a professional man. The employees of the National government, of the Province and of the Municipality, including those that have been retired, can vote without any of the above requisites. We see at once the tendency to favor official preponderance.

I have said that the quota of \$5 is required, but it should be clearly understood that the law does not fix any particular quota. The text of the law may be found in the official Gazette of Havana. But the Captain-General then reigning, saw fit to establish a minimum of \$5, and none of his followers in these ten years, has changed this arbitrary ruling. (See *El Problema Colonial Contemporaneo*, Madrid, 1815. Conference delivered at the Ateneo by Mr. Eliseo Giberga.)

The functions of the Aldermen are very difficult. They combine great responsibilities, with a lack of means to discharge the duties.

"Councils," says the law of 1881, "will be responsible for the payment of taxes not collected at the proper time."

The *Alcalde* (mayor)\* controls the Board of Alder-

\**Alcalde* is usually translated by mayor, but the American reader should understand that the *Alcalde* besides being the executive of the corporation is also a representative of the Superior government.—(Note by the Translator.)

men. The governor of the Province appoints him out of a list of three of their own members proposed by the Councilmen. But the governor has the right to go outside of this list, and even of the corporation, when he believes that the interest of the locality demands it. Of course, he always believes so, when the Cubans constitute a majority of the Council. On one occasion, the head of a squad of convicts, himself a convict, was appointed to the place. The Aldermen receive no salary, but the *Alcalde* is paid by the Council, and an opportunity is never lost of giving the *Integristas* this plum.

General Polavieja, invented another method of getting rid of the Autonomist *Alcaldes*. Under the pretext that the prevalence of brigandage required the presence of military authorities in the towns, he would remove the Autonomist *Alcalde*, and appoint in his place a captain of the army or of the rural police. These he called mayors in commission. There is no authority whatever for such appointments. Some Municipalities, that of Cartagena for instance, in 1892 resented this imposition, and made use of its prerogative, to raise a complaint to the Captain-General. But as the *Alcaldes* have the authority to suppress all resolutions passed by the Aldermen, the petition never reached its destination.

Only one-fourth of the mayors of the island are Cubans.

The secretaries and treasurers of City Councils, are also appointed by the Governor from lists of candidates, submitted by the Aldermen.

The Governor has the authority to remove the mayors and secretaries. He can suspend an Alderman

for four months, (the Minister of the Colonies reserves the right of removal). The Governor can appoint councilmen when there is no quorum, or when they refuse to meet. He approves or disapproves, the Municipal Budget. If he disapprove it, the corporation can appeal to the Minister of the Colonies, but pending his decision, the estimates, as modified by the Governor, are adopted. Usually, the decision of the Ministry arrives too late ; that is, when it can be of no use. The Governor can create Municipalities, or suppress them, or incorporate portions of one City Council into another, without consulting the corporations. To do this, he must first ask for a report from the Executive Committee of the Provincial Assembly, but the said Executive Committee is also appointed by him.

The Electoral law does not facilitate the representation of the minorities. Nor does it allow, as it does in the Peninsula, the association of City Councils, for affairs that are common to several municipalities, such as the building of roads.

The law provides that there should be a City Council in towns of two thousand inhabitants, but another law (of estimates) authorizes the Ministers of the Colonies, to suppress municipal organization, in any city not having more than eight thousand inhabitants.

Such is, in a general way, the Antillian Municipal System.

To give an idea of the class of mayors appointed by governors, I shall quote from the following public ordinance given by a Mayor of Porto Rico. The ordinance was read by Mr. Moya in the Cortes :

"I have decided that hereafter, when my orders to suppress some part of a public festivity, be disobeyed

by any considerable portion of the community, the city bell shall be rung, to call upon all honest and peaceful citizens to retire to their homes, with the understanding that the police will retire to their barracks, leaving the people to themselves, and declining all responsibility as to the consequences."

Taking all this, and the Electoral laws, into account, we can readily understand, how the *Integristas* can manage to control the municipalities where the Cubans are in majority, as in San Antonio de los Baños, Santiago de las Vegas, Güines Madruga, San José de las Lajas. The reader can also understand now, why the City Councils of Havana, and the different Provincial Assemblies present the strange anomalies that we have mentioned above.

It is needless to say that under such circumstances the Municipal affairs are badly managed, and that abuses are committed with impunity.

All the branches of Municipal administration are neglected: cleanliness, street draining, hygiene, water supply, the care of the poor, schools, police; everything, in fact, that is essential in a city government. The Vento Canal for the improvement of the water supply of Havana, has been forty years constructing. The press of that city, constantly calls attention to the increasing mortality. The *Diario de la Familia*, described that city about the middle of June, 1895, as "a city without drainage, where the refuse finds no regular and appropriate outlet, but rather accumulates in badly constructed sewers, cesspools and letrines." In 1881, the Provincial Assembly resolved to make an inspection of the City Council of the Capital, but the Mayor and the Aldermen who were *Integristas* objected, and were sup-

ported by the Captain-General. The Assembly referred the matter to the Colonial office, and a Royal Decree of the 28th of May, declared that the Assembly should have stated the reasons for such inspection. We need not say that the inspection was never made.

Councils will order sometimes arbitrarily that eighty-five per cent. of the taxes be paid in gold. In other cases, they will delay for years, the dispatch of ordinary business, following in this, the example of the government. A short time ago, the City Council of Havana was very near being suspended for this. Very near, but not quite.

What does the reader think of the following abuses? Councils are allowed to cover their deficits by special assessments; but these must not exceed twenty per cent. of the approved estimates. The municipalities of Tapaste and San José de las Lajas, have been known to make fictitious high estimates in order to swell these assessments.

The Provincial Government is no better than the Municipal.

The governor has precisely the same authority over the Assemblies that he has over the City Councils. He can suspend members as well as resolutions. He selects the presiding officers from lists, or may disregard these, and select an individual outside of the Assembly. He appoints the Executive Committees. This is a great power, for the Executive Committee decides upon the qualifications of voters. The governor, of course, selects the Executive Committee among the *Integristas* (Spanish Party) even though they may be in the minority. The decisions of the Executive Committee, may be appealed from, to the Superior Courts of

the district, but the members of said courts are rarely Cubans, and their decisions usually tend to cut down the number of Cuban voters. For this purpose, they have disregarded the law that requires that employees must be resident in Cuba, to have the right of suffrage. And they have decided the question as to whether the taxes paid to the Municipality should be counted together with the National taxes, in determining the right to vote,—they have decided this question, I say, sometimes one way, sometimes another, according as the decision would favor the Spaniards or disfranchise the Cubans.

In 1892, the Provincial Law of the Peninsula was reformed. The Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Núñez de Arce, tried to introduce the same reform in the West Indies, but he soon gave it up. It is painful to have to censure the political inconsistencies, (and I have not mentioned all of those he was guilty of in connection with Cuba) of a man whom I admire as a poet, and esteem as a gentleman, and to whom I am very grateful for personal attentions. But why did he not add to his literary laurels, the honor of redeeming the injustice done by his countrymen, to a people of his own race? What a poem he might have written, wherein he might have figured as the Redeemer of oppressed Cuba!

Neither the City Councils, nor the Assemblies, have sufficient revenues for the discharge of their obligations, among which, one of the most important is, to provide for public education. We have seen how neglected, this branch of public service is. The Assemblies derive their income from the Municipalities, but they may also make special assessments. "There is not one single public work in Cuba that owes its existence to the As-

semblies." The Provincial Assembly of Havana has "only been able to establish a School of Industrial Art, in the portals of the palace occupied by that body." Such is the uselessness of these corporations, that nearly all of them in 1894 asked for their own dissolution. Strange kind of suicide! Excepting for their appearance in public ceremonies, the country is scarcely aware of the existence of these anaemic bodies.

Occasionally, the government yields to the Municipalities some of its revenues. Whenever such sources of revenue have become really profitable, the control of the Municipality over them, has been withdrawn. Such was the case, for instance, when the tax on alcoholic drinks was raised by 50 per cent. Such is the case also in the estimates for 1894-95 with the impost on meat consumption. One serious obstacle to the proper administration of city finances, is found in the fact that the municipal estimates cannot be made out until the general or national estimates are finished, so that the city does not know each year, what sources of revenue may be utilized on the following year. The sources usually open for this purpose are: imposts on industries, on patents, an additional tax to the national taxes on rural and city property, imposts on eatables, drinkables and combustibles, personal papers, consumption of meat, and finally, special assessments to cover deficits. Any of these may be closed by Ministerial action. To complete the picture I have been drawing, I shall have to refer to some recent occurrences. One should think that at least during the progress of the war, the government should endeavor to prove to peaceful communities, that it desires to respect the law and public opinion. Now the method that the government has adopted, to do this,

has been to order the retirement of one-half of all the councilmen, and that the number be substituted by individuals, *taxpayers or not*, appointed by the governor. This has been done in opposition to Article XCII. of the Electoral Law, which provides "that if at the appointed date a new council be not elected, the old council shall continue in office until a new one be elected."

The Integristas have been at their old tricks up to the very last. In November, 1895, they succeeded in excluding from the electoral lists, five thousand names of Cubans whose right had never been challenged. This was done with the approval of the Committees and Mayors.

All this is of little importance now to the Revolutionists. But it is one fact more to prove the irreconcilable disposition of our enemies.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### SPANISH BUREAUCRACY.

"As long as there is a shoemaker of Castile with his mule in the province of La Mancha, so long will that shoemaker with his mule have the right to govern the whole of America."

AGUIERE, Auditor of Mexico.

EUROPEANS claim as an established fact, their superiority over Americans, especially Spanish Americans.

It cannot be denied, that in a general way, European societies enjoy a higher civilization than we do. It would be a disgrace, indeed, if this were not so, as they represent the accumulated efforts of centuries, and they are the exponents of an intellectual inheritance of ancient parentage. But what may be true of societies is not necessarily true of individuals. Because Europe is more advanced than Latin America, it is no reason why every European, should be a superior man to every Latin American. Even if he were, we might be willing to grant it of a Frenchman, an Englishman, or of a German, but of the Spaniards, why? Is not Spain as far behind in many respects as Latin America, and in some respects more so? But even if Spain did stand with those nations at the head of the world, her superiority would give her no right to lay claim to the prerogatives that are ours, as men and citizens.

In the early days of the conquest, the disdain felt by the Spaniards, was excusable because it was directed toward the indigenous races. Not that the conquerers were in every respect superior to the Indian, for we

have good authority for the belief that the pre-Columbian civilization had some points of advantage over the one imported by the Spaniards, but that the latter believed that they were superior, because they came from a world where there certainly were superior men. Those that came over, valued themselves equally with those who were left behind, and thus they came to imagine that they themselves were the ones that had remained in the Mother Country—a strange delusion that exists to this day. They compared themselves with the Indians, and subsequently with the negroes, and felt proud of their elevation.

With the march of time, the Anglo-Saxon has modified, not his judgment, but at least his methods. He continues to believe himself superior, and for this reason has not mixed with the indigenous or the negro race. The Englishman, however, without admitting an intellectual equality with these, has been prompt to concede the equality before the law. The Colonial policy of the British, is founded upon this acknowledgement.

Not so the Spaniards. Eight centuries of struggles with the Moors, seem to have petrified in their brains an idea of superiority that has become now impossible to eradicate. Scarcely had that struggle terminated, when the Spaniards entered into a new one with the American Indians. The enemy was a new one, but the guiding spirit of the strife was the same, or rather, it became intensified, because the new adversaries were inferior to those that had been conquered at Granada. Once the Indian being overcome, the prejudgment of Spanish preëminence, seeking new fields, fell upon the Americans of European origin, who, as descendants of the invaders, must be subject to tutelage.

One other circumstance came to fix this accursed superstition; namely, the need of money by the Court, to maintain its splendor and its European wars, and the individual greed of the conquerors. It is evident that the continent could not be robbed of its wealth, in the name of justice and equality. It must be robbed, however, and to justify the plundering, it became necessary to invoke a right founded on superiority of race.

There is a recent circular of a governor of the Philippine Islands which exhibits the gestation of this disdain that I am speaking of, as it rose and developed in the early days of the American conquest. The circular is worth reading:

"This Government observes with concern, that the indigenous population not only fails to salute the Peninsular Spaniards they meet on the streets, but also fails to give homage, and the tokens of respect, to instituted authorities, and to individuals who represent the public administration.

"Whereas, This show of disrespect involves, also, an evidence of ingratitude on the part of the natives, toward the descendants of the illustrious men, to whom they owe their moral and religious education, as well as the benefits of civilization, and

"Whereas, I am authorized by Article 610 of Title 5, of the Penal Code of these islands, I hereby order,

"First. That every Indian, without regard to class or social position, must uncover his head when meeting on the street any public functionary of the Government or of the Judicial, Ecclesiastic or Administrative services.

"Second. In the same manner every Indian shall uncover his head on passing a Peninsular Spaniard.



INSURGENT ATTACK UPON A FORT NEAR VUELTAS.



SCOUTING PARTY OF SPANISH SOLDIERS, NEAR EL CRISTO

"Third. An infraction of the law will be punished by a fine of \$5, or in default thereof, by imprisonment and forced labor, to pay for the amount of the fine.

"Fourth. You will have announced, in the language of the country, for three consecutive nights the above order.

"You will acknowledge receipt of the same, and place it on file as ordered.

"CARLOS PEÑARANDA.

"Lingayen, May 29th, 1891."

The poor Indians of the Philippine Islands may console themselves. We are familiar with such circulars in Cuba. Here follows one of not very old date.

The Governor of Sancti Spiritus reporting to the Captain-General said:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: A few days ago, on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of the religious school belonging to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Mr. Pié y Faura, delivered a speech in which he said: 'We deeply lament that the benefits that this Commonwealth will derive from the establishment in our midst of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, will be restricted to certain classes only, while the others (he alluded to the Colored population) who live now as pariahs, are forgotten and left in their ignorance.' How can we, Your Excellency, prevent such utterances. And this is not all, for you should know that this writer has dared to call common artisans and laborers, by the pompous title of Honest Children of the people."

There are many, who believe that previous to the emancipation of the American Continent, the Spaniards born on American soil, were treated on an equal footing

with those born in Europe. To disprove this, it is not necessary to consult the whole history of the Spanish domination in America, nor is it necessary to read *Los Precursores de la independencia de Chile*, by Amunátegui, nor the *Noticias Secretas* of Mr. Jorge Juan and Mr. Antonio de Ulloa. For this purpose it is only necessary to read the Acts of the Regency and the Cortes of Cadiz. The Decree of the Regency, issued June 22d, 1809, declared that Americans should be placed on an equal footing with the Peninsulars. It is needless to say that they could not have been on an equal footing, when such a decree became necessary. The same was recognized by honest Quintana, in the proclamation given by the Regency on the 24th of February, 1810. Even then, however, certain limitations were placed upon the Electoral laws which did not prevail in the Peninsula.

With respect to Cuba, it is also easy to prove, that the differences established, were not the result of fears that the island might follow the example of the Continental countries. The erudite writer, Mr. Alfredo Zayas, has shown in his elaborate study entitled *Españoles y Cubanos* (Spaniards and Cubans) that prejudices and suspicions toward the Cubans, were entertained as early as the Eighteenth Century. Mr. Zayas has shown, that Captain-General Luis de las Casas was distrusted and accused, because he identified himself with Cuban opinion, in everything that tended to the progress of the island. Mr. Zayas also reminds us, that at the beginning of the present century Someruelos became mistrustful, and gave up the scheme for the creation of a Rural Cavalry Militia, composed of na-

tives. He finally created a corps of volunteers in Havana composed of Spaniards.

We have been then, the object of eternal suspicion even before the uprising on the American Continent. This being so, and the Cubans being looked upon as disloyal, naturally all the prerogatives and the privileges were granted to the Spaniards "of the first class," that is, our transatlantic brethren.

We have a palpable proof of all this, in the matter of public appointments. With very rare exceptions, the Captains-General, the Intendents, the Bishops, the Dignitaries of the Church, the Governors of the Provinces, the Presidents and Magistrates of the Courts of Justice, the naval and military officers, even the constables and porters are all Spaniards. The Cubans occupy only minor clerkships of little importance and less salaries. When a Cuban is found occupying some exalted position, it may be taken for granted that he has been so appointed on the tacit or explicit understanding, that he must have renounced his allegiance to the legitimate aspirations of the Cuban people, not only toward independence, which goes as a matter of course, but also toward a more moderate self-government within the Spanish Empire.

We can find evidence enough of the exclusion of the Cubans, in any of the departments of the government. Let us select, for instance, though it is one of the least important, the department of communications—the postal and telegraph services. Article VII., of the Statutes of May 22d, 1890, reads:

"The post of Administrator-General, which also includes that of Inspector-General of telegraphs, must be filled from the staff of the Peninsula."



This means that a Cuban cannot be an Administrator-General.

Article XI. reads,

"Within the respective services into which the department is divided, the Chiefs shall be selected by seniority, but in case of equality of dates, the preference shall be given to an appointee from the Peninsula."

This means that he who is born in the heart of Spain, always has the advantage.

According to the law of October 12th, 1890, certain offices can only be filled by graduates of the Colonial School, in the Central University of Madrid. Very few Cubans, of course, can have this qualification.

The same law gave the Governor-General of the Island, the authority to appoint residents of the Island to be officers of the fifth class, but the Minister of the Colonies; reserved the right to confirm or not these appointments.

I must here quote the words of the Spanish writer already referred to, Mr. Conte (see *Las aspiraciones del Partido Liberal en Cuba*. Chap. 80.):

"As an evidence of the stupid policy followed by the nation, in the matter of public appointments for the Colonies, I shall refer without comment to the following facts. It is well known that Cubans were only appointed to minor clerkships, from which they were rarely, if ever, promoted. By Royal Decree of October 2d, 1887, the Governor-General was authorized to appoint officers of the fifth class, apparently with the intention that they might be selected, by promotions, from the minor clerkships. This was looked upon as a change of policy in favor of the Cubans. The fact of the matter was, that the officers of the fifth class con-

tinued to come from the Peninsula, for the Captain-General was practically forced to accept nominations from the Mother Country. Very soon, however, it became unnecessary to beat the devil around the bush in this manner. A subsequent Royal Order, authorized the subsecretary of the Colonies, to sign these commissions, and to declare vacancies at discretion. As a matter of fact, the officers even of the fifth class are Spaniards. It is proposed now to abolish the minor clerkship, and transfer the officers of the fifth class, to that position. So that even these insignificant appointments, will be withdrawn from the Cubans."

This was published in Havana in 1890. On the 29th of May of the same year, the Marquis of Muro asked in the Senate, why the Captain-General had been deprived of the authority (we have seen that it never was more than a nominal authority) to appoint subaltern officers out of the resident population, "provided their salaries do not exceed \$1,800 a year?" And he further asked why "all these appointments, and even those of porters, are made by the Minister of the Colonies?"

That no reforms have been introduced since 1890, is shown by the conferences delivered at the Ateneo of Madrid in 1895. The fact was admitted there, by Mr. Tiburcio Pérez Castañeda of the Unión Constitucional, or Spanish Party.

To all this the *Integristas* will argue as usual: "Then all that you want is public office." "And you, what do you want?" we might very briefly answer.

The Cubans do not go across the sea to ask for positions there; but in our own country, in the land of our birth, fertilized by the sweat of our brows, where the public treasury feeds on the wealth drawn from the soil

by a few thousand Spaniards, and a million and a half of Cubans; it is but natural that the natives should ask themselves, whether they too, are not able to add, subtract, multiply, divide, write documents, prepare statutes, formulate provisions, organize post offices and telegraphs, apply customs duties, fill mayor's offices, write pastoral letters. . . .

The ambition to serve one's own country, is nothing to be ashamed of, on the contrary it is honorable. If our enemies see in it nothing but the pecuniary remuneration, why do so many Spaniards come in search of that remuneration? Indeed the question is not of the mere filling of public offices. Many of us who censure the favoritism shown by the government, would not be willing to accept a public office from it; but this does not remove the fact that the systematic exclusion of our compatriots, is an undeserved humiliation, and against this contumely, we raise our voices in the name of principles, not of salaries. At the rise and fall of every ministry, steamer after steamer arrives in the island with hordes of office-holders who come to get their salaries from \$30 upwards, and the departing steamers carry back hordes of those who are out of office, so that they cross in mid ocean like swarms of locusts. One might imagine that the Philips of Austria have come to life, and that the Spanish Moors are being once more expelled from the Peninsula. These people have no knowledge of the country and cannot love it. They have no families there, no attachments of any kinds. They come with the fixed determination to make a fortune, "honestly if they can, but at all events, to make a fortune," as Horace says; and the Cuban watches from his native shore the coming and the

going of the adventurers who, he well knows, will live in state far above their wages, sapping the channels of wealth produced by the labors of the Colonists.

Adventurers, yes! The Spanish General Azcarraga, called them such, speaking before Parliament on May 24th, 1890:

"We practice as a system the appointing of adventurers to go to Cuba, who remain there a couple of years and return to display their fine equipages and gamble on the exchange. Men who lose their fortunes as easily as they make them, and are sent back once more to their plunder, or who, if they meet with some mishap in their adventures, have instituted against them legal proceedings that are soon forgotten, in the success of some new promotion."

The monopoly does not exist only in the public offices. *El Pais*, March 8th, 1892, declared that it was informed of the existence of commercial societies under written agreement to give no employment to the natives of the country. Even where there is no such agreement, this may be looked upon as the general practice.

In foreign countries, in the American Republics, in Europe, it is, that the Cuban can find a field for his energy, a reward for his efforts, laurels for his achievements. In his native soil he belongs to an inferior race. He is simply a material to be worked.

If the public officers who come from Spain were only competent! Or if they were only incompetent, and nothing worse.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE LEGEND OF THE SUBSIDIES.

"Cuba lived for nearly three centuries on subsidies appropriated by the Spanish Treasury."—Fabiá, Minister of the Colonies.  
Meeting of the Cortes, July 15th, '91.

In his work on the needs of Cuba, (*Las Necesidades de Cuba*) Mr. Jacobo de la Pezuela strikes the following fine balance of accounts (see page 38 : )

From the date of the discovery of America to 1820, Cuba cost Spain about \$167,000,000. From 1821 to 1826, Cuba paid her own expenses. In 1827, Cuba began to reimburse the nation, and it may be estimated that she did so at the rate of \$2,500,000 annually, until, in 1865, she had paid \$89,107,287, and still remained a debtor in \$78,000,000.

Before looking into this method of casting accounts, let us take a general view of the mean Colonial prejudices of Spanish statisticians.

The antiquated notion that the only use that a Colony can be put to, is the direct abstraction of money for the Mother Country, was buried long ago in the graveyard of history, by the nations that know what they are about. Colonies are not founded nowadays for exploitation, but to expand the influence of the race, and of civilization ; to develop commerce with mutual benefit to the metropolis and the colony ; to establish an outlet for the excess of population ; to diminish pauperism ; to spread the fatherland over the surface

of the earth; colonization, then, has to-day a humanitarian object.

In past centuries these were not the dominating ideas. Selfishness ruled the hour then; but all nations have modified their ways since that time with the exception of Spain.

I find it stated in a masterly work of Mr. José del Perojo, that England stands responsible for an outlay on her colonies of £262,000,000, and that she expends annually on her dependencies £2,200,000 without counting the maintenance of maritime stations, arsenals and fleets, which cost her £8,600,000. Holland pays 1,500,000 florins for the administrative service of her colonies and covers their deficits amounting sometimes to \$5,000,000. France expends annually 92,000,000 francs on her possessions, without including Algiers, China, Tonquin and Anam. After studying these figures, can Spain still talk of the amount she imagines that Cuba owes her?

But now let us look more carefully into these fanciful accounts of Mr. Pezuela.

I shall begin by quoting from another book of the same author—*Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico de Cuba* by Pezuela, Vol. III., page 375:

“The strongest head, the most patient and diligent investigator, would be lost in the endeavor to clear up the accounts of Cuba, during the first two centuries of her colonial life. So confusing are the data concerning her revenues, her expenses and the subsidies received from the National Treasury.” If it be so difficult a matter, how has the author succeeded so well? How can the reader place any reliance on his statements?

To show the inaccuracy of his conclusions, I shall divide into three epochs the history of the Spanish domination in Cuba.\*

First Epoch. From the time of the discovery of America to the date of the first *situados* or subsidies from Mexico.

Second Epoch. The *situados*.

Third Epoch. After the last *situado*.

#### FIRST EPOCH. FROM 1492 TO 1556.

During the first nineteen years after the discovery, Spain paid no attention to Cuba. The occupation of the Island did not commence until 1511.

According to Mr. Pezuela, the government had to forward \$20,000 annually up to 1556 to cover the deficit of the revenues. This makes a total of \$900,000 in forty-five years.

But we find on page 738 of the same dictionary of Pezuela, that from 1525 to 1763, Cuba shipped to Spain \$1,185,000, which more than balances the account.

Even before 1525, Cuba had already paid money into the National Treasury. The latter was exhausted by the wars sustained in Europe. The pecuniary crisis of the early years of the reign of Philip II. is not the only one that Spain has been through. The Royal Academy of History has published a *Royal Instruction* addressed from Logroño to the treasurer, Pero Núñez de Guzmán in August 20th, 1521, calling upon him to forward to Seville, all the gold, pearls and other products of the revenues, that belonged to the Crown.

\* Most of the data used in this chapter are taken from a valuable conference published by Mr. Manuel Villanova, entitled *La Explotacion de una Colonia*.

If Cuba was a source of expense, how is it that Pero Núñez was instructed to make remittances?

**SECOND EPOCH. THE SITUADOS FROM 1556 TO 1810.**

The complete account of the treasures that were sent from Mexico to Cuba has never been published, nor is it to be supposed that Spain would care much to have exhibited her capacity for plunder. Whatever the amount may have been, we are now especially interested to learn something concerning the use it was put to. Here follows the distribution made of the last *situado* or subsidy received in Havana from Vera Cruz on the 5th of July, 1810.

For San Domingo,	\$25,000.00
“ Porto Rico,	25,000.00
“ Florida,	25,000.00
“ Philadelphia,	91,619.25
“ Fortifications,	16,666.75
“ Deposit for the Pueblo Regiment,	16,666.62½
“ Deposit for the Mexican Regiment,	16,666.62½
“ General deposits for the Navy,	50,000.00
“ Gratifications,	199.93½
“ Total,	<hr/> \$266,819.18½

Such were the famous *situados*. They were indeed consigned to Havana as a distributing centre for San Domingo, Porto Rico, Florida, the Mosquito Coast, etc., as had been ordered by Philip II., on September 18th, 1584. When these Mexican rents were behind time, they were frequently advanced from the money chests of Havana, and they were not always returned. Yet it is pretended that the whole of the amount was ex-



pended on Cuba. As we have seen, a goodly part was devoted to the army and navy, and another portion to fortifications. Spain was at war with other monarchies, and she was obliged to defend her colonies against them, as well as against the freebooters who attacked the Island, in pursuit of ships laden with treasures, that touched at the Cuban ports on the way to the Peninsula. Other sums were devoted to pay annuities to some of the conquerors. A Royal Order dated November 20th, 1536, at Valladolid, for instance, provided for the annual payment of \$500 from the Cuban Treasury, to Hernando Colón during his lifetime. There were also the expenses of the Spanish Legation in the United States, the factory of cigars, and the expeditions of the Eighteenth Century against the English possessions. Is it any wonder that the revenues were not sufficient?

That some portion of this outlay contributed to the security of the island, there can be no doubt. But these are national expenditures for the maintenance of the sovereign power, and the integrity of the territory; they were not applied to develop the colony, as it is evidently intended to make it appear. As to the incursions of the Buccaneers, it must be stated that in defending themselves against these, the Cubans sacrificed also their lives and properties.

Nor should we forget that the fiscal accounts now under discussion, never included the special subscriptions raised for the crown under the imposing name of *voluntary donations*;—the voluntary element was quite mythical. There are records of such donations in 1530 under Charles V. In 1780 the king asked for a contribution of \$1 from every freeman and \$2 from every

nobleman. The Intendent, J. I. de Urriza, made the voluntary tax include women, "for," said he, "though the Royal Schedule appears to address itself only to men, I bethought myself of the fact that this term is used sometimes, to include the other sex." Thus grammar was made an accomplice of cupidity.

One of these voluntary subscriptions is described in such amusing language, that we must insert the whole quotation.

"Gordoqui observed that the king had deigned his condescension to the patriotic intentions of his "dear Spanish subjects" and had most graciously admitted the great sums that their "well-known loyalty and generous patriotism" had tendered for the support of the war against France; and Garroqui further stated that "as his majesty could not doubt for a moment but that the sentiments of his loyal American subjects would be the same; and as the distance of the American possessions from the seat of government would delay a long while the tender of their donations, and their proper application, he had resolved to authorize the General Visitor and Intendent of Cuba, to order that the money chests be opened to receive all the offerings that the prelates, the religious communities of different kinds, and all persons zealous in the service of their religion and country, might be pleased to put at the disposal of his majesty for the prosecution of a war maintained for the honor of God and His church and for humanity and public order. "These donations commenced on the 1st of July, 1793, and by 1798 they amounted to \$245,559 and one real, including \$100,000 ceded by the Ayuntamiento of Havana, as a surplus of the funds devoted to the armament and outfit of the militia."

All of this happened long before 1827, which is the date fixed by Mr. Pezuela as the commencement of reimbursements by the colony, to the Metropolis. He forgets, however, to take notice of it, as he forgets also to mention, the proceeds from the properties of the Jesuits who had been expelled by Charles III., and he forgets also the revenues of the *indulto cuadragesimal* \* which had been extended to the Indies at the end of the eighteenth century, and which were also thrown into the Metropolitan whirlpool.

### THIRD EPOCH. AFTER THE SITUADOS FROM 1811 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Mr. Pezuela states, that after 1827, the remittances from Cuba to Spain amounted to a total of \$87,000,000. We might take him at his word and let this go, but we prefer to adhere to historical truth.

From 1823 to 1855, the Madrid government was in the habit of drawing on the treasury in Havana. When the drafts exceeded the amounts in hand, it was customary to charge the interest on the treasury of the island. The total of these drafts amounted in 1855 to \$58,140,334. Since 1856, the Cuban remittances began to figure in the Budget as an item, under the head of *surplus from the colonies*; as if there could be a surplus in a country where there are no public works.

We can estimate then :

Dates.	Remittances.
Up to 1855. . . . .	\$58,140,334
1856. . . . .	3,052,145
1857. . . . .	3,129,853
1858. . . . .	4,084,889

\* A tax on church dispensations.

Dates.	Remittances.
1859. . . . .	5,693,770
1860. . . . .	3,413,317
1861. . . . .	1,444,346
1862 and first half of '63	1,109,039
1863-64 . . . . .	21,707
1864-65 . . . . .	1,051
1865-66 . . . . .	2,125,485
Total. . . . .	<u>\$82,165,436</u>

Adding the remittances made up to 1868, the commencement of the first Cuban war, we can make a round total of \$86,000,000, or three millions less than the amount calculated by Mr. Pezuela up to 1865. After all, it is very probable that neither Mr. Pezuela, nor Mr. Villanova gives us a full insight into the true amount of the extortion, but I shall take Mr. Villanova's figures, because they are somewhat lower.

The amounts paid by Cuba to maintain the Spanish occupation of San Domingo and the invasion of Mexico, are shown in the following table from the pamphlet *La Honra de España en Cuba*, published in New York by myself in 1871. In

1861 . . . . .	\$ 199,079
1863-63. . . . .	1,776,825
1863-64. . . . .	2,791,788
1865-64. . . . .	3,370,475
Total. . . . .	<u>\$8,138,167</u>

According to Mr. Villa-Amil, the debt incurred on this amount had not been paid in 1868.

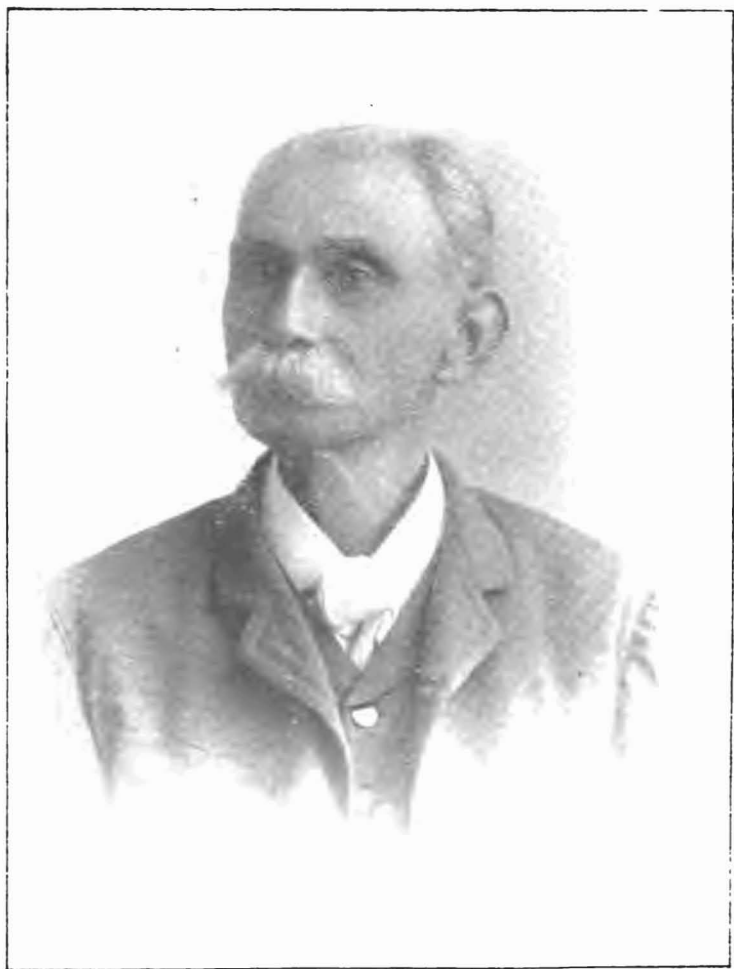
The Cuban estimates were also unduly charged with the expenses of the war with Chile and Peru ; with the maintenance of the Diplomatic and Consular services in America, and of the Penal Colonies of Fernando Po

and Ceuta. These drains on the Cuban treasury, can not be estimated at less than ten millions. The convict settlements of Africa alone, demanded one million in one year.

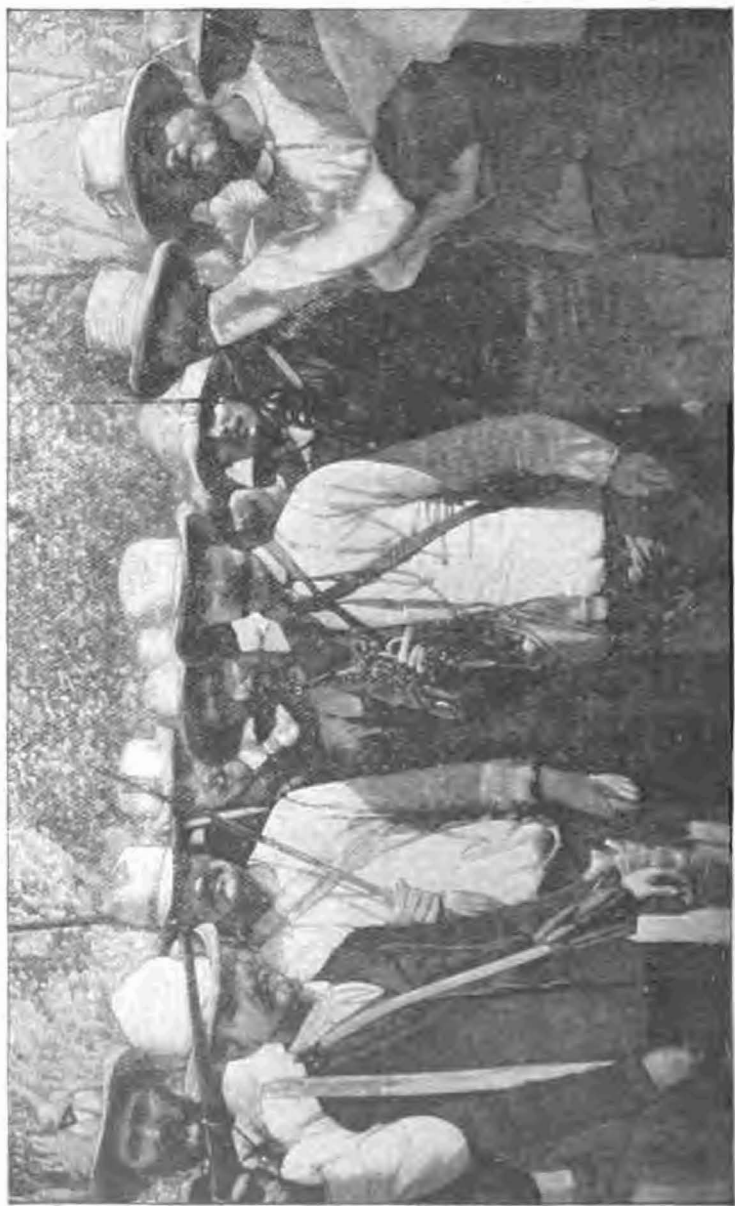
The so-called Cuban debt resulting from the last war, consumes from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000 a year of the revenues.

## SUMMARY.

Remittances from Spain to Cuba up to 1820. . . . .	\$167,000,000
We have seen that less than seven per cent. was invested in Cuba. I might, therefore, deduct ninety-seven per cent. I prefer, however, to err on the other side, and shall only deduct seventy-five per cent. Subtract, therefore . . . .	125,250,000
Amount invested in Cuba . . . . .	\$ 41,750,000
Remittances from Cuba to Spain from 1827 to 1868 . . . . .	86,000,000
Expeditions to Mexico and San Domingo up to 1865. . . . .	8,138,167
Debts for the same; expenses of the war in Peru and Chile; Diplomatic and Consular services in America, and African convict services . . . . .	10,000,000
Interests on debt to the United States paid since 1841 and in which Cuba is not concerned . . . . .	1,500,000
Charges of the debt incurred in the Cuban War. (See chapter on Debt in this book) . . . . .	145,000,000
Total contributed by Cuba to Spain. . . .	\$250,688,167
Spanish expenses in Cuba . . . . .	41,750,000
Balance chargeable to Spain . . . . .	\$208,888,167



GENERAL MAXIMO GOMEZ.



GROUP OF INSURGENTS UNDER GENERAL GOMEZ.

Deduct from this what you please, as the quota that Cuba should contribute to the National debt, and other general charges ; but add all the expenses that, not being local, but rather pertaining to the State, should not appear in the Colonial estimates of expenses ; add also the subscriptions raised in the island in times of need,— and I do not refer here to the many charitable subscriptions in cases of public calamities—but I refer to the Napoleonic Wars, during which Mr. Pezuela estimates that more than five thousand men were equipped and maintained, by contributions from Cuba. Also, during the war with Morocco, Cuba is said to have contributed nearly as much as Spain, and she gave also generously during the Carlist Wars. Add all this to the plunder, both legal and illegal, and let any candid mind decide whether Cuba, instead of being in debt to the Mother Country, has not been really placed in a state of perpetual plunder and rapine.



## CHAPTER XXV.

### CUBA NOT A CHARGE TO THE NATION.

The attempt is being made, to create the impression that Cuba is a charge to Spain, and that the latter's motive for retaining the island is national pride alone. Statements to this effect were made when the war broke out, by Spanish statesmen, in interviews published in North American papers; and on the 12th of February, twelve days before the uprising, Mr. Silvela stated in the Cortes, that for several years Cuba had been living on the credit of the metropolis.

The truth is, that up to 1868, Cuba had been shipping to Spain, the *surplus of the Colonies* mentioned in the last chapter, and that the Insurgents of Yara stopped up this outlet. If this is what the statesmen refer to, then they have mistaken the part for the whole.

We have seen already how Cuban products have to pay in Spain, transit and consumption duties. The products of minor importance are admitted free, but the important ones pay more than their value in the Cuban markets. The value of these importations in 1894, amounting to \$6,000,000, we may estimate that the duties imposed on them amount to about \$6,000,000 also.

The tobacco monopoly in the Peninsula, yields about \$19,000,000 annually, as we are told by the manager of this rent, Mr. Eleuterio Delgado.

The balance of trade, that is, the difference between

the \$25,000,000 worth of merchandise shipped from Spain to Cuba, and the \$6,000,000 sent from Cuba to Spain, amounted in 1894 to \$19,000,000.

The frauds in the customs, according to Mr. Dolze, amount to \$8,000,000 a year.

The amounts of other frauds . . . . . those who enjoy the profits can tell us something about them.

Of course it is not easy to find data in the Custom Houses of the Peninsula, with reference to foreign merchandise that is imported into Spain, to be reshipped to Cuba as Spanish merchandise. Some millions, no doubt.

The total represents \$52,000,000 annually, as a known quantity, plus two rather disquieting unknown quantities.

The sums forwarded by officeholders and merchants to their families, make up a considerable item. As to the employees, we can form some sort of an idea by reading the following list of salaries paid in Cuba. The list is taken from the Journal of the Cortes.

Captain-General . . . . .	\$50,000
Director-General of Finance . . . . .	18,500
Archbishop of Santiago . . . . .	18,000
Bishop of Havana . . . . .	18,000
Commanding officer of the Navy . . . . .	16,932
President of the Supreme Court . . . . .	15,000
Lieutenant Captain-General . . . . .	15,000
Governor of Havana . . . . .	8,000
First Secretary of the Government . . . . .	8,000
A Field Marshal . . . . .	7,500
A Brigadier General . . . . .	4,500
A Colonel . . . . .	3,450
A Lieutenant Colonel . . . . .	2,700
A Brigadier on duty has besides a gratification of . . . . .	500

Other Officers of Staff, a gratification of .	375
A Captain of a first-class ship . . .	6,360
A Captain of a frigate . . . . .	4,560
A First Lieutenant . . . . .	3,370
A Second " . . . . .	2,280
A Chief of Administration of the First Class	5,000
" " " " " " Second "	4,000
" " " " " " Third "	3,000
Collector of Customs . . . . .	4,000
Postmaster . . . . .	5,000
Administrator of Lotteries . . . . .	4,000

The Colonial office in Madrid receives \$98,000 a year from Cuba. Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands contribute with separate quota.

Some of the colonial officers are furnished with quarters, and are well provided for their expenses. According to Mr. Pezuela, in his book *Necesidades de Cuba*, the Captain-General received at that time \$10,000 for this object, besides a magnificent palace with lighting, domestic service, forage, and a magnificent summer residence near Havana. The salary of the President of the United States at the same time was \$25,000. It has been doubled now, but it is doubtful whether his accessory allowances, can rival those of the Pro-Consul of Cuba.

The force of circumstances, the increasing poverty of the island, and the adage that no one can give what he has not, have brought about some reduction in these expenses. The Captain-General, for instance, receives only \$45,000. His secretary, \$7,000 (the Vice President of the United States only receives \$9,000). This reduction, however, was announced as temporary. Gomez and Maceo no doubt will settle the matter.

On the 20th of September, 1869, *La Voz de Cuba* of

Havana, published an article which is quite applicable to the present time. I copy the following paragraphs:

"Though the internal commerce of Spain amounts to almost nothing, the export commerce with the Antilles amounts to about \$25,000,000. There are a thousand ships engaged in this trade. The ports of Coruña, Ferrol, Santander, Cadiz, Bilbao, Malaga, Valencia, and Barcelona are the depots of this great traffic. Twelve thousand seamen receive employment, and more than one hundred thousand Spanish artisans. All the Spanish merchants of the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts, have branch houses in the ports of Cuba, richer than those of the Empire of Brazil. All the money in the world, cannot compensate us for the ruin of all this.

"The value of landed property in the hands of Spaniards, amounts to millions of dollars, and the imports and exports, amount to over \$150,000,00. Were Cuba lost to Spain, this whole Spanish population would wonder in misery over the globe."

I have said that these lines written a quarter of a century ago, are opportune at the present time. The Minister of the Colonies appointed an extra Parliamentary Commission, early in 1895, to study the Cuban tariff, a subject that has been studied, criticized and condemned from time immemorial by Insular corporations, commissions of the Cortes, Committees of Information, Intendents of the Treasury, and by the press and private individuals. There is no nation in the world, where the Ministers are more given to studying, and with less profit than in Spain. At any rate, the Minister at the time, Mr. Abarzuza, was once more on study bent, and proposed to create the aforesaid commission. An In-

dustrial Association of Barcelona however, telegraphed at once to the Minister as follows :

**" MINISTER OF THE COLONIES :**

" This Association has seen with profound alarm the project of tariff reforms for the Antilles, fearing that duties may be imposed on Peninsular products, or removed from foreign products.

" The life of our home production, and our export trade is sustained by the West Indian commerce.

" The cotton manufacturers alone, export annually to Cuba one million five hundred thousand pieces, and set in motion eight thousand factories, and five hundred thousand looms.

" The labor crisis that might follow, and the great interests that are involved, advise that the Peninsular producers be properly represented, in the debate on this question of life and death.

" Trusting to your patriotism and broad views,

" With great respect,

" President of the Ass'n, Romaní."

Beside this, other industrial and agricultural associations from Cataluña, from Viscaya, Guipuzcoa, Asturias, Malaga, Salamanca, telegraphed to the Minister, expressing themselves in the same manner.

The reader, we hope, will now be able to think for himself when he is told that Cuba is a charge to Spain, that Spain has no need of her Colony, and that she strives to uphold her domination, simply for the sake of historical traditions, glorious memories, national decorum, etc. The reader will clearly see that there is something behind all this. The truth is, that Cuba could do very well without Spanish commerce. She has markets of her own where she could sell and buy, at better terms than in the Iberic peninsula. When

Cuba shall be free, she may still find it convenient to purchase the industrial and agricultural products of Spain, but it certainly shall be on very different conditions from the present ones. The seventeen and a half millions of European Spaniards, are indeed the ones who feel threatened with poverty and death, if they lose the forced clientage of one million two thousand whites, and four hundred thousand blacks in Cuba. *Tu dixisti.*

Before finishing this chapter I wish to make a correction.

The Spanish paper last quoted, speaks of an exodus of Spaniards, and of ruin. Phantoms of the mind! We hate not the Spaniards because they are Spaniards. All that we ask is, that they live in Cuba subject to the law, and without humiliating us by the prerogatives that are showered upon them, by the government. It is against that government, that we are making war. It is the government that we wish to get rid of. There never has been, and I believe there never will be, a Spaniard, who, if he wish to win the affections of the Cubans either collectively or individually, can not do so very easily.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### PUBLIC ESTIMATES—REVENUES.

It is an axiom in economics, that imposts should not affect capital, but only the profits of the capital. When these are affected at a rate above twelve per cent. capital suffers, emigrates, and society is threatened with ruin.

According to the official data give by Mr. Bernardo Portuondo, in the *Revista de España* (CIII., 431) the clear income of Cuba, in her last period of prosperity, did not exceed \$48,500,000.

When the estimates of 1888 and 1889, were being discussed in the Cortes on the 21st of May, 1888, the Autonomist Deputy, Mr. R. Montoro, affirmed "without fear of contradiction" that the proportion of the general amount of the imposts, to the sum total of the profits, or general income of the country, was sixty per cent. or at least fifty per cent. He referred to a report of the Association of Planters of Havana, according to which, official figures fixed at \$39,600,000, the amount of that general income, "and the imposts of all kinds absorbed the whole of that income." The author further quoted the opinions of several Spanish authorities. The Senator, Mr. Tuñón, valued the general income at from thirty-five million to forty-five million dollars. The same opinion was expressed by Mr. Calbetón, and General Pando had spoken some days previously, as follows :

"It is impossible to abuse any more, I shall not say the patience, but the blood of that country. We must consider that as regards material life, the people may be said to be in their agony; and yet it is not so difficult to save them. Their hopes must be kept up, for some of them who have lost all hope in the future, are beginning to look elsewhere for salvation."

The Peninsular Senator, Ortiz Pineda, discussing the Budget of 1890-91, insisted on the disproportionate character of taxation in Cuba.

"If the taxable wealth of Cuba does not exceed fifty millions, what shall we say of these estimates that extort from the people, sixty per cent. of their earnings."

The Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Romero Robledo, prided himself on the Budget of 1892, which had been reduced to twenty-two millions, and was to be wound up with a surplus. "The lowest Budget," he said, "the Island ever had, not only since she has been admitted to the sisterhood of Spanish Provinces, but even before she had representation in the Cortes." We shall see later on, the failure of the Minister. For the present, I shall give an abstract of the estimates of revenues taken from the official *Gazette* of Madrid, of April 8th, 1892. I have not chosen the years in which twenty-six or twenty-seven millions were squeezed from the island, but rather the lowest estimate, that the reader may see how the island is treated when she is being charged the least.

#### ESTIMATE OF REVENUES.

##### Section 1.

##### TAXES AND IMPOSTS.

Crown revenues. . . . .	\$1,000,000
Imposts on the mining industry . . . . .	15,000
Tax on city real estate at 12 per cent. . . . .	1,314,777



## REVENUES.

Tax on rural property at 2 per cent. . . . .	240,104
Tax on industries, commerce, arts and professions. . . . .	1,350,000
Tax on personal passes. . . . .	250,000
Tax on alcoholic drinks. . . . .	1,500,000
License for the sale of liquors. . . . .	15,000
Ecclesiastic annuities. . . . .	30,000
Overcharge of ten per cent. on passenger traffic. . . . .	234,075
Total. . . . .	<hr/> \$5,948,956
Reduction of 5 per cent. on collection of personal passes. . . . .	12,500
Total of Section 1. . . . .	<hr/> \$5,936,456

## Section 2.

## CUSTOMS.

Import duties and transit duties at ten per cent. . . . .	8,500,000
Export duties. . . . .	900,000
Wharfage. Loading and unloading. . . . .	1,000,000
Ship passenger traffic. . . . .	50,000
Mercantile deposits, interests on promissory notes and fines. . . . .	104,500
Total of Section 2. . . . .	<hr/> \$10,554,500

## Section 3.

## FISCAL MONOPOLIES.

## Chapter 1. Stamped Paper.

Ordinary stamped paper. . . . .	358,550
Postage stamps. . . . .	517,650
Stamped paper for payments to the State. . . . .	117,600
Payment stamps. . . . .	233,000
Telegraph stamps. . . . .	70,000
Stamps for bills of health. . . . .	2,000
“ “ University matriculation papers and titles. . . . .	50,000
Stamps for municipal fines. . . . .	3,000
Postal cards. . . . .	1,200
Bulls. . . . .	3,000

**REVENUES.****373**

Transportation stamps . . . . .	160,000
Stamps on movables. . . . .	218,000
Stamps on insurance policies . . . . .	15,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$1,749,000</b>

**Chapter II. Post Office.**

Fees for lock boxes . . . . .	
Confiscation of mail matter . . . . .	
Foreign correspondence . . . . .	
Newspaper postage . . . . .	1,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$1,000</b>
<b>Grand Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$1,750,000</b>
Premium reduction. . . . .	87,500
<b>Total of Section 3.</b>	<b>\$1,662,500</b>

**Section 4.****LOTTERIES.**

Liquid production of the lotteries according to the present plan. . . . .	3,500,000
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**Section 5.****STATE PROPERTIES.**

Rents on property, annuities, use of dry dock .	74,900
Sales of property, public lands, condemned property, vacant lots, forestry products . .	138,100
Property of religious orders. . . . .	37,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$250,000</b>

**Section 6.****ACCIDENTAL REVENUES.**

Reimbursements on accounts, restitutions, donations, profits of exchange, revenue from the telephone. . . . .	42,900
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**SUMMARY.**

<b>Section 1. Taxes and imports. . . . .</b>	<b>5,938,456</b>
" 2. Customs . . . . .	10,554,500
" 3. Fiscal monopolies. . . . .	1,662,500

"	4. Lotteries. . . . .	3,500,000
"	5. State properties. . . . .	250,000
"	6. Accidental revenues. . . . .	42,900

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General total . . . . . \$21,946,356

These estimates, presented with much flourish of trumpets were finally settled with a deficit of \$7,000,000. The estimates of 1893-94 increased the revenues to \$24,334,493, and gave a deficit of \$5,661,768.

For 1895-96 we have in round numbers \$26,000,000. This of course does not include the expenses of the present campaign.

In regard to the Municipal and Provincial estimates, we may judge from the following estimates: The capital city, in 1886, estimated its revenues at \$2,733,786; Guanabacoa \$82,000 in 1890, and sometime previously \$100,000; Trinidad, not a flourishing city, \$50,000 in 1890-91. The Provincial Assembly of Havana, \$100,000 in 1891. Taking these into account, we may safely estimate at \$4,000,000 the Municipal and Provincial revenues; thus making a total of \$30,000,000. If the clear income of the island does not exceed \$50,000,000, it is evident that the state revenues consume sixty per cent. of the income. In order to measure the monstrosity of the despoliation, let us examine the percentage in other countries.

Germany, . . . . .	8 per cent.
England, . . . . .	9 "
Spain, . . . . .	12 "
Austria, . . . . .	14 "
France, . . . . .	15 "
Italy, . . . . .	18 "
Cuba, . . . . .	60 "

Customs revenues, represent \$10,500,000 in the Romero Budget, and \$11,500,000 in the Budget of 1893-94. Now the interests of Cuba would be better served with free trade, or at least, with a small revenue for the keeping of commercial statistics. Abolishing the Custom Houses, and raising in a reasonable manner, the direct taxes, which the Cubans have always favored, sufficient revenue would be obtained for the public business, provided the latter were managed, not as it is, but on a business basis. The Integrists, however, are opposed to direct forms of taxation, because they would increase the number of Cuban electors. Cuba is an agricultural country, that exports nearly all its products, and imports all it consumes. Food, dress, tools, machinery, all are brought from abroad, so that the customs duties make life and labor dear. The object has been, to favor the importation of Spanish goods, to create monopolies in favor of the Peninsula, when in truth, the latter cannot meet the demands of the island, in regard to quantity, quality or price. Mr. Cánovas proclaims *urbi et orbi*, that there is no territorial tax in Cuba, for the two per cent. tribute can scarcely be called such. The land owner who cultivates his own land, does pay two per cent. to the state; but he pays also two per cent. to the Municipality, and this makes four per cent. If he lease his land, he has to pay two per cent. on the rents he receives, and the cultivator pays two per cent. on the products. Each one of them pays besides, two per cent. to the Municipality. Besides these, we have the stamped paper imposts, the rights of the crown, and above all, the import duties that constitute the greatest obstacle to the advancement of the Colony. The increase of the sugar production signifies nothing,

because the price has fallen in proportion. It is alleged that the custom duties cannot be touched, because they are mortgaged for the payment of the debt, but we have shown that this debt should not be charged to Cuba alone, but to the whole nation.

The tax on city property, which was fixed at twelve per cent. in the Robledo Budget, has since been increased to sixteen per cent., I believe.

The Crown Rights that are collected on all transfers of property by sale, inheritance or lease, are excessive for a country where the change from slave to free labor, has produced variations of value, and modifications of the methods of culture; a country, in fact where the soil is of all property, the one of lowest value. The said Crown Rights, also render very difficult, the division into smaller lots, of the large land grants made in the time of the conquest. The following dark picture was made by Mr. Moya, in a speech on June 23d, 1891, before the Cortes.

“There are in Havana twenty thousand persons without work and without food. Many cigar factories have closed. Five thousand cigar makers have emigrated to Tampa, Key West and New York. Landed property is valued at less than one third the value it had six years ago. Houses in Havana that paid \$60, \$40 and \$30 pay now \$20, \$14 and \$10. A *caballeria de tierra*, (thirty-three acres) for which \$14,000 were paid six years ago, can be bought now, for \$800. But what could be worse than the following: In Guanabacoa and Matanzas, houses have been offered recently, for one-half the cost of material and workmanship, the land being given away, and yet there have been no buyers.”

If such be the case in Havana, it must be far worse in Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Puerto Principe, Holguin, Bayamo, and in the whole of the central and eastern Provinces of the island, that have always been especially neglected by the Government.

The three and a half million, under the head of lotteries, represents only the clear income expected from the sale of tickets. We ought to have, as was done formerly, the actual amount expended in these tickets, in the list of revenues, and in the column of expenditures the total of the prizes. The truth is, that the Government does not net the \$3,500,000 that it used to. In 1893-94 the estimate on this head, of \$3,170,000, was in fact reduced to \$1,811,597. This is due to the many *mistakes* that have occurred recently, and which have impaired the confidence of the people, in the management of this official gambling affair.

*El Pais*, of February 1st, 1895, describes one of these scandalous frauds as follows :

"The people of Havana, deceived repeatedly in recent drawings of the lottery, have made a serious demonstration in to-day's drawing. The number three hundred and sixty-seven, had already been drawn with a prize of \$200, and later the same number was announced once more with a prize of \$100,000. The public broke out in loud protestations. It was explained that a mistake had been made in calling the ball, but the people, sore over the recent frauds, were not willing to believe the explanation and endeavored to stop the continuation of the game. The Intendent-General of Finances had to present himself with armed force, to conduct the performance. Several collisions with the police have taken place during the day, and

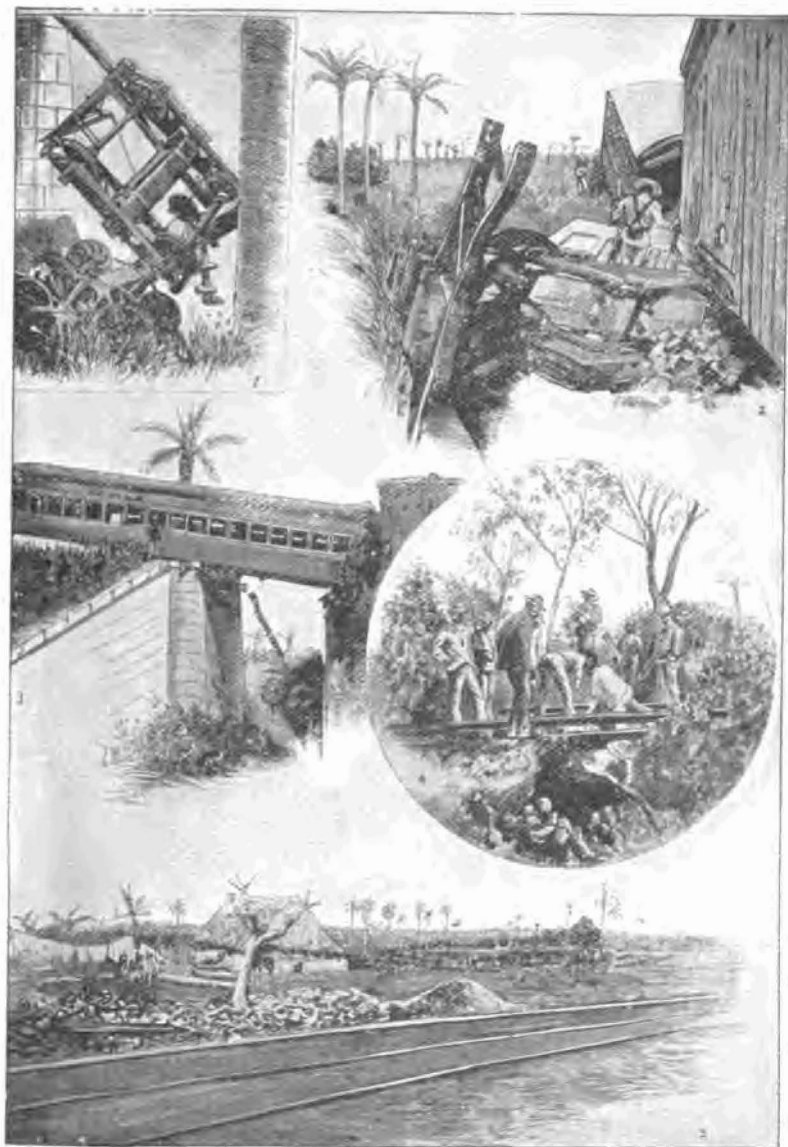
the people, who came to present their grievances to the Captain-General, were dispersed by the police.

"This has been a great scandal, and the discredit of the lottery, will be correspondingly great."

Railway travelers have to pay 10 per cent. on the schedule price. This yields \$234,075. The transportation stamps, I understand, are used for merchandise. This amounts to \$160,000. Yet the State has never contributed a penny, to the construction of a single foot of railway.

The settlements with respect to the church property, have never been carried out in the island, though the church has always been ready to liquidate these accounts. About thirty years ago, the value of property belonging to religious orders was estimated at \$10,000,000. The sale of it was ordered by Royal Decree in 1852 and 1862, but nothing has been done. I do not know what arrangements have been made with the church regarding rents, annuities and chaplaincies. I do know, however, that the church has been collecting these revenues for many years. One fine morning, however, the State declared that it owned these rents, and issued the receipts for them. So that in some cases, individuals have had to pay God and Cæsar at the same time.

After the peace of Zanjón, the Government ordered the restitution of the property of sympathizers, that had been confiscated during the last war. Though the offices in charge of this matter were crowded with employees, or perhaps for the very same reason, the work of restitution went on so slowly, that some property holders had not come into possession of their own, fourteen years after the order was given. But the climax



# **RAILWAY CULVERT DYNAMITED BY THE INSURGENTS.**

**1. Cars at the bottom of the Culvert.**

**2. Train off the track.**

**3. Third class coach after the explosion.**

**4. Soldiers repairing the track.**

**5. Section watchman's house.**

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SPANISH GUERRILLAS IN THE BUSH.

in this affair, was set by the order from the Government to collect the taxes on the properties for the period of the confiscation, a period during which the Government, or somebody else, was enjoying the use of the property.

The raising of live stock, the mining industries and many other branches of production, should have, if time and space permitted, special chapters in this book. The lands devoted to the raising of cattle were desolated during the ten years' war. In a few years, however, these plains were brought to their normal rate of production, by individual exertion. Scarcely had cattle raising returned to its former prosperous condition, when the imposts on consumption swooped down upon the business, and more recently a capitation tax has been further added. According to Mr. Montoro, a head of cattle weighing over one thousand pounds has to pay to the State and Municipality, more than forty per cent. of its value, so that in fact every third head of cattle belongs to the State. Mr. T. Pérez Castañeda, states that in Pinar del Rio, as a result of these imposts, and the consequent diminished consumption of meat, the price of live stock fell from \$22 to \$12 a piece. Matters are made worse by the importation of meats from the United States, and the Republics of the Plata. These are less heavily taxed than the home products. We are all aware that free-traders demand the abolishment of customs; and that Protectionists tax foreign products, in order to exclude them from competition with the home products; but the School of Economics that charges more on the home, than on the foreign product, is one without a name, as far as I know, unless Spanish statesmen have invented one.

I do not wish to be understood as saying, that the

system of taxation weighs only upon the natives of the country, but I call attention to the fact that the merchant can charge upon the goods, the amount of the imposts, and the industrial can do the same, whereas the agriculturalist, must submit to the price imposed by foreign competition. The Peninsular enjoys besides all, the political compensations.

The gravest objections to these estimates, are that they are not authorized by Cuba. It is a principle accepted by civilized nations, that the people should only pay for taxes that they vote for. These Cuban estimates, are made up in Havana by the Intendent-General of Finance, without the intervention of the people. They are frequently forwarded to Spain without even hearing the report of the Council of Administration. Neither the Chamber of Commerce, *Sociedad Económica*, nor any other Insular corporation, is consulted. The estimates are more or less amended by the Minister of the Colonies; they are discussed before empty benches in the Cortes, and are voted by two or three dozen individuals, who know nothing whatever of Cuba. What does a deputy from Badajoz, know as to whether an academic institute should be maintained, or abolished in Sancti Spiritus? You might as well ask a Cuban, as to whether a railroad should be built from Arcentales to Memerea, or as to whether the salt ponds of Torrevieja, should be sold or not. What do we know as to where Torrevieja and Arcentales and Memerea are?

With regard to the Cuban delegation in the Cortes, we have seen that it represents neither the spirit, nor the sentiments of the Cuban people.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### PUBLIC ESTIMATES—EXPENDITURES.

BEFORE studying the recent estimates of expenses, it will be interesting to look over those that have consumed the revenues during the latter half of this century.\*

DATES.	REVENUES.	EXPENDITURES.
1850	\$13,103,378	\$13,734,518
1851	15,648,440	15,072,436
1852	15,781,487	15,690,512
1853	16,053,514	15,729,062
1854	16,710,070	16,921,929
1855	15,673,555	15,859,533
1856-57	30,330,021	28,961,659
Second semestre of		
1857 and whole of '58	33,993,346	33,856,640
1859	25,929,688	26,425,677
1860	25,929,688	25,630,031
1861	26,057,058	25,742,509
1862 and first		
Semestre of 1863	37,344,966	35,686,588
1863-64	23,783,802	26,697,016
1864-65	30,258,017	26,579,021
1865-66	31,857,673	26,212,284
1866-67	32,852,233	26,080,597
1867-68	31,162,653	25,655,334
Totals	\$422,469,589	\$400,525,366

\*The data up to 1877-78 have been taken from the pamphlet *Cuba, Su presupuesto de Gastos* by Mr. Mariano Cauceo de Villa-Amil, a former Intendant-General of finance. From 1878-79 to 1882-83 the data as to revenues are taken from the same work, and the expenses up to 1892-93 from the *Gaceta de Madrid* for April 8th, 1892. They appear there over the signature of the Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Romero Robledo. The revenues of 1892-93 are taken from the same official paper. The revenues and expenditures for 1893-94 are taken from the same paper, issue of April 30th, 1895. These estimates have not been changed for 1894-95. These are all official data. I cannot say the same of the revenues from 1883-84 to 1891-92. As the data I have are somewhat contradictory, I have preferred to follow the estimates of expenditures during the same nine years. The discrepancy, if there be any, must be very small.

## EXPENDITURES.

1868-69	31,114,662	25,415,945
1869-70	31,114,662	25,415,945
1870-71	31,114,662	25,415,945
1871-72	31,114,662	25,415,945
1872-73	31,114,662	25,415,945
1873-74	51,197,358	40,686,517
1874-75	52,251,582	40,430,322
1875-76	52,251,582	40,430,322
1876-77	52,251,582	40,430,322
1877-78	52,251,582	40,430,322
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$415,776,996</b>	<b>\$329,487,530</b>
1878-79	{ Gold 45,423,506 Paper 22,400,607 }	54,752,977
1879-80	{ Gold 45,423,506 Paper 22,400,607 }	54,752,977
1880-81	37,271,100	34,435,850.39
1881-82	37,271,100	34,435,850.29
1882-83	36,248,300	35,860,249.77
1883-84	251,000,000	34,180,880.89
1884-85		34,180,880.89
1885-86		31,169,653.42
1886-87		25,959,734.79
1887-88		23,367,093.43
1888-89		25,596,441.52
1889-90		25,596,411.52
1890-91		25,446,810.31
1891-92		25,446,810.31
1892-93	21,946,358	21,588,846.15
1893-94	24,334,493	26,733,322.00
1894-95	24,334,493	26,733,322.00
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$568,054,068</b>	<b>\$540,238,141.85</b>

The preceding table stands, without comment, as an arraignment of the Spanish administration in Cuba. In the last forty-five years it has extorted from the country \$1,400,000,000 as follows:

From 1850 to '68,	\$422,469,589
During the last war 1868 to '78,	415,776,996
From the peace of Zanjón to the present time, 1788 to '95,	568,054,068
<b>Total,</b>	<b>\$1,406,300,653 *</b>

\* We may subtract \$22,400,607 because we find that amount, in paper, mentioned twice, which would amount to about one-half in gold. Thus we obtain the total of \$13,069,900,046.

And yet not a shadow of official protection can be found anywhere.

The regions where capitals are most scarce, those that were laid waste by the ten years' war, exhibit, in their decadence, eloquent evidence of what the state of the whole island would be, if improvements had been left to official initiative. The East, and Camaguey are completely neglected. There is not a single road there, kept up by the government. The author of *Cuba por Fuera* acknowledges this with astonishment and regret. The last war should have taught the Government a lesson. For its own interests, if not for the development of the country, for selfish motives, as a strategic measure at least, roads should have been built to establish communication between Bayamo and Manzanillo, Puerto Principe and Sancti Spiritus, Santa Cruz and Bayamo, Las Tunas and Holguin, and Santiago de Cuba and Puerto Principe by the way of Bayamo and Las Tunas. If this program appears too extensive for an administration that has squandered \$545,000,000 in the last fifteen years, it might have undertaken one-half, one-fourth, one-tenth of the program; it might have built something, anything, say one single railroad.

To the greater ignominy of the government, I shall here present the defence made of it by Vazquez Queipo in the session of the Senate of May 30th, 1890:

"Your Excellency was bitterly lamenting that greater sums had not been devoted to the building of roads, and this can be readily explained. Few high-roads have been built in Cuba, because the railroad was introduced since 1838, while in Spain it was not introduced until 1846. Though we regret to say it, Cuba is more advanced than we are, owing to the proximity of

the United States among other reasons. Many improvements have been introduced there first, though they may have subsequently reached greater perfection here. At any rate, the railroad was established at the time mentioned, and if highroads have not been built, it is because there was no need for them."

Some roads, however, have been built by individual efforts, precisely because the Government never dreamed of undertaking the task. Were it true that no more roads were needed; were not the eastern part of the island in such a condition, that traveling during the rainy season is an undertaking that would be a task for Stanley and his African explorers; if it were true that the Vuelta Abajo District is not destitute even of cross-country roads; why then not undertake other improvements? The deepening of navigable rivers, such as the Cauto, the mouth of which has been obstructed since 1616; the drainage of swamp lands, the building of bridges, lighthouses and walls, the improvement of harbors, the development of schemes of immigration, the establishment of institutions of agricultural credit, the introduction of all the improvements in the cultivation of the cane and the elaboration of sugar, systems of irrigation, protection of forests, partition of lands, the distribution of property belonging to the Monastic Orders, the building of churches in new towns, the founding of hospitals, asylums, schools, libraries, museums, amphitheatres, laboratories, aqueducts, parks, the development of the mining industries, and so many other moral, intellectual and material improvements, the concourse of which constitute the culture of a people. If not for all this, what is the money collected from the taxpayer for?

Of the innumerable ups and downs of the Great Central Railroad, projected to traverse the island from east to west, the reader will be able to form an idea, if he listens to another defender of the Government, Mr. Herreros de Tejada, speaking before the Senate, May 31st, 1890 :

"In connection with these estimates, I would like to call the attention of the Count Galarza to the windings of the circumlocution office, through which the project has had to find its way, for the last twenty odd years. It was born in the shape of a bill before the Cortes ; then a series of conditions was prepared, on which estimates were to be submitted. These conditions were declared off, because nobody made any bids. The Minister of the Colonies at the time, instigated by public opinion, appointed a commission to prepare new proposals. Another Colonial Minister, submitted these to the Colonial Council. The propositions were there discussed, and together with a majority report, a minority report was presented, signed by a man whom we all know as one well informed in Cuban affairs, and very zealous in the prosperity of that island. Another Minister of the Colonies, and this is the third, looked into the matter, disapproved of the opinions of the majority and minority, and passed the document to the Council of State, where, after careful consideration, different opinions were given. Another Minister of the Colonies, fourth, finally formulated the scheme that has recently been submitted for proposals. . . ."

Documents and more documents. Studies here and studies there, and the lesson is never learnt. Meanwhile the Cubans lose patience, like the countryman who called again and again to see his bishop and was



always put off, because the good prelate was busy studying. "I wish they would send us a bishop who is done studying," he exclaimed. No Minister is satisfied with the opinions of his predecessors, and tens of years go by; the railroad is not built, and the people are paying hundreds of millions in taxes. Early in 1865, the preliminary surveying for this road was commenced about the centre of the island. The present bill of concessions for the work, is dated August 22d, 1875. The cost is estimated to be about \$25,000,000. Had one million a year been expended, the work would have been finished long ago. Does the reader wish to know the real obstacle, beside the general unwillingness to promote the prosperity of the Colony, the real obstacle, that has come in the way of this enterprise? It is simply this; that the Government insisted upon offering as a guarantee the revenues of the Colony, whereas foreign capitalists insisted upon the guarantee of the national revenues, because, in case the island became separated from the Metropolis, they could still look to the latter for payment. When, after much difficulty, bids for the work were obtained, they were so high that they could not be accepted: they asked, for instance, for a concession of ninety-nine years, and a guaranteed interest of eight per cent. According to the Count Galarza, the guarantee of the National Treasury however, would have secured bids on a concession of thirty-three years, and a guarantee of six per cent. interest. For this same reason, as I have stated elsewhere in this book, the charges of the Cuban debt are so exorbitant. When the Count of Tejada de Valdosera came forward to explain and defend the refusal of the national guarantee, he lost a splendid opportunity

to hold his tongue. He said that the rate of eight per cent. was fixed by the law, and that this high rate indicated that the National Treasury would be responsible; for, if it had been intended that the Peninsular Treasury was to be responsible, the interest should have been fixed at five or six per cent., the rate of interest being lower in Spain than in Cuba. But, my dear sir, if it were possible to obtain an advantage of two or three per cent. in favor of Cuba, why not give the guarantee that was asked for, and establish the payment in Havana, or draw on the Cuban Treasury, asking permission from the Cortes, if it were necessary, which we know it is not. Anybody would think of this, without being a count or a minister.

How has Spain invested the millions in gold, that she has extorted from Cuba? In military preparations, they will answer. We ask then, where are the forts that should have been built in the districts where the first revolution broke out, and where Spain knew the second revolution would begin? She knew that it was coming; General Armiñán announced it in the Senate, and Spain knew well enough that the people were not satisfied. She feels now the consequence of her improvidence, neglect and disdain. Scarcely the first rains begin, and the Spanish soldiers, fortunately for the Cubans, have to close their operations, because the horses stick in the clay pits and mud holes, because, in fact, everything there, is just as Columbus found it.

Military expenses . . . . offices without end . . . . splendidly appointed staffs, as if Cuba were a great power . . . . oh, there is much to tell about all this, but I shall leave it to the *Integristas*. Mr. Vázquez Queipo, in the same session of the Cortes of May 30th,

stated that the military estimates are frequently founded on fictitious numbers of troops. He referred to the case of General Lersundi, at the beginning of the last war, who had only six thousand men on the island, and was figuring his expenses on a much larger number, estimated at between nine and ten thousand by different Spanish authorities. (See *Pasado y Presente de Cuba* by General Acosta y Albear, and the *Quincena de la Voz de Cuba* for April 30, 1869.)

I shall present now the Budget estimate of expenses for 1893-94, which was ordered to be renewed for 1894-95 :

General obligations. . .	\$12,933,970	48.38 per cent.
Public worship and justice . . . . .	999,735	3.74 "
The Army. . . . .	6,197,135	23.18 "
" Treasury. . . . .	704,352	2.64 "
" Navy . . . . .	1,094,071	4.09 "
" Interior . . . . .	3,977,034	14.88 "
Public Improvements . . . . .	826,922	3.09 "
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Total. . . . .	\$26,733,219	100.00 "

The principal item under the head of general obligations, is the debt. The police and public order, swallow up one-half of what is destined to the Department of the Interior. This item has been removed from the Department of War, where it used to belong, to reduce the extraordinary proportions of the latter. As a matter of fact, the debt and the army and navy, absorb eighty-three per cent. and public improvements, only three per cent.! Even less than this, for we find that \$281,399 of the sum estimated for this purpose, were not expended.

In the last chapter, I gave a list of the revenues cal-

culated for 1892-93. I proceed now to present the expenditures for the same year. The total of these, on paper, amounts to \$21,500,000, but I have already stated that there was a deficit of \$7,000,000.

## ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURES.

## Section 1.

## GENERAL OBLIGATIONS.

For the Colonial office . . . . .	\$ 100,308.34
" Pensions and Retired List. . . . .	1,666,284.35
" Indemnities and pensions . . . . .	141,425.51
" Charges of the debt. . . . .	8,707,081.00
" Other items . . . . .	63,175.00
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	\$10,678,274.20
Discount . . . . .	373,906.42
<hr/>	
	\$10,304,367.78

## Section 2.

## PUBLIC WORSHIP AND JUSTICE.

Courts and tribunals . . . . .	\$ 409,256.00
Public worship, clergy, seminaries, preservation of churches and rectories . . . . .	339,069.03
Expenditures on monastic property . . . . .	87,694.00
Other items . . . . .	13,561.00
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	\$ 849,580.03
Discount . . . . .	134,238.20
<hr/>	
	\$ 715,341.83

## Section 3.

## ARMY.

Details not necessary . . . . .	\$ 5,302,488.41
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## Section 4.

## TREASURY.

Details not necessary . . . . .	\$ 548,236.00
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## Section 5.

## NAVY.

Details not necessary . . . . .	\$ 1,089,525.77
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## EXPENDITURES.

## Section 6.

## INTERIOR.

General, regional and provincial governments \$	187,150.00
Police and public order . . . . .	2,138,491.97
Public health . . . . .	23,240.00
Communications (mail and telegraphs) . . .	850,421.28
Other expenditures. . . . .	88,410.00
Care of American Consulates . . . . .	12,000.00
Secret service of Spanish Legation in Wash- ington. . . . .	4,000.00
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$ 3,303,713.25</b>
<b>Discount. . . . .</b>	<b>164,694.58</b>
	<b>\$ 3,139,018.67</b>

## Section 7.

## PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

University of Havana—salaries . . . . . \$	134,142.00
“ “ “ —material. . . . .	2,750.00
Mines—salaries . . . . .	14,550.00
“ —material . . . . .	1,500.00
Maritime navigation . . . . .	188,500.00
Railroads—subventions (sic) . . . . .	000,000.00
Repair of buildings. . . . .	17,000.00
Colonization and immigration . . . . .	150,000.00
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$ 508,442.00</b>
<b>Discount . . . . .</b>	<b>38,574.40</b>
	<b>\$ 469,867.60</b>

## SUMMARY.

Section 1. General obligations. . . . .	\$10,304,367.78
“ 2. Public Worship and Justice . . . . .	715,341.83
“ 3. Army . . . . .	5,302,488.49
“ 4. Treasury. . . . .	568,236.00
“ 5. Navy . . . . .	1,089,525.78
“ 6. Interior . . . . .	3,139,018.67
“ 7. Public Improvements. . . . .	469,867.60
<b>Grand Total . . . . .</b>	<b>\$21,588,846.15</b>

The reader might suppose that the paltriness of the appropriations for public improvements, is a consequence of the late war. The following estimates under this head, for the years before the war, will disabuse his mind on this score.

## EXPENSES FOR PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT.

In 1860.	.	.	.	\$1,148,662
" 1861.	.	.	.	999,367
" 1862.	.	.	.	990,467
" 1867 and 1868.	.	.	.	677,128

It will be noticed, that the amount gradually decreases before the war.

In 1882, \$50,000 were appropriated to encourage agriculture, especially the cultivation of cotton. In 1883 the amount was reduced to \$20,000, and was abolished in 1885, precisely when the crisis in the sugar business, made it most important to encourage other sources of revenue.

In September of 1890, an invasion of cholera threatened the West Indies. The Captain-General requested from the government at Madrid, some assistance toward adopting the necessary measures of prevention. The minister was generous enough to send \$15,000, which were to include the revenues from the quarantine station at Mariel. This amount, can scarcely be deemed sufficient for a country with an active commerce, and many ports of entry.

Those who prophesy that the independence of Cuba will mark the beginning of civil strife, should consider that a country with an annual appropriation for expenses of \$26,000,000, of which \$10,000,000 are expended in the army, navy and police, is really in a per-

manent state of war. When such a state has lasted over half a century, is it not time to put a stop to such spoliation, in the conviction that whatever the future may hold in store, it cannot be any worse than the present and the past!

In the first section of these estimates, we find \$9,000,000 for the charges of the debt, and nearly \$2,000,000 for pensions and indemnities. These expenditures should be shared in by the nation, and should not be charged to Cuba alone. In the Peninsular Budget, the interests of the debt do not absorb more than thirty per cent. of the revenues; in the Cuban Budget, at the present time, they absorb fifty per cent. Whenever an attempt has been made to treat the Vasque Provinces in this way, they have resisted forcibly, and the Government has been obliged to yield.

The Navy Department sends to Cuba, old and heavy ships that are of no use elsewhere. They are expensive ships, and the service would be much better, and more economically discharged, by small, light draft boats. This is the opinion of Mr. Fabié, expressed in the Senate May 28th, 1890.

"In Cuba, there is such an excess of employees, that with one-half of them a perfect administration could be conducted; it certainly is very imperfect now." This is the opinion of the Count Galarza, expressed in the Senate May 31, 1890.

It will have been observed that in section six—Interior Department—there is an item of \$16,000 for the Consulates of America and the Secret Service at Washington. In the estimates of 1894-95, Mr. Becerra had \$20,000 appropriated for Secret Service alone. In war times there is no limit to this item. This money goes

to pay the miserable wretches, who, having no better way to make a living, devote themselves to shadowing Cubans in foreign lands. This fund is also devoted to the payment of subventions to papers that are maintained in the American Republics for the defence of the cause of Spain against Cuba, and to cover other shameful procedures that are hidden under the convenient item of *Secret Service*.

I have already shown, that the island cannot bear this burden, and that every annual appropriation is closed with a deficit that is added to the floating debt, to be transferred every three or four years to the interest-bearing debt. The total of the deficit from 1886-87 to 1889-90, according to official data, amounted to \$13,326,600—an annual average of \$3,320,900. In subsequent years the deficit has been almost trebled. In Holland the minister, Mr. Hemskerk, when he read before parliament the estimates for Java, said to the representatives of the colonies :

“Gentlemen, Holland prepares the estimates for Java and establishes the amount of her expenditures. If there be a deficit, it is evidence that we have made a mistake; and if we have made a mistake, we, and only we, should be responsible, not the colony.”\*

A thousand reasons could be adduced, why such high estimates should not be made: the low prices of sugar, the scarcity of laborers, the lack of institutions of agricultural credit, the executions against delinquent taxpayers, the depreciation of property which, according to the Chamber of Commerce, exceeds seventy per cent. . . .

Another irregularity of these Colonial Budgets, is

\* Speech of Mr. José del Perojo before the Cortes May 9, 1887.



found in the extraordinary prerogatives that are saddled on them, such as the authorization to convert the debt, to raise loans, to suppress state councils, to alter the monetary system, to change the system of accounts, to modify the responsibilities of the Superior Committee of Accounts of Madrid, to reform the courts of justice, to change the organic laws of the Judiciary. . . . The members of parliament, declare that all this should be the object of carefully considered especial laws, that these are questions that cannot be discussed as side issues. The answer given to all this is, that it is necessary to hurry up, in order that the estimates may be forwarded to Cuba before the first of July. The Legislatures then vote everything that is asked of them, and the ministerial apprentice is thus armed with the power of a dictator.

I call him an apprentice, because the portfolio of the colonies is always reserved for the novices, and if the reader does not wish to believe me, he can believe Mr. Maluquer, who tells the same thing in the following words:

"If Colonial affairs have all the importance that we have been told, I fail to understand why it is that Ministers begin their ministerial career, taking charge of this portfolio, which is looked upon as a sort of apprenticeship. . . . ." (Session of the senate, June 2, 1890.)

Before concluding, I shall present a comparative statement of the amount of taxation paid *per capita* in Cuba and in other countries.

France . . . .	18.23	United States . . .	6.87
Chile . . . .	17.20	Germany . . . .	6.50
England . . . .	16.91	Costa Rica . . . .	6.00



A REBEL CAMP—COOKING A PIG FOR DINNER.



PLANTATION IN CUABITAS AFTER A VISIT FROM THE INSURGENTS.

## EXPENDITURES.

899

Uruguay . . . .	16.60	Honduras . . . .	6.00
Cuba . . . . .	16.88	Switzerland . . . .	5.95
Austria-Hungary .	14.95	Sweden and Norway,	5.59
Holland . . . . .	14.87	Nicaragua . . . .	4.20
Argentine Republic,	11.80	Brazil . . . . .	3.80
Italy . . . . .	11.61	Guatemala . . . .	3.20
Belgium . . . . .	11.41	Mexico . . . . .	3.20
Portugal . . . . .	10.71	Venezuela . . . .	2.40
Spain . . . . .	8.65	Ecuador . . . . .	2.40
Greece . . . . .	7.89	Bolivia . . . . .	1.60
Salvador . . . . .	7.60	Paraguay . . . . .	1.60
Denmark . . . . .	7.46	Colombia . . . . .	1.45
Russia . . . . .	6.93		

In these estimates, I have followed the *Almanach de Gotha* of 1895, for the United States and the nations of Europe, excepting Spain. The estimates of the latter, I have taken from a recent number of *Las Novedades* of New York. With respect to the Latin American Republics, I do not place the same reliance upon the *Almanach*, and I have followed the *Aperçu* of Mr. Lamas, excepting in the case of Colombia, whose last Budget of \$28,966,000, in paper, I have reduced to gold at the rate of two hundred and fifty per cent.

The Provincial and Municipal imposts, are not included in the statement. If they were, the taxation of the island would be raised to \$19.00 *per capita*.

From this comparison, we conclude that Cuba is one of the most heavily taxed countries of the world, and she does not receive, at the same time, a corresponding compensation in improvements, safety, liberty, and self-government.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE TREATY OF ZANJÓN.

DID the Government fulfil the pledges made in the Compact or Agreement of Zanjón?

Some maintain that it did not, others that it did. Among the latter are to be found, of course, the supporters of the Spanish Government.

But what certainly is not a matter of course, is that the chiefs of the Autonomist Party should affirm sometimes, that the Government did fulfil its pledges, and sometimes, as on July 9th, 1895, that it did not.

It is worth while looking into this matter a little.

The above mentioned Agreement, signed on the 19th of February, 1878, by General Martínez Campos on the one side, and the Commissioners of the Revolution on the other side, had for its object, as we all know, to bring to an end the said Revolution, without humiliating either of the contending parties. Article I. reads as follows:

“Concession to the Island of Cuba of the same political, organic and administrative conditions that are enjoyed in the Island of Porto Rico.”

Here was the deception.

Of this deception, we must in justice admit, as the chieftains of the Revolution have admitted, that General Martínez Campos was not culpable.

Let us look into the state of affairs in Porto Rico.

On the 27th or 28th of August, 1870, during the government of General Serrano, the Minister of the Colo-

nies Mr. Moret, issued a decree, establishing a scheme of government for the Island of Porto Rico. The most important article of this decree, Article XLVI., reads as follows:

"The Provincial Assembly shall have for its functions:

"1st.—To exercise control as herein ordained and, according to the Municipal law, over matters relative to Provincial and Municipal elections; the approval of the estimates and accounts of the Municipal Councils, the revision and appellation of the resolutions of these corporations, and over other affairs of local administration.

"2d.—The nomination and suspension of all its functionaries and employees.

"3d.—All matters concerning the administration and improvement of the island, except in matters that, according to this Decree, the Municipal Decree, or Special Laws, belong especially to the jurisdiction of City Councils, the Civil Governor, or the Supreme Government.

"4th.—To dictate measures of a general character, in matters of public instruction, public works, the founding of banks and other associations, the raising of loans that shall not exceed 250,000 pesetas (francs) and other similar prerogatives.

"These measures shall not be valid until they be approved by the Cortes.

"If the term of one year shall pass, without the approval of the Cortes, they shall be considered valid.

"5th.—To propose, in lists, to the Civil Governor, the individuals who shall exercise the ecclesiastic functions in the island.

"6th.—To inform concerning the establishment of new imposts, the modifications of old ones, and other measures of a financial character.

"Article XLVII. The Resolutions of the Provincial Assembly, shall be presented within three days to the Civil Governor, who may veto them temporarily within fifteen days, if they be contrary to laws and statutes of a general character.

"Article XLVIII. The resolutions of the Provincial Assembly, shall be forwarded by the Civil Governor, by first mail, to the Superior Government, and the latter shall, within the period of two months, either remove the temporary veto of the Governor, or annul the illegal resolution.

"If four months should pass since the order of suspension, without any resolution being adopted by the Government, the order of suspension will be considered void."

This bill was not precisely a Home Rule bill, but it was a decided step in that direction, and unquestionably a beginning of decentralization. We have to say, however, that though the Decree is dated 1870, it was not put into effect until 1873, and that it was annulled in 1874. It died the death of all liberal bills, when General Pavía overthrew the Republic in June 3d, 1874. Porto Rico was immediately deprived of this timid experiment in the line of Home Rule Government, and the island became subjected once more to the arbitrary ruling of the Governors-General. This was admitted by *El Pais* on the 9th of July, 1895. In 1876, Spain adopted a new Constitution, but the absolute form of government continued to prevail in Porto Rico, and existed there at the time when the Agreement of Zanjón was signed.

The Revolutionary leaders did not know this. They had cared little about the liberties enjoyed by Porto Rico, because they were fighting for the independence of Cuba. Not having easy means of communication, they knew but little of what was going on in the world. They had heard that certain rights had been conceded to Porto Rico, but they had disdained them as insufficient. When they signed the compact of Zanjón, they certainly thought they would enjoy the same political reforms that they believed existed at the time in the sister island.

It is not to be wondered at, that the Cubans were ignorant as to the present status of the Island of Porto Rico when we know that the Spanish General, Martínez Campos, and the then Captain-General of Cuba, Jovellar, were also completely ignorant on the same subject. Though it may seem incredible, I possess official documents to prove this. They have been published in Cuba in the interesting work of Mr. Juan Torre Lasqueti entitled *Coleccion de datos históricos, geográficos y estadísticos de Puerto del Príncipe y su jurisdicción* (1880), and also in the book entitled *Desde Yara hasta el Zanjón* (1895) by the honest patriot, Mr. Enrique Collazo. In the course of the negotiations that preceded the Agreement, General Martínez Campos asked by telegraph General Jovellar on February 9, 1878 as follows:

“ . . . This is the question ; neither they nor I know the difference between the Constitution that rules at present in Porto Rico, and the Constitution of the Peninsula. What we wish is, that, whenever the Spanish Constitution be changed for a more liberal or more conservative one, Cuba shall be treated in the



same way as Spain.\* It is important, however, to know the differences, and I hope Your Excellency may inform me of them, if you know them, or have the means of finding out."

General Jovellar answered on the same day :

"I am very sorry not to be able to give the details of the existing differences between the system of government of Porto Rico, and that of the Peninsular Provinces, as I have not paid special attention to the subject; but as the essential things for the prosperity of a people are the development of Provincial and Municipal life, the representation in legislative bodies, and a fair administration of justice, and whereas concerning all these points the laws are the same, we may say that the provinces in question are fundamentally assimilated."

The Agreement therefore was drawn up on a false or an unknown basis, but certainly with a more or less implied understanding, that we were about to begin an era of decentralization and liberty. In order to agree upon the Russian or Autocratic System, which was existing at the time in Porto Rico, it was scarcely worth while to present the latter as a model—the system was sufficiently well known in Cuba.

As a matter of fact then, Article I. of the Agreement amounted to a surrender at discretion. The insurgents, however, did not know they were surrendering at discretion, nor would General Martínez Campos have dared to propose such a thing, nor is such surrender implied in the above quoted answer of General Jovellar. The Agreement was founded on a basis of liberty.

\*For example, in the Peninsula universal suffrage has been recently established, and in Cuba the restricted suffrage with the heavy tax provision, still exists.

Liberty was the inspiration of the compact, its cause, its implied condition, its *raison d'être*. To pretend subsequently, that Cuba was entitled to what Porto Rico had, and no more, when what Porto had was absolutism, is a mockery, and it is this mockery that *El Pais* wishes us now to believe is the correct thing.

This opinion of the Autonomist organ, is upheld now, in opposition to positive declarations that have been made by leaders of the party. Certain celebrated conferences were held early in 1895 at the *Ateneo* of Madrid. Colonial affairs were the subject of these discussions. On the 24th of January, Mr. Rafael Montoro spoke there as follows :

" . . . . It has been stated here, and it is generally accepted as true in the Peninsula, that when the insurgents laid down their arms, they secured for the Island of Cuba the Spanish Constitution with all its complements. It is supposed, therefore, that from that very moment, there began to exist a community of political institutions in the Mother Country and the Colony. . . . " . . . .

" . . . . But this is not true.

" . . . . Recent publications make it evident that the contracting parties to that Agreement, did not understand the nature of the Government existing at the time in the sister island."

" . . . . Many who entered into that compact, erroneously believed that the laws implanted by the Spanish Revolution of September, were still in force in Porto Rico. It was not so, gentlemen. In 1874, the Captain-General of that island, Mr. Sans, with full authority from the Madrid Government, had revoked the liberal laws of the Revolution of September with

the exception of the provisions for the abolition of slavery; and he had virtually placed the island in a state of siege, nor did the promulgation of the Constitution of 1876 bring about any change. In Porto Rico there was nothing at the time other than an arbitrary government. The only concession, then, implied in Article I. of the Zanjón Agreement, was the representation in Cortes, which was the only political right that the lesser Antille still enjoyed." See *El Problema Colonial Contemporaneo*. Madrid, 1895, Vol. II. page 278.

By a Royal Decree of the 14th of May, 1878, the laws of 1870 were established in Porto Rico, but so completely altered in a reactionary sense, that they really were not the same laws. This emasculated legislation was practically what Spain implated in Cuba after the Zanjón Agreement. The restrictive laws, the press censorship, the old economic system, slavery and the autocratic powers of the Captain-General, continued still in force.

But what is the use to point out discrepancies of opinion between *El Pais*, and Mr. Montoro? This very paper published the following very eloquent phrases in its issue of August 5th, 1892.

"We live therefore under a dictatorship. A dictatorship that must be characterized as revolutionary, in that it suppresses the legal forms of procedure, and to carry out its purposes, brings to life absolute powers or procures others still more explicit. *Such is the representative government that was promised the country in 1878.*"

We have seen what were the assurances given by General Jovellar to the Cubans in the name of the

**Government :** development of the Municipal and Provincial life, representation in Congress, proper administration of justice . . . . and the reader who has followed me, knows what kind of justice is administered in Cuba, and knows what the Municipalities and the Provincial Assemblies are, and he knows how the Cubans are represented in the Cortes. The reader is able, therefore, to form his own opinion, as to how the Government has interpreted and applied the Zanjón Agreement.

I shall insert in the present chapter the following important document addressed in May 19th, 1878 by General Martínez Campos to Mr. Cánovas del Castillo :

"The promises never fulfilled, the abuses of all sorts, the neglect of public improvements, the exclusion of the natives from all branches of the administration, and many other faults were the causes of the Insurrection. The belief, shared in by all our governments, that the people could be terrorized into subjection, and that it was a point of dignity, not to make concessions until the last shot had been fired ; these factors, I believe, have kept up the insurrection. By the continuation of such a system, we never would have come to an end, even though we had packed the island with soldiers. It is necessary, if we wish to avoid our ruin, to adopt frankly liberal measures. I believe that if Cuba cannot constitute an independent state, she is more than prepared to constitute a Spanish Province. And let there be a stop to the coming of office-holders—all Spaniards. Let the natives have their share, and give some stability to the tenure of office."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### SINISTER PROPHECIES.

THE Spanish Government leaves no stone unturned, to combat the general sympathy that is felt toward our Revolution. We must admit that this is natural, but it must be admitted also, that she can employ no other means, outside of pecuniary means, except equivocation and sophistry.

A famous Tribune, "whose name I care not to remember," and whose glory has had a longer evening, than was the splendor of its morning light, prophesies that Free Cuba would become a centre of conspiracies against the neighboring Republics. Why is it then that San Domingo has not been such a centre? I fail to see where any such policy, could benefit the Cuban people.

The relations of Cuba with these Republics are but slight. Much the greater portion of our products finds a market in the United States. Cuba bought live stock from Colombia to the amount of \$2,000,000 annually, but this commerce ceased in 1884. The importation of straw hats has nearly ceased. The exportation of tobacco and cigarettes, must be falling off on account of the recent protective tariff adopted by Colombia. This traffic never exceeded more than a quarter of million dollars. There is no mercantile reason, why Cuba should be interested in the rise and fall of one or the other of the political parties in Co-

lombia, let alone the natural desire to see the republican system prosperously, and securely established in those countries. The same may be said of Venezuela, Central America and Mexico.

Beside, the transition from the Colonial to the Republican Regime, will tax sufficiently the activity of the Cubans, without thinking of adventurous undertakings in other countries. It will be necessary to establish a constitution, to enact laws, to establish a system of taxation, to create a Municipal organization, to repair the damage caused by the war. Time will scarcely be long enough, for the labor of reorganization.

Would we be likely to abandon all these necessary operations, to embark in schemes to upset governments from whom we have nothing to expect, and nothing to fear? The natural sentiment that will arise in the people of the new Republic of Cuba, will be one of gratitude toward the sister Republics, for the sympathy extended toward the present Revolution.

It is absurd to imagine that we have been simply waiting to obtain our independence, to become robbers on the highway of nations. And what could we gain? Wealth? The island is too rich, the soil too fertile to make any such filibustering undertakings profitable, in comparison with the cultivation of the vast tracts of land, that are still unbroken. The neighboring Republics have nothing to fear from Cuba. They are not easily frightened by threats of foreign invasion, not even when Spain does the threatening.

The truth is, that Spanish Cuba is more dangerous to the peace and the Sovereignty of the American Continent, than Free Cuba. During the war of independence of the Spanish Colonies, the Spaniards of Cuba con-

tributed donations of money, and furnished men to maintain Spanish sovereignty on the Continent. The fleet sent from Spain to carry on the war, made Cuba their base of supplies, and their recruiting station. The port of Havana was the point of departure of the expeditions of Isidro Barradas, and Angel Laborde against Mexico in 1829, as it was also the place of meeting of the fleets of the Triple Alliance against the same Republic in 1861. The Spanish expeditions against San Domingo from 1861 to '64, against Chile and Peru, and the threatened invasions of Ecuador in 1846 and 1852, all had their point of departure in Havana. I do not know whether Spain has in good faith, given up her dreams of the reconquest of America. Dreams that were first revived by Ferdinand VII. with the ridiculous coöperation of a common porter, Antonio Ugarte, and which are unquestionably dear to the popular mind, as was shown by frequent expressions of the press in 1861. If Spain has resigned this ambition, it has certainly done so with the same humor of the fox of the fable; and the American nations can never feel sure that a favorable opportunity, would not revive the scheme. Were this the case, Cuba would be the centre from which the fleets would sail, to renew the brutal bombardments of Valparaiso and Callao. Free Cuba would certainly not raise a finger, to help the Spaniards in such undertakings.

Were Great Britain to invade Venezuela, we may be sure that the Spanish Antillian ports would offer themselves, as a point of vantage for the British squadrons. The telegraph has already been busy with reports of understandings between Great Britain and Spain.

It is no use saying that the times have changed, and

that Spain harbors nothing but the kindest feelings toward her old colonies.

I may be permitted to doubt this.

In the Preamble of the Law of Public Education for Cuba and Porto Rico, Mr. Ramon M. de Araíztegui, Secretary-General of Cuba, expressed himself as follows:

"What fruit can we expect from bad seed thrown upon virgin soil, and cultivated by evil-minded teachers? Evil doctrines are found everywhere, even in the elementary text books of geography. In one of them, we read that the greatest event recorded in the history of America during the present century, is the Rebellion of Bolivar. In this seductive form, the tender mind of the child is prepared to admire the crime of treason."

Soon afterward, Mr. Antonio de Trueba, referring to the publication of Mr. Arístides Rojas on the "*Vasque people in the history of Venezuela*," mentions Bolivar as the liberator (*El Libertador*) and adds, that he uses the term following Rojas, but not on his own account. Later on, he writes in this sneering vein; "I hope that no one has imagined, that I could contribute in any way to the glorification of the history of Latin-America."

In 1892 the *Union Constitucional* of Havana, the organ of the *Integristas*, fulminated its wrath against the Colombians, who were described as ignorant Indians. This was done, in answer to an article in which the neighboring Republic was praised in a manner, that was thought to be disparaging to the Spanish Administration in Cuba.

Mr. Menéndez Pelayo, an eminent Spanish writer and critic, retired from active politics, has not been able to keep out of his writings, the evidence of rancor against the emancipated colonies. In the first edition of his



book, *Ciencia Española*, he states, that ingratitude and disloyalty are the fruits of the American soil. In his *Antología de Poetas hispano-americanos*, he evinces a hostile spirit against the dearest traditions of the American peoples. He disdains the greatest poets of the New World as *filibusters*. The same Mr. Rojas of Venezuela, and my distinguished compatriot, Mr. Enrique Piñeyro, have taken occasion to criticise vigorously, this outbreak of political hatred in the fields of literary speculation, more especially since Mr. Menéndez y Pelayo, was supposed to have undertaken the writing of the Anthology, in the interests of "peace and conciliation."

Mrs. Soledad Acosta de Samper in her *Viaje á España en 1890*, writes as follows :

"Notwithstanding the undeniable kindly feeling with which the Americans were received, who were invited by the Mother Country to assist in the celebration of the Centenary of the Discovery of America, notwithstanding the extraordinary hospitality that was shown to the foreigners in Madrid, and in spite of the evident desire to entertain pleasantly the children who once rebelled against the authority of Spain, notwithstanding all this, it is very evident that they have not been sincerely pardoned. It was not rare to notice the unconscious cropping out of the bitter resentment, that dwells even to this day, in the hearts of the vanquished in the struggle for liberty.

"Even though we visited Spain at the time when we might say she was engaged in flirting with the descendants of her ancient colonists, and though she desired to please them, still, in familiar conversations, in unprepared speeches, suddenly a word here, or an exclaima-

tion there, allowed us to see that even the most enthusiastic Americanists, had not forgotten their complaints against the emancipated children of old. Meanwhile, the latter are proud to accept as their own, the glorious memories of the history of Spain. They delight in the deeds of heroism accomplished by men of their own race, from the Navas de Tolosa to Bailén. But the Peninsulars cannot be brought to think in the same way of American heroes, such as Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, etc.

"About these, the Spaniards are willing to say very little or else to speak of them with hatred. The so-called Americanists, exclude absolutely from their discussions, all reference to the period of the War of Independence. Why should they feel irritated by the results of the Revolution of Independence, when we are all branches of the same tree?" Finally, even to this date, January 16th, 1896, we find published in the *Heraldo* of Bogota, the following paragraph from a letter written by a distinguished Colombian, who has resided sometime in Spain :

"To day, all the efforts of this nation are as one, to conquer the Cuban patriots whose ideals are so worthy of success. The war in Cuba, has been an excuse, to sneer at our Spanish-American countries, and has given the occasion to ridicule, and even to offend us. They tell us that we have not progressed, that we are the pariahs of the earth, that our governments are organized dictatorships under the cover of Republicanism, and so on, with many other painful reflections on the political status of our Latin Republics."

^ Spanish paper published in Mexico, points out another of the perils of Cuban independence, in the an-

nexation to the United States, who would then easily find the means to absorb the whole of the American Continent.

I would like to know what island of Cuba did the United States control, when, earlier in the century, they took possession of the vast Mexican territory. And they were not then the powerful nation they are now. In another work I examined carefully two years ago, what I called the territorial ambition of the United States, and I believe that I succeeded in proving that such ambition does not exist at the present time, in the people or its Government. Among other arguments, I quoted the recent evidence in the Hawaiian Islands, and the Isthmus of Panama. But even if this appetite of times gone by, the times of slavery, was to be awakened once more, the annexation could only be brought about after consulting the wish of the interested people. American laws would not permit it otherwise. Within these conditions, the political change could not take place, because the general sentiment of the Cubans is against annexation. As to forcible occupation of the island, no one will suppose the nation capable of such monstrosity. It is not the practice of the United States to do such things, nor would modern civilization permit them. Furthermore, if the United States made up their minds to undertake this conquest, they could do it just as easily were Cuba under the Spanish flag, or were she an independent country. It would be very easy to take advantage of the frequent sources of disagreement with Spain, to declare war with that country, and plant the Star Spangled Banner on the fortifications of the island. Who could oppose them? England? The English Lion may accept a fight with the



*Mayor Gral José Maceo  
nombrado Jefe del Primer Cuerpo  
del  
Ejército Libertador de Cuba*

*en Octubre de 1895*

**GENERAL JOSÉ MACEO.**  
(From a Drawing made on the Battle Field.)



A CHARGE WITH MACAO.

American Eagle, but certainly the time has gone by when she would provoke such a conflict. France? As long as she has not settled her accounts with Germany, she will avoid conflicts with powerful civilized nations. Germany and Russia? They have no colonial interests in America. And Russia, were she to draw her sword, would rather do it in favor of her old friend, the American Union. As regards a European coalition of the great Powers, we know very well that the United States has no fear of such coalition. The last European coalition, that of the Holy Alliance, was broken up as far as America was concerned, by a single message of President Monroe.

It had better be known once for all that, if the American Union has not taken possession of Cuba, it is simply because it does not wish to.\* I cannot see that Latin-America is imperiled by any spirit of conquest, on the part of the United States. Were there such a danger, it certainly would be neither increased nor decreased by the change of government in Cuba; a bulwark against the United States, the island cannot be, though Spain occupy it; a bulwark for their defence . . . they need no bulwark.

\* An interesting paper on this question may be found in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1893, by M. C. De Varigny.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

Lanzas te den tus bosques, tus cadenas  
Hierro para luchar, las tempestades  
Su furor, y el recuerdo de tus penas  
Odio mortal para que no te apiades.  
Conviérte tus peñascos en almenas,  
Tus campos tálá, incendia tus ciudades  
Y si ser grande y respetada quieres,  
De ti no más la salvación esperes.

Núñez de Arce, *Lamentación de Byron.*

Translation.—Take from your woods the shafts of lances, and from your chains the steel. From the tempests, strength; and from the memory of your sorrows, eternal hatred that you may feel no pity. Let the mountain rocks be your fastness. Ravage your fields, burn your cities, and if you wish to be great and respected you, yourself, must strike the blow.

If the owners of sugar plantations be allowed to gather their crops, the resources of our enemies will be greater. Common sense will dictate that it is to the interest of the liberating army, to deprive the Government of these resources. We are in times of war, not in times of peaceful crops. The order of the Cuban chieftains to destroy the cane fields, not the machinery, is a matter of necessity and self-preservation. The long duration of the former Revolution, was in part due to the failure to carry out this measure in the western provinces.

All this is obvious, and yet it has brought upon the patriots the accusations that they are incendiaries, brigands and enemies of civilization.

This is not to be wondered at. The same accusations are made in all wars. The author of these lines had

occasion to answer such charges in an article written for *La Revolucion*, of New York, on March 27th, 1871, which is reproduced below. The article was written to refute charges made by a Spanish paper, published also in New York.

## INCENDIARISM.

Our colleague maintains that the system of burning the cane fields, is a crime against society, and furthermore useless, as time has proven. And further adds, that such criminal conduct excludes our compatriots from the number of those described by our colleague in a former issue as "men who may appear one day through force, or through law as criminals, and on the next as heroes, without at any time ceasing to be honest men, who serve their country honorably."

Does our colleague believe that the mere fact of setting fire to property, constitutes a crime?

The answer to this must be simply yes or no. We expect nothing more from him, who prides himself on being clear and to the point.

In our opinion voluntary incendiarism may, or may not be, a crime. Among the many cases in which it cannot be deemed as such, stands the one that interests us now; namely, the employment of fire as a war measure, to damage the enemy, in defence of a good cause.

Our colleague, we hope, will admit this as an axiomatic truth.

If he does not, he will have to pull down many statues that have been raised by gratitude and patriotism; and as he breaks them to pieces, he will find not a few that are venerated by his own countrymen.

Washington is universally acknowledged to be one



of the noblest figures of modern history. Everyone acknowledges him to be a model of honesty and patriotism. His enemies, however, in 1778 called him the *destroyer of cities*. This name had been given him before Sullivan, following his orders, laid waste the Genesee Valley, burning all crops and towns, from that valley to the Susquehanna.

When three years later, Mrs. Motte persuaded the American patriots to set fire to her own properties in South Carolina, when she sped the first inflamed arrow that was to burn the buildings where the enemy had fortified himself, she did an act that has received the highest praise.

When Bacon burnt the city of Jamestown in Virginia to prevent Berkley from taking possession of it, and many of the patriots applied the torch to their own properties, they acted not as criminals but as men of noble courage.

The English General, Ross, entered Washington after the battle of Bladensburg, and set fire to the national buildings by order of his government.

During the Civil war of the United States, Early burnt two-thirds of the city of Chambersburg, because it refused to contribute half a million dollars. During the campaign around Vicksburg, General Grierson burnt and destroyed property valued at \$4,000,000. The Confederates, when they abandoned Savannah, burnt all the warehouses where cotton was stored, and also destroyed a considerable portion of the city.

Our colleague does not ignore, for it was published in its own columns, that during the Franco-Prussian war, the French more than once set fire to their own fields, in order to deprive the enemy of resources.

From the history of Spain, we could site many opportune examples, without going back to the history of the desperate heroism of Sagunto, and Numancia, in their resistance to the Carthagians, and to Scipio, the African. Nor need we recall the burning of Lisbon by Henry II., nor the bishops who proposed the destruction of Ubeda after its capture from the Moors, nor the wholesale destruction of the Vega of Granada.

In more recent times, when the Spanish people rose as one man, to drive out the French invader, it is generally admitted that the destruction of bridges, roads, mills and warehouses, fields and villages "was an art that the Spanish taught the Russians," and which the latter imitated in the burning of Moscow. In subsequent years, up to the present time *Carlists* and *Christines* and all political parties that have risen in arms in Spain, have made free use of the torch, including General Narvaez, who no doubt is one of the men most admired by our colleague.

But what more need we say? During the present war were not the Spaniards the first to burn plantations? Did they not burn the plantation of La Demajagua of Carlos M. de Céspedes? Have we not read recently, official Spanish dispatches from Sancti Spiritus, and Puerto Príncipe, reporting the destruction by fire of every hut, ranch and plantation where the patriots might find shelter?

The Cubans burn their own properties, that the enemy may not utilize them, and they burn the enemy's property, to cut off their resources and force them to abandon the territory. There can be nothing more reasonable.

No doubt, our colleague, unwilling to argue against

rogic, will tell us now, that burning is all right when it is done by the Spaniards, but all wrong when it is done by the Cubans.

Such was my article written in 1871.

I might quote innumerable cases of destruction of property as a military measure, such as the breaking of the dykes in the Low Countries. As I am writing in Colombia, I shall refer especially to the burning of Patia, by the patriots, and of Turbaco, just before the siege of Carthagena. The historian, Restrepo, tells us how García Toledo set fire to his own plantations of Guayepo and Barragán.

General Paez, in his autobiography, (Vol. I., page 175) says:

“I held a council of citizens of San Fernando, and informed them of my resolution to abandon the town, and allow the enemy to cross the rivers Apure and Arauca, in order to draw him into the deserts already mentioned. My proposition was unanimously adopted, and they offered to burn the city to ashes, that the enemy might not use it as a basis of important military operations. They declared they were ready to set fire to their own houses, and to join the liberating army. This sublime resolution was put into effect as soon as the Royalist Army appeared on the left bank of the river. Happy days were those when the true love of liberty abided in men's souls.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### HOME RULE.

#### THE AUTONOMISTS.—THEIR PAST.

*"Hoping against hope."*

THERE was a time, when patriotism justified the existence of the Autonomist Party. It has had its day. Cuba must ever remember with gratitude, the courage with which the autonomists have defended our liberties. That that gratitude might not end in reproach, one thing has been wanting, the dissolution of the party at the right time. The party has discharged all its duties, except that it has not known when to die.

After the Zanjón Agreement, it was necessary that the country should not be left entirely at the mercy of the *Integristas*. The problems of the abolition of slavery, of the economic reorganization, of the permanent establishment of the recently gained rights, were still to be solved. To the victors all these reforms were repugnant, and if they had been left alone, the work of the Revolution would have been lost. As to the Insurgents, some of them abandoned the island, not a few of them with a fixed determination to renew the struggle, but for the time being, without leaders and without organization. Those who remained, devoted themselves to recoup their lost fortunes, without daring to lift up their courage with warlike hopes.

Then arose the group which, at a preliminary meeting of organization, on August 9th, 1878, gave itself the

name of Liberal Party. The suspicious, reactionary party did not permit them to assume a more definite title. The first campaign of the party was, therefore, a struggle for the right to call itself *Autonomist*. And that was its first victory. There was much opposition, on the part of the Spaniards, to concede the legal right of existence to the Home Rule Party. The right within the law was finally admitted, and the first great mass meeting of the Autonomist Party was held on April 1st of 1882.

I have followed the vicissitudes of the careers of these leaders, and their followers step by step; I have felt the anguish of sympathy for their labors; I have supported with my mite their efforts, and I believe it is an act of justice, to praise the courage they have shown against the hostile demonstration of the selfish partisans of the Colonial Regime. Their struggles it would be a long task even to enumerate. In the space of seventeen years, they have succeeded in bringing many Spaniards to their way of thinking, not only in Cuba, but also in Spain, where they have been joined by a considerable portion of the Republican Party, including such men as Salmerón, and Pi y Margall. The Autonomists gave the following summary of their triumphs, in a manifesto issued on the 4th of April, 1895:

“The abolition of slavery, the promulgation of the fundamental law of the state, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, of education and of worship, to the same extent and with the same guarantees that they are enjoyed in the Peninsula. The right of public trial, the civil marriage and the civil register, the application of all the modern, civil and penal legislation adopted in the Mother Country;—a very important

gain for a people who, until recently, had been governed by laws that did not belong to this century; the suppression of differential and export duties; the reduction of thirty-three per cent. of the taxes left by the war; the public and official adoption by all parties, of a portion of our economic system; and the abandonment of the principle of assimilation, in favor of an especial decentralizing system, which will eventually lead to the adoption of our whole program of Home Rule."

Without attempting to detract from the glory of the Autonomists, I must, however, bring forward some qualifications to the above statement:

1st.—They cannot claim for themselves all the glory of these achievements, as far as they go. This, they, themselves, admit. A large share of the credit belongs to the Revolutionists of 1868-78. The Autonomists have been simply the pacific followers of the Revolution. The proof of this we find, in that the Reform Party was unable to attain any concessions for Cuba, before 1868. The Commission of Information of 1866, we all know to have been nothing but a snare. The strength of the Autonomists lay in the fact, that Spain was convinced that they represented a country that could appeal to arms, and could defend itself without being conquered.

2d.—Some of the triumphs enumerated in the above quoted manifesto, are open to the criticism that the claims are too absolute. For instance, the import duties have not been entirely abolished. They have been replaced rather by duties on consumption, and by the increase of the import duties, as I have mentioned in another part of this book. Besides, I should have

mentioned then, that a discount of one per cent., has been further added to all payments made by the State.

8d.—All that Spain has granted in the line of liberties and rights, has been in the shape of such concessions as would not interfere with her right of plunder. She has refused to grant such concessions, as would permit the country to manage its own affairs honestly. The Autonomist organ, *El Pais*, on the 11th and 26th of January, 1890, has itself proclaimed the lameness of their own victories. On the first of these dates appears the following melancholy confession :

“ Shall we have the strength necessary to persevere, and bring to a happy finish, our generous enterprise? Is it not possible that we may have to give up our useless efforts in this sterile fight? Is the hour approaching when we shall have to call upon our party to dissolve, exhausted, and without hope in the future? Our situation is indeed a grave one. *The reforms obtained after ten years of constant struggle have degenerated in so many privileges for the dominating caste.* The popular bodies are in the hands of the *Integristas*. Fortune always perches on their banners—it is not in vain that she is painted blind. The Cubans are driven from all participation in affairs, as if they resided in a foreign land. The policy of the past is still in the ascendancy—the same fatal, uncompromising and exclusive policy. . . . They (the Peninsulars) still enjoy the privileges of the old regime, beside those obtained by the falsification of the new one. They have lost nothing. They have made gains in every direction. The country, on the other hand, finds that it has been impoverished and played upon.”

4th.—A caricature of Home Rule was to have been granted recently, but it was neither disinterested in its motives, nor sincere in its organization.

Let us look into the motives.

On the 7th of December, 1892, the conservative ministry of Mr. Cánovas fell, and was replaced by the Sagasta Ministry with Mr. Maura in the Colonial office.

Toward the end of 1892 Mr. Montgomery Gadd, an agent of the Rothschilds, was in the United States investigating monetary matters. He was ordered by his principals to proceed to Havana, and obtain information concerning a credit of three hundred million dollars, that the Spanish Government was contemplating. One third of this was to be destined to the treasury of the Peninsula, and the remainder to the operations on the Cuban debt (some sort of conversion, I suppose, to reduce the charges of the same). The customs revenues, and perhaps other Cuban rents, were to guarantee the negotiations. But the English, French and German banks were not satisfied with the guarantee of the Government alone. They wished to have the Colony share in the responsibility, so that in the event of separation from the Mother Country she (the Colony) should continue to pay her share of the debt. To secure this desired end, it was necessary that Cuba should saddle upon herself the load, and the only way to do this was to give her representation, in some sort of governing Council endowed with sufficient power to do so. This is practically Home Rule. The Executive Committee of the Autonomist Party, gave a very guarded answer to these propositions, stating that they could only consider the matter when it was presented by the legitimate authorities; namely, the Spanish Government.



The *Integristas* showed themselves frankly hostile to the measure, as they do with every step that may lead toward Home Rule. It is stated, that the United States also objected to the plan, because they saw in it the hand of England, endeavoring to secure, as chief creditor, the same dominion she holds in Egypt, and secondarily, to control the Panama Canal.

Such were the statements published in several newspapers of Havana; among these we may mention *La Lucha*; *la Revista Cubana* in its issue of December of 1892; *La Situación* in its issue of February 11th, 1893; and *la Unión Constitucional* in its evening edition of June 13th of the same year.

Since February, 1893, the press began to discuss the reforms proposed by Mr. Maura, who, on the 5th of June, brought before the Cortes his bill for a semi-Autonomic organization. This was vigorously opposed by the *Integristas*, but was finally voted upon in a modified form at the beginning of 1895. Mr. Abarzuza was then Minister of the Colonies. The *Unión Constitucional*, in the issue above quoted, insists that the only object of this reform, was to favor the plans of the bankers.

With respect to the organization of the Chamber or Council, the bill presents, among many other defects, the following: Of the thirty members composing the Council, the Government is to appoint one-half and the other fifteen are to be appointed by popular election. The Governor-General has the right to suspend any number of the members of this Council, while the remainder may continue to discharge the functions of the body. The Governor-General may even suspend the whole corporation. It is by no means certain, that the

Autonomists can secure the election of the fifteen elective members, because the *Integristas* are there to prevent this, with the support of the Government at the polls. Now, if the Autonomists fill only four or five of the places, and their occupants are suspended by the Governor-General, were the remainder to vote for the above-mentioned credit negotiation, where will the Autonomists be? What will they do? Will they continue still "to murmur their sad complaints in the halls of Spanish legislation," as the brilliant and bitter phrase of our Manuel de la Cruz puts it?

The authorization once obtained, the credit of the country once compromised, we should not be at all surprised to see the Government suppress the Autonomic comedy, and reestablish the old regime. All that would be needed, would be to state, that the experiment had proved to be a dangerous one, that the integrity of the territory was threatened, and the National Legislature would soon comply. There are precedents enough, to warrant this supposition. We have already mentioned how the Reform Bill of Mr. Moret, was suppressed in Porto Rico. There are no laws to stop an arbitrary power, and the Autonomists know this only too well. The promises of the Government have never had any weight, nor can they have, as we have seen in the letter of General Martínez Campos.

The Autonomists should never have accepted this farce. Let the Spanish Government raise loans to its heart's content, let them compromise the credit of the country as far as they believe they can do it, but let there be no Cuban vote in complicity with their schemes, and let the foreign money-lenders understand that when

Cuba shall be free, she shall consider no obligations that have been contracted against her will.

We shall now consider still further, the fallacies of this so-called Home Rule bill. According to this measure, the general estimates of the country, shall be prepared by the Intendent of Finance, the business of the council being simply, to inform upon these financial measures. The Superior Government can modify them at will, and the Cortes must approve or disapprove. Of what use, then, is this Council or Chamber to Cuba? And yet the whole Cuban problem rests upon this financial question. I do not fear to assert, that if reasonable public estimates had been submitted since the Zanjón Agreement, there would have been no second revolution.

The Autonomists, convinced that Spain would never satisfy their ideals, and seeing clearly through the insincerity of this Home Rule bill, should not have stood in the way of the Revolution. The Autonomists should have acknowledged their impotence, should have dissolved their own party, and should have stood up with the country as one man, face to face with the Spanish power.

This was to be expected of them especially, because the Autonomists had never declared, that the Government did not deserve to be kicked out of the country. In their protestations of peace, which we have no reason to doubt were sincere, they have expressed abhorrence of war, for its consequences and because of the uncertainty of the future, but there appears no denial of a just cause of war, in the paragraphs I am about to quote. The manifesto of the Executive Committee of the party, of February 2, 1892, states :

“ The ominous days of absolute government, and of

legislation by decrees, have come back to us. Notwithstanding the prerogatives of a Parliamentary government, the tendency is still kept alive, to look upon the colonies as Crown property, subject only to the control of the executive power. The Legislative power intervenes, only secondarily, to save the appearances, and the name of National representation, or to make good the excesses of the Minister and his delegates. Here, the principle of authority, must stand above everything, though the laws may suffer. What use then, to have representatives and senators, if they are to be nothing but figureheads? What guarantee can we expect of a representative government, and what weight can we expect our vote to have in Parliament, when the whole life of the Colony, its interests, its rights, its well-being, its culture, its future, must all depend upon the arbitrary will of a government which is, in fact, irresponsible?"

This is, indeed, a cry of despair. Either the principles of logic are a dead letter, or the people who express themselves in such language, must be writing their wills to go to war. The same manifesto, calls upon all those who are dissatisfied, to join in the general propaganda of agitation, through the press and public platform. The Executive Committee were not blind to the fact, that it is easier to let loose the popular wrath, than to restrain it; and though they protested their sincere love for peace, and a firm determination not to deviate from the legal paths, (otherwise the members would have been held as rebels) still the document continues:

"If during the agitation that we propose to keep up throughout the island, the Government should interfere systematically with our purposes, if the constitutional

rights be trampled upon, we shall still have further proof, that the policy of hatred and oppression, rules the hour. The time may be at hand then, when the Party shall dissolve itself, *and the people may have to appeal to supreme measures.*"

. . . . .

" Were this day to come, we, ourselves, convinced of our impotence, will accept the dissolution of the Party with profound sorrow. The mind recoils, and the heart becomes oppressed, with the thought of our beloved country left without a guiding hand, in the toils of tyranny, or perhaps *stained with the blood of mortal conflict.*"

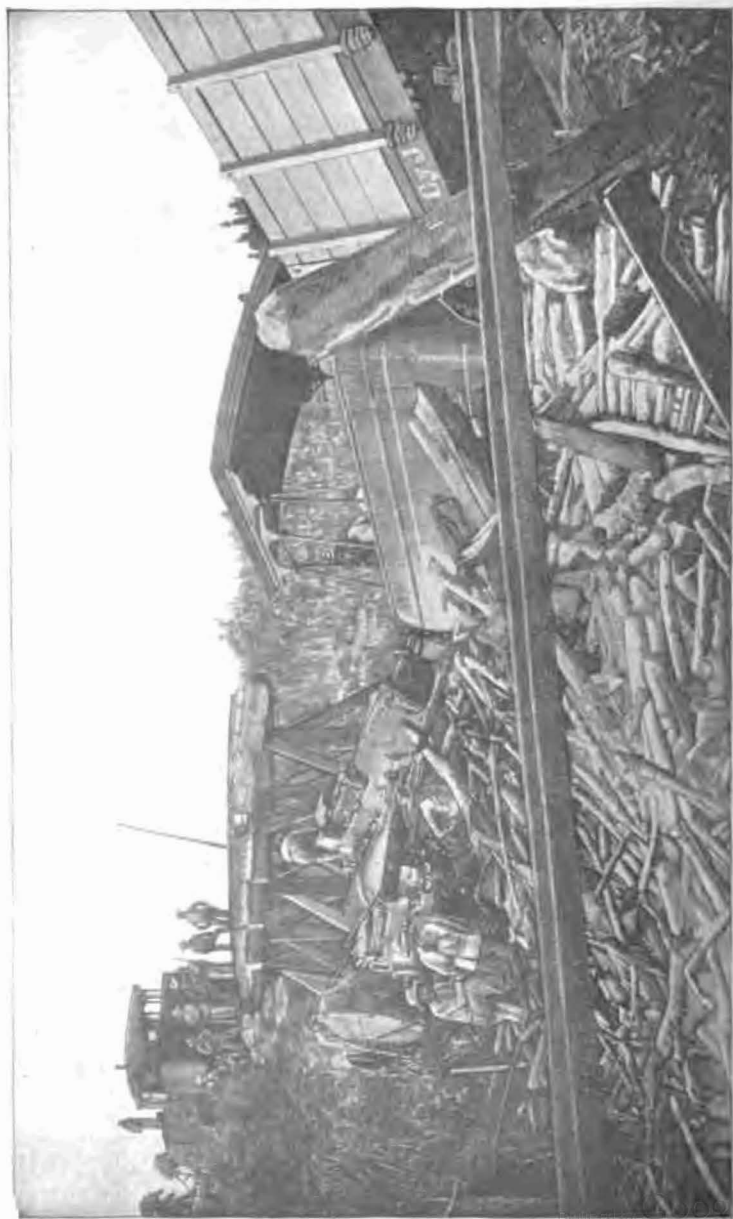
Similar opinions have been expressed, by individual members of the Executive Committee of the Autonomist Party.

Mr. Rafiel Montoro, who is the mouthpiece of the Party, finished with the following paragraph a speech delivered in the Tacon Theatre, on the 22d of February, 1892:

" But yesterday, and the general agitation might have been quieted by modest and gradual concessions of reforms. To-day, these concessions, these reforms, must be far reaching. To-morrow, yes, I say it dispassionately, they must be still more radical, and even then, *perhaps they will come too late.* We may, or may not, be then in public life, but the cry from all the people, will be heard clamoring for these reforms. Let our Government remember the celebrated parable of the Sybil of Lord Brougham, with its lessons to give way in time and not resist the force of public opinion. The people are still awaiting, clamoring for reasonable re-



GENERAL CALIXTO GARCIA.



TRAIN DERAILED BY INSURGENTS ON THE "FLORA" BRIDGE.

forms; *let not the Government assume the responsibility of driving them to go beyond this.*"

Mr. G. Millet, a distinguished member of the Autonomist Party, expressed himself in similar terms, in a pamphlet published in Madrid, in 1890.

"Let us not be deceived by delusions. The die is cast, and the struggle is on, between the Metropolis, striving to oppress and plunder, on the one hand, and on the other the Colony refusing to die. It is not difficult to see what will happen in the end, for history leaves no doubt upon this question."

"*It is impossible for two peoples to continue united, though they be of the same race, when their interests have become incompatible, and one of them strives to live and flourish at the expense of the other. Such a union is an impossibility, even in individual life between father and son.*"

Another distinguished Autonomist member of the Executive Committee, Mr. Fernández de Castro, made the following stirring address in a Popular meeting in Havana:

"If the day were to come when it should be made clear to us that the guarantees of our rights were a cruel lie, and the consecration of our modest liberties, nothing but a mockery; if the moment were to come when the Cubans in sacred concert must appeal to Heaven, for what they do not find on earth, to God for what men will not give . . . ah! then, gentlemen, we who are the first to stand watch in the vanguard of peace, and to take part in the struggles on the public platform, we shall be also among the first to confront death, for the honor of our families, the happiness of our country and the triumphs of liberty."



Another Autonomist, member of Parliament, Mr. E. Giberga, informed that body in very plain terms, on November 26th, 1894, that the Separatists would find the people ripe for revolution, on account of the opposition to the granting of reforms.

I imagine that the above quotations will be sufficient, to convince the fair minded reader.

I am willing to accept if it is necessary, and only half willing, that the burning phrases above quoted were not intended as a direct appeal to arms, but it must also be admitted, that they denounce the conduct of the Government, as the determining cause of a possible uprising. If the words do not call out plainly, *To arms!* They certainly do justify, in advance, uprisings that perhaps are not wished for, they may even be dreaded, but the justification of which, is clearly confessed. Hence it is, that our profound thinker, Mr. Manuel Sanguily, had sufficient grounds for the statement that the most powerful factor of the present Revolution was, unintentionally indeed, the "continuous and splendid Autonomist propaganda." Hence it is also, that a very considerable portion of the data presented in this book, has been obtained from the Autonomist organ, *El Pais*. The Autonomists have justified the Revolution; the Separatists are making it. The former are the postulate, the latter the collorary of the war.

From all that I have said, we may conclude, first, that the Autonomists have contemplated with fear the advent of war, not because they considered it unjust, but because they thought it dangerous. And second, that the peaceful conquests of the Autonomists, which they themselves acknowledged to be futile and which, such as they were, were chiefly the result of the Revo-

lution of Yara ; that their peaceful conquests, I say, did not prevent the official plunder of the island.

Are these two facts sufficient ground for them to maintain that the Government has fulfilled the pledges made at Zanjón? Do they justify the stand of the Autonomists, in the present conflict, in opposition to the founders of the Cuban nation?

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### HOME RULE—THE AUTONOMISTS—THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE.

It was a vain delusion of the Executive Committee of the Autonomist Party, to imagine that they could stop the Revolution. The people who confided to them the direction of their affairs, withdrew the powers they gave, from the moment they took up arms. From one end of the Colony to the other, the patriotic camps are filled with Autonomists. Everybody knows that the Junta (Executive Committee) has been left alone. What are its members waiting for? What curatorship are they discharging, when their pupils have already become of age?

Another fiction of their brain, is the belief that their present status can be continued indefinitely. The *Integristas* are bringing strong pressure upon Martínez Campos to force him to adopt severe measures. Were the General to die, or to resign, or were he to be sent home by the irreconcilable party as General Dulce was, then the personal safety of the Autonomists will be imperiled, and they will either have to wander in penitence through foreign lands, or they will have to join the ranks of the Revolution.

Many of my compatriots are quite ready to say harsh words against the Autonomists. I listen to them with deep pain. I can not censure these expressions, but I shall not repeat them, because there is in the human

heart, a natural resistance not unmixed with pain, to condemn to-day, what was sincerely loved yesterday. And beside, now that the Autonomist group is breaking up and swelling the ranks of the patriots, I hope that when the penitents are received with open arms, there shall be no cruel words between them that must be forgotten. The Autonomists have said too much that needs pardoning. I can imagine their profound sorrow when Cuba shall look upon them as strangers or enemies, and Spain shall regard them as useless auxiliaries, who rendered no aid in the hour of danger.

The Autonomists maintain, that the country is opposed to war, and that for this reason, the Government will triumph. They believe that in the days of peace to come, they will secure the happiness of the Colony, with the accomplishment of their ideals. They believe, on the other hand, that they see danger in the independence of the island.

To discuss calmly these questions at the present moment, when the blood of our heroes colors the banner of Yara, a Separatist must indeed make a great effort. I shall make the effort. I shall forget that I was born in Cuba, I shall forget, if that is possible—and *they* seem to forget it!—that those who perish on the roadside, under the shadow of our palms, and those who march to the scaffold are their brothers and my brothers.

I shall suppose I am an Egyptian, a Tartar, or what you will, but that I know something of the old Cuban contention. I see from one end to the other of that island, more than sixty thousand men in arms who fight bravely, victors to-day, vanquished to-morrow, but never despairing. I see their hosts, coming to the very

gates of the Capital. Not all of them are armed, some of them have only their bare hands, trusting to capture their weapons from the enemy. Spain has an army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, between troops of the line and Spanish volunteers. She has the best modern machinery of war arsenals, abundantly supplied with ammunition, as if she were bent on the reconquest of the new world. She has at her command, artillery and well mounted troops of cavalry. She enjoys international facilities to pour all these elements into the island. The cities are hers, the fortresses are hers, the revenues are in her power, she commands a powerful fleet to patrol the coasts in pursuit of armed expeditions, every ship commanded by a Goliath of the sea, to use a caustic expression of Piñeyro. The expeditions, however, do make a landing almost anywhere. From fields and villages, legions come to give information of the movements of the enemy, or to bring supplies, or to offer recruits. From the seaports, on whose loyalty the Government prides itself, ships sail incessantly with their human cargo of Cuban prisoners, for the Penal Colonies of Africa. The forts and prisons of the Colony are packed with prisoners apprehended in the cities. What does this signify? If the country disapprove of this conflict, why does it not rise *en masse*, to chastize the disturbers of public order? Why does it not pursue them as wild beasts? Why does it not save the state, the sacrifice of depriving so many unhappy Spanish mothers of their beardless boys, who come to die of yellow fever, or to leave their torn and wounded limbs, a feast for buzzards on the wayside?

That the Government will conquer? I continue to

be a Tartar, and I observe. Everything is possible, but the proud prophesies of crushing the rebellion within six months, have not been fulfilled. Within a few days, the 24th of February, the first anniversary will have been reached and the Revolution is stronger than it was in the beginning, stronger than it ever was in her best days of the former struggle. The winter season that was to be so fruitful in Spanish victories, is half through. The rainy season will begin in March and the yellow fever will begin its work of devastation in May . . . As the Cubans have no salaries to pay, as they have no military administration to rob them, their expenses are not to be compared with those of the enemy. Such as they are, they are sufficiently covered by contributions from the compatriots who reside within, and without the island, as well as the generous donations of the people who sympathize with our cause. Meanwhile, the Government has exhausted the metallic reserve of the Bank of Spain, and seems to be getting ready to appeal to the use of paper money. The Spaniards can get no revenues from the island, as the insurgents have put a stop to sugar grinding, and the money chests of Europe will soon close against Spain, in view of her threatening insolvency. But if, after all this, the Revolution were to be put down, others and still others will follow, for the love of independence is not a passing caprice but a natural and profound sentiment, that is transmitted from generation to generation.

With respect to Home Rule, Spain will have now the same reasons to object to it, that she has had in the past. She cannot bring herself to give up her traditions of dictatorship, and submit to a legal regime, that

would force her to accept anything that was Cuban. She cannot give up the commercial monopolies, which are the life of the Peninsular Provinces. She cannot abandon the spoils of office which she distributes to henchmen of Spanish politicians. Were she some day by force of circumstances, brought to accept the Autonomic government for the island, she would be ever ready to suppress it, at the first opportunity.

With regard to the dangers that may follow the establishment of an independent government, they are but exaggerations of fear. But suppose such fear to be well founded; between two evils we must choose the lesser evil, and Spanish domination is certainly the greater of the two. It is evident that she has not made Cuba happy; and it is temerity to seek good, where we know it does not exist. I am not a pessimist, but if Cuba were condemned to eternal misery, let her suffer among her own people, who will partake with her her sorrows, and not make of her the spoil of foreign adventurers. Misfortune brings with her, a train of duties that civic virtue must bear. When a country suffers, it certainly will find no consolation in forging tighter the bonds of tyranny, but rather, it should receive new life, from the air that Liberty breathes. Without admitting that the Autonomists are in possession of all the intelligence, science and illustration of Cuba, we may concede that many of them are men of learning and ability. Let them put their capacities at the service of the new Republic, and they will contribute to our salvation. Only by so doing, can they prevent their ancient laurels from turning to thorns.

And now I resume my Cuban personality once more to bring to the mind, an idea of an old master who was

also a master of the Autonomists. The illustrious Count of Pozos Dulces used to say, that Spain had played in America the part that Cain plays in the Bible. The Autonomists came to public life, proclaiming themselves as the defenders of Abel. Let them now think, whether in this supreme crisis of their country, they care to figure in history with their hands, like those of Cain, stained with blood.



## PART III.

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### CHAPTER XXVIII.

#### THE PROSPERITY OF CUBA.

BY F. G. PIERRA.

*Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in the United States.*

THE advocates of Spanish rule in Cuba, frequently point to the prosperity of the island, as a proof that the Spanish regime, far from having been injurious, has been beneficial to the country.

How far that prosperity is, or has ever been real, and to what extent it has been promoted by the Spanish government, we shall presently see.

Everybody knows that sugar and tobacco are the two principal products of the island. They alone, represent about ninety per cent. of the total production of the country, which, so far, is purely agricultural.

When the revolution broke out in February, 1895, with few exceptions, the planters of Cuba were in a state of insolvency. On a great many of the estates work had been partially suspended, and in some altogether, because the owners, already overburdened with debts, could not obtain further advances with which to pay their laborers. The Spanish government itself, many times declared then, that the main cause of the insurrection was the economic condition of the country, and that if a great many country people had joined the

Cuban army, it was because they found no other employment. In order to remedy the evil consequences of that condition, as far as it might be possible, General Martinez Campos, immediately after his arrival, projected several public works in various parts of the island, and announced that the unemployed field laborers would find in them, occupation and a means of living. Some of the works were actually begun; but as money was not overabundant they were soon discontinued, while others were never attempted not only on account of the scarcity of funds, but because it was observed that with or without public works, the laboring classes continued to swell the ranks of the Cuban army.

Was the condition of the Cuban planters more sound in the preceding years?

At the termination of the war in 1878, with the exception of a few Spanish magnates who had risen to opulence through the wholesale confiscation of Cuban estates during the ten years' war, and of which, by corruption and fraud, they had become possessed, all the landed proprietors of the island were, if not utterly insolvent, on the very verge of it. Had not foreign capital, allured by illusory returns, then flowed into the country, universal bankruptcy would have been immediate and inevitable. But fresh capital could not avert the crisis which was sure to come sooner or later, under the Spanish regime. The fatal issue was delayed for a few years; but it came at last with irresistible force. From 1868 to the present day, considered as a whole, Cuba has been in a state of insolvency. For the Spaniards, those were, no doubt, prosperous times, because many of them became wealthy by ruining the country.

There have been periods, of course, when the island

has enjoyed relative prosperity. Such a prosperity as is possible where slavery constitutes the dynamic or moving force of the economic organism: an artificial and deceptive prosperity, brilliant and dazzling but unsubstantial and fugitive. In a word, the prosperity which the Southern States of the United States enjoyed before the war of secession. Without entering into a long and tiresome economical investigation, we find no better way of explaining to the American reader the real nature of what has been called prosperous times in Cuba. It is a condition whose essential elements are apparent economical well-being and moral and intellectual degradation.

But, except in one respect to which we shall presently refer, that apparent prosperity has in no way been promoted or facilitated by the Spanish Government, whose policy has only tended to obstruct and paralyze the vital forces of the country.

Between 1795 and 1805, in consequence of the great disturbances in the neighboring island of San Domingo, thousands of their planters, who at the time were the most intelligent in the West Indies, came over to Cuba with what they were able to save from the wreck of their fortunes in the former island, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of the sugar cane and coffee. To what extent they contributed to the development of Cuban agriculture, is shown by the simple fact that while the production of sugar in 1795 was only of 31,000,000 pounds, in 1805 it had risen to 72,000,000 pounds, while that of coffee, which in 1805 amounted to 6,900,000 pounds, in 1815 had reached 91,800,000 pounds. Can the Spanish Government claim any share in the promotion of that change? None, in-

deed; but it did have in obstructing and arresting it when a few years later those French agriculturists were ordered out of the island, and either lost their estates by confiscation, or were compelled to sell them for one-tenth of their value. Two of those estates, sold at auction by the Government, were bought by the maternal grandfather of the writer of these lines, and are still the property of the family. The price paid, scarcely covered the cost of the buildings.

Another event which toward the end of the first quarter of this century brought beneficial results to Cuba, was the immigration in consequence of the Revolutionary war, from Mexico, New Granada, Peru and other continental colonies, of thousands of persons both of intelligence and of pecuniary means. Did the Government promote it? Far from it; those persons were looked upon with suspicion, because it was feared that they might be infected with the revolutionary fever which prevailed on the continent.

But the period of so-called great prosperity in Cuba, is that between 1840 and 1860. It has been depicted by the Spaniards with the most brilliant colors, as one of overflowing wealth, unlimited abundance, and universal well-being. Did the Spanish Government contribute to bring about that condition, or did it have anything to do with it except to use and abuse the advantage which it offered for greater corruption and larger plunder? A simple statement will answer the question.

In the decade of 1830-40 slavery was abolished in the British West Indies, and in the next decade in the French West Indies. Their system of labor was utterly disorganized thereby and their agricultural pro-

duction suffered a great reduction. So great, indeed, that while in 1830 the sugar exported from the British West Indies amounted to 112,500 tons, in 1840 it did not exceed 41,000 tons. Jamaica alone in 1830 supplied 100,200 hogsheads, whereas in 1844, it contributed only 34,400. On the other hand, the production of Cuba, which in 1830 amounted to no more than 97,500 tons, in 1840 had risen to 125,000, in 1855 to 381,000, and in 1860 to 564,000 tons. At the same time the consumption of that product was progressing rapidly everywhere. Sugar was becoming more and more one of the necessities of civilized life. In Great Britain in 1844 the consumption amounted to 206,000 tons, and in 1855 it had reached 416,000 tons. In the United States, the American reader knows how it has increased from year to year. Cuba, therefore, had the advantage of providing a rapidly increasing consumption, precisely when the supplies furnished by her competitors were rapidly decreasing. This meant for the Cuban planters, a ready market, high prices and a large profit. For the Spanish Government, it meant a large field for rapine and plunder, and it so well improved the opportunity, that the Cuban proprietors, even under those most extraordinary and advantageous circumstances, were able to capitalize scarcely anything. It would be interesting to know what influence, the paternal government of Cuba had, in emancipating slavery in the British and French West Indies, and in increasing the consumption of sugar in the United States, and in Europe.

But we have said that in one respect, the Spanish Government did contribute to that precarious and uncertain prosperity, and we are perfectly willing to give

it full credit. It was by promoting the introduction of African slaves into the island while all other civilized nations were attempting to bring to an end, or had entirely prohibited, that nefarious traffic, and by conniving at their importation even after the wicked institution had been abolished in the other West Indies, although Spain had solemnly covenanted absolutely to forbid it, and had received the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling (\$2,000,000) for performing that most humane and Christian duty. When the Government ceased to charge an import duty upon the slaves introduced into the island, the Captain-General and his subordinates demanded and divided among themselves a contribution of from \$51 to \$68 per head. What was not publicly imposed, was privately exacted. The duty was paid all the same; but instead of being turned into the National Treasury, because international obligations did not allow it to be done, it was paid into the private pockets of the high officials, and the importation of slaves continued to flourish.

Such was the valuable contribution made by the Spanish Government, to the prosperity of Cuba. A direful contribution, indeed, but one worthy of the contributor. Spain may pride herself upon having made it; but we Cubans, even at a time when we had the misfortune of being the owners of slaves, have always looked upon it as the greatest curse which our oppressors have brought upon us, and declared more than once, not only our willingness, but our earnest desire to forego a prosperity based upon the monstrous institution of slavery. The first act of the revolutionists of 1868 was to proclaim its immediate abolition.

The preceding statement of facts, shows how utterly

groundless are the assertions made by the Spaniards, to the effect that the prosperity of the island, whatever it may have been at certain periods, was due to the efforts and the influence of their government. But we have yet something else to offer, in disproof of those assertions. Spaniards themselves, will bear witness to the truth of our remark, that if Cuba has prospered, it has happened not because of the good agencies or the favor of the Spanish Government, but in spite of its obstructing and enervating policy.

In the session of April 27th, 1811, of the extraordinary Cortes held at Cadiz, the Spanish Minister of the Treasury, after reading an official document relative to the condition of Cuba, remarks : " Therefore, that rich possession, (Cuba) which excites the cupidity of all the European nations, is no more than one-ninth part of what it ought to be, and would have been, under a good, wise administration. With, little diligence, it might have been transformed into a powerful kingdom, if to its great natural advantages, the Government had joined its helping hand."

In the session of December 9th, 1837, of the Spanish Cortes, the Spanish deputy, Señor Benavides, who had lived in, and was familiar with, the condition of things in Cuba and Porto Rico, said :

" It will be said perhaps, that those provinces have prospered under such a system. No sir. Those are two distinct facts, and in no way is the one the consequence of the other. Who can even imagine the degree of prosperity, which they (Cuba and Porto Rico) might have reached, under wise laws and regulations? If we turn our regards to Cuba, are we not surprised to see how the most sacred laws are neglected



**GENERAL ANTONIO MACEO.**





A REBEL CAMP.

and forgotten, and how the evil acquires greater proportions every day, precisely when the Government should display the greatest zeal in order to restore the empire of those laws? Truly, sir, the situation has been so aggravated there, during this last year, by a system of terror which proceeds against private gentlemen without hearing them, confiscates their estates and deports their persons to remote countries, that it is a grave charge against preceding administrations, and will be a grave charge against the present one if it does not remedy the evil."

In the same session, the Spanish Deputy Señor, Alejandro Olivan, said:

"And here, it is proper that I take notice of an objection already refuted by Señor Benavides, and a hundred times repeated in regard to our colonies. It is said that those possessions, and especially Cuba, have reached a prodigious state of prosperity, and that all innovation will expose us to leave the certain for the uncertain. In such an assertion, there is both a mistake and a fallacy." Then he goes on to show why in spite of the bad government, Cuba had prospered, and remarks: "It could not be otherwise with respect to Cuba: it has prospered, certainly, but it might have prospered a great deal more."

From a different point of view, the same declarations were made by Señor Nicolas Maria Rivero in the session of the Cortes of March 19th, 1847, while in one of the sessions of March, 1849, the Minister of the Treasury, Señor, Mon, declared that they "did not know anything about those countries (Cuba and Porto Rico) and had to be guided by those who had visited them."

In support of our assertion that the prosperity of Cuba was more glittering than real, and that, such as it was, the Spanish Government had contributed nothing to it, we could yet offer the testimony of a Spanish writer, Señor Miguel Rodriguez Ferrer, in 1850 and later, and of another eminent Spanish journalist and author, Señor Dionisio Alcala Galiano, in 1858; but this chapter has already grown too long, and the authorities quoted fully answer our purpose, namely, to prove that from the beginning of the present century, to within a few years, Spaniards of note have recognized and acknowledged a fact, which the advocates of Spanish misrule now attempt to deny. Cuba owes nothing to Spain. Her rule in the island has been one of oppression, tyranny and wholesale plunder. Whatever progress in the path of civilization the Cubans have accomplished, they owe to their own unaided efforts, frequently obstructed, and entirely nullified, by the ignorance, pride, greed and stupidity of the Mother Country.

## PART IV.

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### CHAPTER XXXIV.

#### IN REBEL CAMP AND SPANISH PRISON.

*By Captain Ricardo E. Navarro, of the Cuban Army.*

ANYONE accustomed to army life in Europe or the United States would be astonished to witness the arrangements of a force of Cubans for camping out. The way in which, though lacking any commissary department, tents or blankets, they are able to provide for themselves at a moment's notice, is one of the striking features of their organization. At the calls of "Halt!" "Dismount!" "Tether!" the horses are secured in suitable places, minus bits and saddles. The uninitiated would be nonplussed at the order of "Forage!" that follows, there being no grass or fodder of any kind visible with which to feed the horses. The leaves of the *Ramon* trees, however, furnish them with an abundance of nutritious food.

Each horseman then unrolls from the saddle a light hammock, which he stretches between two trees. A short thin branch is curved across each end of the hammock, and over this support he spreads his rubber overcoat, thus affording a dry soft bed, the waterproof cover of which defies rain.

The bugle sounds again "Rations!" and excepting a few who remain for sentry duty, the men scatter into

the forest, each being expected to provide his own food. After a while they reappear, one by one, bringing their booty. The first may have shot a wild fowl, such as the Guinea hen, which abounds there; the next brings in a hat full of wild yams, looking very much like good sized sweet potatoes, while a more fortunate one, triumphantly presents as his contribution to the repast a small species of opossum, called the *jutia*, considered a delicacy. A good laugh greets the luckless trooper who can show for his exertions nothing better than a few cocoanuts or wild oranges. With many a jest the provisions thus gathered are bartered and distributed, first setting aside a choice portion for the officers and sentries. Fires are lighted in various parts of the camp, where the food is cooked, care being taken to have no flame or smoke, which might detect them to the enemy. From the mirth which abounds here, as with soldiers in every quarter of the globe, one would suppose that sumptuous viands were being prepared.

After supper, comes the most cheerful hour of day, for the soldier. The pickets having been relieved, friends gather in little groups about the expiring embers, cigars and cigarettes are lighted, and amidst appreciative laughter or quizzical remarks, each recounts his personal adventures during the day. No drunkenness is possible since abstinence is absolute and unavoidable. Having no commissary department, and the operations being carried on chiefly through uninhabited districts, there is no chance of getting intoxicants. No such difficulty debars the use of the weed. Tobacco grows wild in all parts of Cuba, and although inferior to the world renowned Vuelta Abajo leaf, is still very

much appreciated by any trooper whose supply of cultivated tobacco has been exhausted.

The convivial campfire scenes may be broken upon by the clatter of hoofs. There is a lull in the conversation, because it may be some superior officer. Should it prove to be a scout bringing in an alarm from the advance pickets, or a messenger bearing despatches, the soldiers crowd around and ply him with question. In the former case he maintains a discreet silence, simply asking for the officer on guard to whom alone he must report. Then the questioners know that something serious is in the wind, and many who were deeply interested in the story a few minutes before, profess to have heard distant firing. As they failed to mention it at the time they heard it, their pretensions are greeted with a shower of bantering comment. If on the other hand the new arrival is simply a bearer of despatches, he will cheerfully give all the unofficial news he may happen to have heard, and in his turn ask not a few questions. Many little personal messages are entrusted to him by friends in the camp from which he hails. After an engagement, such a messenger often knows the names of those in other columns who have fallen. The jokers of a few moments before are melted to pity as they hear the list rehearsed. A despatch bearer is always treated with lavish hospitality by the men, who quarrel as to which shall lead away his horse, and vie with each other in presenting him with the best cigar.

Every camp is sure to have its humorist, of whom the rest are very fond. He tells Munchausen stories about his own adventures, which are meant merely to entertain, and is always concocting some mischief

calculated to keep the boys in a roar of laughter. Woe be to any man who has made himself unpopular to the corps. As he gets into his hammock that night, he is likely to be let fall into the mud, and is very apt to find the water in his canteen salted when next he takes a drink. This is the work of the camp jester. Such a man sometimes gains more than a local fame, and is occasionally asked as a loan for an evening by some neighboring camp, if their witty man happens to be under the weather.

At nine o'clock the bugle gives the sign for retiring, by sounding "Silence!" From that moment the only thing heard is the regular tread of the sentry, unless account be taken of a varied concert of snores, that soon mingle with the hundred and one strange noises of a tropical forest.

The fires are allowed to go out in a Cuban camp, their only use being to cook the victuals. Unlike most tropical countries, Cuba has no wild beasts to be kept off by fire light. Even the serpents found on the island are quite harmless. In fact, the only noxious creature in all Cuba is a small scorpion, even the sting of which is scarcely more annoying than that of a bee. No case is known in which the bite of a serpent, or the sting of a scorpion has terminated fatally.

The notes of "Reviel!" interrupt the slumber of the camp at five o'clock, A. M., and soon the signal "Rations!" sends the men scurrying through the woods for their breakfast. "Saddle" and "Mount" follow each other immediately after the meal, for it is very unusual for a Cuban force to remain encamped in one place any great while.

To a practiced eye following the trail, it will be easy

to determine whether the camp just vacated has been occupied by Cubans or Spaniards. The predominance of cigar stumps as compared with cigarette ends, the absence of empty cans always found in an abandoned Spanish camp, and the rejected portions of sugar cane bearing marks of Cuban teeth, as contrasted with the cut stalks left by Spaniards, all help to identify this as a Cuban bivouac.

The universal sympathy for the Cuban cause is manifested wherever the column moves, by stealthy contributions of tobacco and rations, from the farmers.

Scenes as heretofore described, might be met with in any part of the Island of Cuba, but the rougher experiences of camp life are of course more common in the eastern and mountainous portion of the country. Enough has been told, to show that even in the least cultivated regions the soldier's life is full of a pleasurable interest, and not devoid of comfort. All this, taken in connection with the congenial surroundings, and the brotherly consideration for the commonest soldier, shown by all the Cuban army officers, proves that the active service has its bright side. Far different is the lot of those no less patriotic officers, who are detached for secret service in the cities.

The introduction of arms and medicines from abroad, the transmission of secret correspondence by mail, and otherwise, the enlisting of occasional valuable recruits, have all to be carried on under the very nose of the enemy, who generally occupies the cities. It is worse in Havana than anywhere else, because there the Spaniards are more numerous, and every third person is a spy. This service is almost sure to lead to capture, and probably to the death penalty. A few, it is true,



have been sent to Cevta ; but this fate, however, they consider far worse than execution.

The prisoner is conducted to the headquarters of the military police, and thrown into a cell, loathsome beyond description, to await the collecting of evidence by the spies. This "Bartolina," lasts anywhere from a week to a month or two, during which time he is treated as no heretic was ever treated by a Spanish inquisitor in the dark ages. He receives insufficient nourishment,—no bed, no bath, no clean clothes. Every indignity is heaped upon him by his cowardly jailers, who humiliate his pride and wound his dignity to such an extent, that at last the very sentence of the impending court-martial is a relief. His companions in prison, are the murderers, thieves and pickpockets of Havana who are to be sent to the penal colony on the Isle of Pines. The food is revolting, and only a prisoner with a long purse, can get anything better by bribing the soldiers to smuggle it in.

Even these horrors pale when compared with those undergone by the unfortunate prisoners who are brought into Havana from the country. These, after being handcuffed and tied one to another by the elbows, are forced to make terribly long marches, under ever inconvenience that the fiendish mind of the poltroons who convey them, can devise. Cries of fatigue or protestations of inability to keep on are answered by blows, and in certain cases by actual death. In the month of August, 1895, a chain of twenty-two prisoners were started from Santa Clara to Havana. Among them were two brothers by the name of Fernandez. After having marched about twenty miles on foot, urged on by the kicks and blows of their guards,

Diego, the younger, whose feet were swollen and sore, complained to the officer that he could go no further.

"Well, cut the rascal down," was the answer.

The brutal order was obeyed by the corporal who cleft the prisoner's skull with one sabre blow across the face. Another blow severed the ropes which bound him to his brother whose hand received a slash in the operation. While the body of Diego Fernandez lay upon the ground, the soldiers of the guard vindictively prod-ded it with their bayonets one after another as they passed by.

When the evidence against a prisoner is thought to be complete a court-martial is convened. The prisoner is marched in between two soldiers with fixed bayonets. The officer who conducts the prosecution, makes the accusation, which generally astonishes the prisoner, because it includes things which he has not dreamed of doing. The presiding officer asks a dozen or two questions of the accused. It is forbidden to retain counsel. Instead, the court assigns to some Spanish officer, entirely unknown to the prisoner, and usually hostile, the task of defending him. This officer makes no study of the merits of the case, and contents himself merely with a plea for a lighter sentence, than that demanded by the prosecution.

While the court deliberates, the prisoner is conducted back to his cell. The verdict which was a foregone conclusion is arrived at in a few minutes. The secretary of the court then reads the sentence to the condemned man in his dungeon and the curtain falls on this shameless travesty of justice.

Next day, the convicted prisoner is taken over to the

Morro or Cābana Castles, when he is either shot in the castle moat, or awaits the first steamer to Ceuta, the African prison.

Many of the things described above have come within the writer's own experience.

PART V.

*THE CUBAN REVOLUTION OF 1895.*

BY GONZALO DE QUEVEDA.  
*Cuban Chargé de Affairs at Washington.*

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE UPRISING.

ON the 24th of February, 1895, the Cubans renewed the struggle for their independence. The revolution did not have its origin on that memorable day; it was born three-quarters of a century ago, and this final effort was but a continuation of the attempt, full of daring and of suffering, full of hardship and of heroism of the islanders of the Caribbean Sea, to write with their generous blood, the last chapter in the sublime story of American freedom.

In the Cuban Army of Liberation there were descendants of those who fought under Bolivar, of those who conspired in 1823, of those who in 1826 were the first martyrs to the sacred cause. The children of the butchered Cubans who fought under Lopez and Aguero were continuing the noble work; many an American recalling the horrors committed on the gallant Crittenden, gave his life willingly to avenge the death of his countrymen; the youth of the capital, vying with

the robust one of the interior, before leaving wealthy and comfortable homes, at the seat of the execution of Pinto, Estrampes, Goicuria and the innocent students, reverently made their vows to sacrifice everything, for the same ideal for which the martyrs perished, for that ideal which cannot be destroyed in the Cuban conscience by the garrote, by the noose, by the sword, by the torments of the Middle Ages.

This movement was fortunate in having as its organizer a man, tried and proven, who had suffered already in the war of 1868 to 1878, and who by the vigor of his intellect, by the energy and tenacity of his character and the enthusiasm of an apostle, personified the present generation and was the best suited to unite the veterans and the new blood, in the common, arduous labor of emancipation. This extraordinary man was José Martí; he was the father of this revolution; until his death—the history of the uprising and his are one; now that he is no more, his memory, his name and Cuba are so intimately connected that he has become, like our tricolor flag, the symbol of our aspirations.

When the revolution waned and the treaty of El Zanjón was signed in February, 1878, many thought that Spain, profiting by the lesson she has received costing millions of dollars and thousands of lives, would keep her promises and that the island would obtain by peaceful propaganda, home rule, or at least liberal reforms.

Martí was one of the few who did not believe in the capacity or intention of Spain to give what she herself did not enjoy. He, of Spanish parents, had been a victim, when only fifteen years of age, of the terrors of the Spanish prisons; he had fearlessly exposed them in

Madrid, but his scathing words of condemnation had not ameliorated the pitiable condition of his companions. He had studied in Spain, and knew by his own experience and observation that the old Monarchy was corrupted to the core, with no germs of vitality to regenerate the lazy, ignorant and bigoted inhabitants, and that the leaders and politicians were mere bureaucrats, with no enlightened policy either at home or abroad, and aiming only at exploitation; he divined with his prophetic intuition, that war would some day come, and that while it was patriotic not to put any difficulties in the way of those who sincerely believed in Spain's repentance, it was the paramount duty of the true lover of the peoples' welfare, to prepare for the future the necessary elements, and to accumulate the means for the armed protest of the Cuban nation, which must occur sooner or later.

With this firm conviction, Marti commenced his work on his return to Cuba after the peace. He was very soon banished to Spain whence he escaped to the United States early in 1879. General Calixto Garcia also arrived about this time in New York. He had been captured in Cuba after failing to kill himself while surrounded, had been kept in a fortress in Spain and now was ready to fan again the smouldering fire. With Marti, he planned an expedition to Cuba. Garcia landed, but found the country weary of turmoil and bloodshed, longing for quiet, and hopeful of autonomist success, and was forced to give up.

From this time dates the home rule party, started by a group of men who held that the island's liberty could be attained by demanding it in the cortes of the metropolis, and not by forcibly conquering it.

Despite the efforts of the peace party, however, there were revolutionist leaders who were ready to try again. In 1884, Generals Gomez and Maceo visited the United States and Central America with a view of preparing for an invasion. The movement was opposed bitterly by the home rule party in Cuba and was abandoned. Small and ill advised attempts at revolution followed from time to time after that, notably those headed by Limbano Sanchez, Benitez, Bonachea and Aguero, who paid their patriotism with their lives.

The home rulers, in the meantime, were attempting to get what concessions they could from Spain and were educating the Cuban masses by their preaching. In 1889, they became restless; Cuba was growing uneasy again. The concessions, small and unsatisfactory at all times, began to be regarded as sops, which Spain distributed to keep the country quiet. They gave no promise of more liberal treatment; the Cubans were shamefully cheated at the polls, their few representatives went discouraged to the Spanish parliament.

For fourteen years the home rulers, led by such men as Galvez, Govin, Montoro, Figueroa, Castro and Giberga made most vigorous fights at the polls, and, notwithstanding conservative frauds, elected their best orators. It was to no purpose.

The home rulers spoke to empty benches in Spain, and no party there, with the exception of the impotent republican minority recognized them. They succeeded, nevertheless, in forcing the conservatives in Cuba to modify their policy and aided manfully to complete the emancipation of the negro, following the Cuban constitution of 1869, which declared that "all men are free." With the economic party they obliged the government

to celebrate the Spanish-American treaty, without which the fate of the island was sealed.

The conservatives divided into two groups, one leaning toward union with the Cubans on economic questions and hoping secretly for the annexation of Cuba by the United States. They were demoralized by the refusal of the liberals from the polls, the autonomists having declared that unless the obnoxious suffrage laws which gave the Spaniards a sure majority and disfranchised the Cuban rural population were not abolished they would never go to parliament again.

The Spanish liberals really formed the economist party to obtain commercial concessions and secure a treaty with the United States, and by joining hands with the Cubans they forced Spain's hand in the matter.

But this, like the other efforts to restore quiet and content, proved a failure. The Cubans complained that in return for the treaty and its benefits to the island, Spain imposed new taxes, which more than counterbalanced all the good that had been done. Representatives were sent to the Spanish Cortes again, the home rule contingent demanding, as of old, electoral reform sufficient to guarantee just representation.

It was then that the Cuban Revolutionary party began to gain prominence and asserted boldly that peaceful measures, looking to freedom and equality, had failed, and that Cuba must take up arms again and drive the Spanish soldiers into the sea. It was then that the admirable labor of Marti appeared on the surface, that his personality loomed on the horizon, growing more gigantic as every day brought a new disillusion to the Cubans; his fervid eloquence commenced to move the heads and minds of his country



men, he laid his plans to raise money, to stir up the native population by secret agents—in a word, to prepare the island for one grand united effort to be free.

In 1894, the reform wing of the Spaniards joined the Cubans against the ultra conservatives. They secured some reforms, as yet unimplanted, but they were a farce as the proposition is the establishment of a council in Cuba, with scarcely any powers, in which the Spanish element will predominate, although constituting a small minority of the population. The council was to consist of thirty members, of which fifteen were to be appointed by the Crown and the remainder were to be chosen by a qualified election; moreover, the council might be dissolved at pleasure by the Captain-General, who had the most absolute veto prerogative.

The home rulers who wanted universal suffrage, as it exists in Spain and real de centralization, were disappointed in these concessions which were after all due to the constant menace from the revolutionary elements abroad and were yielded to, grudgingly, to avoid an actual uprising. Marti had not been idle in the meanwhile. All over America, where his brilliant articles were read and his clarion voice heard, Cuba's wrongs had been related truthfully and eloquently: he consolidated with his prestige and integrity all the Cubans without, and by subtle conspiracy was undermining the Government within.

The revolutionary clubs, with the exception of Los Independientes, had disappeared, but now the patriots reassembled as if brought together by some magic wand. It was in 1892, on April 10th, that the Cuban Revolutionary party was formally declared instituted. It had been the outcome of Marti's trip to Florida; it was



CUBAN CAVALRY OFFICER.



CUBAN CAVALRYMAN.



**AFTER THE SURRENDER.**

destined to be the instrument with which the great orator was to wrest from Spain her last colony in America.

The following was its public program :

Article 1. The Cuban Revolutionary party is established with the object of accomplishing, by the united efforts of all men of good will, the absolute independence of the island of Cuba, and with the object of aiding a similar movement for Puerto Rico.

Article 2. The Cuban Revolutionary party does not intend to precipitate war in Cuba inconsiderately, nor to begin, at the expense of the country, a movement crudely organized and inharmonious, but to bring about an organization approved by all the various elements and in accord with them all, which will undertake a war, brief in duration, whole hearted and single aimed, for the purpose of establishing peace, opportunities of work and consequent happiness, for all the inhabitants of the island.

Article 3. The Cuban Revolutionary party will bring together all the revolutionary elements now existing, and without degrading compromises with any man or body of men, will unite in the common movement all the elements, so that the war may be conducted in a thoroughly republican spirit and method, with the sole aim of establishing a nation able to guarantee the happiness of its own children and to fulfil in the history of the Continent the difficult duties that its geographical situation entails.

Article 4. The Cuban Revolutionary party does not propose to perpetuate in the Cuban republic, under new guises and with new words, the spirit of tyrannical authority and the bureaucratic composition of the

colony, but to found and to insure in the untrammelled and free exercise of the legitimate rights of man a new nation, sincere in its democracy, able by honesty, stability and hard work to cope with the dangers that nearly always attend a novel condition of society existing among a people suddenly brought out of bondage into freedom.

Article 5. The Cuban Revolutionary party does not propose to give over Cuba to the oppression of a dominant victorious party that will look on the island as its prey by right of conquest. It only seeks to insure by all legitimate means which the freedom and protection of foreign countries offer it, the war which will be for the dignity and welfare of all the Cubans; and to deliver to all the inhabitants a liberated country.

Article 6. The Cuban Revolutionary party is established to found one free united country in which the elements of organization, will from the first work together to overcome the dangers threatening them at home and abroad, and to substitute reform and good order for the economic disorder in which the financial system of the island is now, and to prepare it for its immediate development.

Article 7. The Cuban Revolutionary party will endeavor not to utter an indiscreet word, or do any indiscreet action which might attract the ill-will of other peoples or countries with whom it is the duty of Cuba, not only from motives of prudence, but of affection, to maintain friendly relations.

Article 8. The Cuban Revolutionary party has for its purposes:

*First.* To unite in a continuous and common effort

for Cuba's liberty all the Cubans residing in foreign lands.

*Second.* To encourage sincere and cordial relations among the political and historical factors and agents in and out of the island which can contribute to the swift success of the war, and to aid and strengthen all the institutions that after the war shall be established and founded in consequence of it.

*Third.* To disseminate in Cuba the knowledge of the spirit, aims and methods of the revolution, to bring all the inhabitants of the island to one mind with a spirit favorable to victory, in order that war may speedily be conducted without unnecessary risk to Cuban lives.

*Fourth.* To collect funds for the realization of that program and to open every possible source of revenue for the war. And

*Fifth.* To establish discreetly with countries friendly to us, relations which will tend to accelerate with the least possible blood and sacrifice, the successful issue of the war and the foundation of the new republic which is indispensable to American equilibrium.

Article 9. The Cuban Revolutionary party will act in conformity with the secret laws approved by the organizations which founded it.

Under the secret statutes, more than two hundred clubs were formed in the United States, Mexico, Central and South America; these clubs, wherever there are more than two in the same city, elected their president to a Council of Advice, which was the highest authority in the locality, and dealt directly with the executive of the Cuban Revolutionary party. The executive power was vested in the delegate chosen by the clubs,

who had a vote for every one hundred members. The other officers were the treasurer, appointed in the same manner, and the secretary, who was designated by the delegate.

José Martí was the delegate until his death and Benjamin J. Guerra and the author of these lines, the treasurer and secretary respectively. For three years Martí incessantly traveled through the Continent, consolidating the party; he published "*Patria*," the mouthpiece of his teachings in the press; he made hundreds of speeches; messages were sent to the island; the old warriors were aroused; General Maximo Gomez, exiled in Santa Domingo, was named as the chief military commander by the leaders; money was collected; arms and ammunition were bought; the tireless and wonderful activity of Martí was drawing together the threads of the delicate fabric just at the opportune moment, when the Cubans, weary of broken promises, were ripe for action. Spain had delayed too long. José Martí had measured his time and was ready.

Yet the Cuban Revolution was destined to find obstacles even in its inception. Attempts to send war material did not meet always with success; treachery or cowardice destroyed the careful and Napoleonic plans of Martí. He chartered two fast yachts, the *Lagonda* and *Amadis*, and the fruit steamer, *Baracoa*; these three vessels were to sail on convenient dates from Fernandina, Florida. One was to bring to Cuba from Costa Rica, Generals Maceo and Crombet, the other from Santo Domingo, Generals Gomez, Borrero, Martí, Collazo and Rodriguez, and the last one, from Key West, Generals Roloff and Sanchez, and all loaded with rifles and cartridges were to arrive simultaneously

in the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe and Santa Clara, where the patriots advised beforehand would have coöperated and taken the Spaniards by surprise. But on the eve of the departure of the first steamer, it was seized by the United States authorities. Several months afterwards the arms were returned to their owners by the Government; still the traitor had done his work, inasmuch as it delayed the landing of the chiefs, caused unnecessary expense and delay to the Cuban patriots and confirmed the suspicion of the Spanish Government that the Cubans were planning a new insurrectionary movement. The alarm sounded all through the country; the papers published sensational articles and Spain hastened to take measures to crush the movement, which they thought was for the moment indefinitely postponed; but José Marti had built better than he knew. His seeming failure had convinced the most skeptic that he was not a dreamer and a poet alone; the organization of the revolution was accomplished. His work had been so complete, his preaching so ardent, the faith of his people in him so increased, that the revolutionary elements of the island urged him to give the word—they could not wait any longer; the Government was ready to imprison the leaders of the conspiracy and the deposits of arms were being discovered.

## THE UPRISING.

It was then at the end of January when Marti sent me South to demand from my liberal countrymen an additional sacrifice, and to replenish the exhausted treasury; it was on the day of Marti's departure from New York for Santo Domingo, where he was to meet



General Gomez, with Generals Mayia Rodriguez and Enrique Collazo, that he intrusted to me, for their safe transmission, the five secret orders demanded by the chiefs in Cuba, to fix a date for the uprising. The documents reached their destination. The time fixed was February 24th. On the 23d, Captain-General Calleja issued a proclamation suspending constitutional guarantees, and on the 24th put into effect the public order law throughout the island, which provides for the immediate punishment of anybody taken in a seditious act. Until then, only twenty-four men had defied the authorities at Ybarra in Matanzas, and some trouble was reported in the Eastern department. It seemed as if the unanimous movement which was expected in Cuba had collapsed.

The departure from Santiago of such men as Sanchez, Echeverria and Yero, who were told by the Government to leave the city, and who, it had been expected, would be leaders, caused some vacillation in the first moments. The imprisonment in Havana of General José M. Aguirre and other chiefs, deprived the Western provinces of the necessary military directors, and declarations by the Spaniards, that the revolution was crushed in the other provinces, disheartened the conspirators. In Santa Clara the arrest of General Francisco Carrillo prevented any demonstration against the Government, and the province of Puerto Principe remained quiet, for the patriots there had no arms or ammunition and they could not take the field, although they were heart and soul with the cause. The first declaration of the Madrid Government was made on February 25th by Señor Abarzuza, the Minister of the Colonies, who announced that martial law had been

proclaimed in Cuba "in order to check the brigandage which the Cuban secessionists, prompted by Cuban refugees in America and by agitators in the island, were carrying on for political purposes."

Nevertheless, the authorities at Havana displayed great activity and took prompt measures to suppress its further spread. The regulars were placed under arms, all available gunboats were sent to patrol the coast and many arrests were made of prominent Cubans, who were supposed to be implicated. While the official representative of Spain, in Washington, was telling the world of the collapse of the revolution, the war was acquiring strength every day in the Eastern department, where the insurgent movement was headed by General B. Masso in Manzanillo; by General Rabi in the Baire and Bayamo districts; by P. Perez and E. Brooks in Guantanamo, and in Santiago de Cuba by General Moncada (a) Guillermon with the flower of Cuban youths.

They refused all overtures made by home rule members, sent by the Spanish Government, to induce them to surrender and declared their determination of fighting to the end for the independence of their country.

Spain, which had at the beginning of the uprising twelve thousand men in active service, saw the gravity of the situation and commenced the embarkation of large reinforcements. Early in March, more than seven thousand men were despatched in haste, and, notwithstanding the repeated statements that the end of the war would be a question of weeks, the already bankrupt monarchy of Spain had to send nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men to the island of Cuba, and by the commencement of the next winter cam-

paign had landed two hundred thousand men, an unprecedented figure in any revolution, and almost twice as large as the number of soldiers employed by Great Britain in the War of Independence in the thirteen colonies.

The troops were hurried over as fast as they could be embarked, for although General Lachambre was "negotiating for the surrender of the insurgents of the East," Guerra in Manzanillo, Perez in Guantanamo, and new bands, which daily arose all over the country, kept the garrisons busy trying to prevent the Cuban patriots from capturing arms and ammunition and horses with which to mount their cavalry. The surrender of Coloma, Marrero, Arango, the capture of that true patriot, Juan Gualberto Gomez, who after being set at liberty under the provision of the proclamation of the Captain-General, was, under pretext of having brought supplies of war, sent to the African penal settlement of Ceuta, where he was tortured and incarcerated in jail; the dispersions of insurgent troops, the abandonment of some positions, were all magnified through the despatches in order to convince the American public that the Cuban Revolution was a mere movement of a handful of negroes and bandits and the work of some hot-heads.

The following proclamation, given by General Masso, then the most prominent figure of revolution shows how false these assertions were and how the Cubans, determined to oust the Government, desire the union of all the honest elements of the island :

"To the Spaniards—You will fully agree with us in the righteousness of our cause, but we cannot appeal to you to help us to defend it; that is left entirely to your

judgment and your inclinations. Bear in mind, however, that while you remain friendly to us, we will consider you and treat you as Cubans and shall respect your lives, that of your families and your interests. Believe me, finally, that in addressing to you thus, I obey equally to my natural sentiments and to the programme of our revolution. We want the independence for all ! Country and Liberty.

“General headquarters of the Manzanillo Department,  
24th of February, 1895. The Commander,

“BARTOLOME MASSO.”

Many skirmishes took place, especially in the Eastern provinces, during the months of March and April. On Sunday, March 10, the first considerable encounter of the war took place at Los Negros, between a force of one thousand Spaniards under the command of Gen. Garrich, and a party of seven hundred Cubans, under Col. Goulet. The Spanish troops were signally defeated, the patriots capturing a great number of rifles.

The uprising was increasing, and under date of March 4, Martial-law was declared in the provinces of Santiago de Cuba, Santa Clara and Matanzas ; still the Cuban patriots were fighting on the defensive, waiting for the landing of the Generals, who were to take the supreme command of the forces, and in order to give the war that unity of character which it lacked. All the endeavors of the Cubans were then directed to the safe arrival in the island of those distinguished chiefs, and while the war office at Madrid was hurrying the preparations for sending more soldiers and war materials, the Cubans abroad were collecting the means with which to give the army of liberation their veteran leaders.

On April 1, Generals Maceo and Crombet and about

twenty expeditionists who had left Costa Rica and boarded the schooner "Honor" in Fortune Island, landed near Baracoa and immediately proceeded to join the Cuban Army, which was wonderfully increased, as soon as their presence was known in the island; ten days afterwards, the civil head of the revolution José Marti, General Maximo Gomez, the General-in-Chief, and his Lieutenants Borrero and Angel Guerra, arrived on the Cuban shore near the Jojo River, between Cape Maysi and Guantanamo.

Spain at the same time sent to the island Marshal Martinez de Campos, in the hope that his great prestige would soon bring the revolution to an end, or at least restrict its growth. The Spanish Government dissatisfied with the way the war had been conducted by Calleja, had resolved to change commanders. During Gen. Calleja's term the Cubans had won many notable victories, such as Campechuela and Ramon de las Yaguas; Spain lost her best ship, the "Reina Regente," which with four hundred and twenty unfortunates had gone to the bottom of the sea on the west coast of Africa; a mob of army officers had threatened the peace of Madrid, and Spain became involved with the United States through the Allianca incident, which resulted in the recall of Muruaga, the Spanish Minister in Washington, and the resignation of the Sagasta Liberal Government.

On the 8th of March, the Allianca, an American merchant steamer, plying between New York and Colon, was fired on when more than six miles from the Cuban coast, near Cape Maysi by a Spanish man-of-war, which suspected that the vessel was carrying contraband of war to the Cubans. Captain Crossman, notwithstanding the solid shots fired on his vessel, refused

to stop, and being swifter than the Spaniard, soon dropped the man-of-war astern. Captain Crossman protested before Secretary of State Gresham, who sent a vigorous note to the Spanish Government, in which he said :

“ Forcible interference with them (American Commercial steamers) cannot be claimed as a belligerent act, whether they pass within three miles of the Cuban coast or not, and can under no circumstances be tolerated when no state of war exists.

“ This Government will expect prompt disavowal of the unauthorized act, and due expression of regret on the part of Spain, and it must insist that immediate and positive orders be given to Spanish naval commanders not to interfere with legitimate American commerce passing through that channel, and prohibiting all acts, wantonly imperiling life and property lawfully under the flag of the United States.”

Spain finally responded, and in the middle of April, Mr. Enrique Dupuy de Lome, the present Spanish Minister to the United States, presented the apology of his Government to the United States.

The downfall of the Liberal Ministry brought Canovas del Castillo and the conservatives to power in Spain. General Martinez Campos, who had just been installed as Captain-General of Madrid, was now called to cross the ocean. He said, on March 7, “ all danger is past.” Premier Canovas del Castillo, on March 28, had somewhat modified his opinions. “ It is undeniable,” he declared, in an interview, “ that the situation in Cuba is very serious. The Government must use all means to crush out the rebellion speedily and thoroughly.”

The coming of Martinez Campos was heralded as the beginning of the end of the revolution. He had been the restorer of the monarchy in Spain; he had succeeded in getting the Cubans to accept the compromises of El Zanjón; he had finished the war with Morocco; he was spoken of in Spain by the Prime Minister as "Our Glorious Campos." He departed from Madrid on the 3d of April, 1895, surrounded by the members of the Cabinet, a large number of Deputies, Senators, Generals and other prominent persons who bade him farewell at the station, the platform of which was packed with enthusiastic citizens, cheering him and Spanish Cuba. How different from his return from unconquerable Cuba at the end of nine months, defeated, discouraged, hooted, hissed, with nothing but an angry rabble to insult and scoff him!

On April 16, General Campos arrived with new reinforcements, able generals, unlimited power and credit. The Chamber of Deputies approved on the day of his departure, the reform of the Penal Code for Cuba, which inflicted severe punishment upon the promoters of rebellion and separatism, and discontinued all public reunions in Cuba. At the time of his landing, the revolution could be said to exist only in the Eastern department, for in other places there were mere bands of patriots, and the Cuban Generals who had landed, needed some time to organize the poorly armed Cubans.

The first work undertaken by Marti and Gomez, was that of organization and reconstruction. They issued some able documents of high political significance, such as the one respecting property. The re-affirmance of the Spotorno decree, declaring that anybody who

would come to the Cuban ranks to propose anything but independence, should be summarily tried and executed, and a general manifesto to the people, in which these noble words occur :

"The war is not a capricious attempt to found an independence, more to be feared than useful. It is not against the Spaniard established in Cuba, whose rights and liberties will be fully respected, and who will be welcomed as a citizen of the Republic; nor will it be the cradle of disturbances which are alien to the tried moderation of the Cuban character, nor of tyranny." \* \* \*

Further on, Marti appealed to the Spanish soldiers, "not to assassinate in manly bosoms the freedom to which they themselves aspire," but to "fraternize with the Cubans, and enter into the fold of the Republic."

Campos' first plan was naturally to confine the revolution to Santiago, and then to deal it a deathblow before it could spread. He immediately took measures to stem the rising tide. He saw that the Junta Central of the autonomist party, which had issued a manifesto against the revolution, was a staff without an army, which spoke for a score of individuals, and not for a people, and that they had deceived him as to the extent and proportions of the rebellion. He found no hospitals, no commissary departments, but, on the contrary, everything was in disorder.

Campos visited all parts of the island, endeavoring to correct the many abuses, and to carry out a policy of comparative conciliation, in spite of his numerous enemies in the Spanish ranks, who wanted him to institute a reign of terror.

He threw two military lines, or *trochas*, between



Santiago and Puerto Principe, and prepared to make good his boast, that the war would be terminated by November.

Generals Gomez and Marti, at the same time started on their westward journey, passing from camp to camp, inspecting the forces and acquainting themselves with their subordinates. General Antonio Maceo took command of the six thousand men, which comprised the Cuban army at Santiago. He sent José, his brother, to meet Gomez and Marti, and with the battle of Arroyo Hondo they celebrated their arrival in Guantánamo. In the first days of May, Generals Marti, Gomez, and Maceo held a conference at Mejorana, in the province of Santiago. It was then determined that Gomez and Marti should push to the West, enter Camaguey, which was waiting only for their presence to support the movement, and constitute the provisional civil government.

In pursuance of this plan, the Cuban General-in-Chief moved first toward Holguin, where he was welcomed by Colonels Miro and Manduley, with thousands of recruits. At this time, Marti and Gomez issued their manifestos to Cuba, and to the world. The latter appeal, by a terrible coincidence, was published in New York on May 19, the very day its author fell, pierced by Spanish bullets in the battle of Don Rios.

In that remarkable document, Marti explained the object of the revolution, the character of the revolutionists, the power of Cuba, the difference between Cuba and Spain, the ability of the natives, the prospects of success, and most eloquently appealed for sympathy. Here are some extracts :

"Those who judge superficially, or have a brutal contempt—dishonorable only for the ignorance which it reveals—for heroic virtue, which they know not how to respect, such ones may forget with incredible forgetfulness, the intellectual and vigorous struggles of Cuba for its liberty during all this century. Such may assert, that the Cuban revolution is the insignificant desire merely of a class of the poorer Cubans in foreign countries, or the uprising of the negroes. They may assert, that the revolution means the immolation of the country, to a fanciful dream of independence—an independence which the conquerors would not be able to retain.

On the contrary, the natives of Cuba, dignified by the trials of war in their own country, by years of honest labor in others, have reached a level, morally, industrially, and politically that is not lower than that of any other nation. The Cuban suffers with inexpressible anguish, when he beholds the fertile soil of his island useless under oppression, when his own dignity is constantly subjected to insult. He suffers when he finds himself, born in free America, compelled to yield up to tyranny almost all his toil produces."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Cuba desires that the world may be able to carry its industries to that island, that her hidden treasures may be brought forth. Cuba desires that her products may be sold in the markets of America, according to her natural right. She desires to buy there, too, but to-day her Spanish masters forbid it. The Cubans ask nothing of the world, save that it should have knowledge of their sacrifices, and that it should respect them.

The Cubans are giving their blood for the benefit of the world."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The Cuban people are bleeding to-day from Spanish bullets, only for the sake of opening three continents to that one land. Cuba is the independent Republic, that is to offer a free trade to all the people of the world. To the people of the Spanish Americas, we say nothing of their aid, for the people who will deny us help, will seal up their own dishonor. To the people of the United States we say nothing, excepting that they will do what is right. These legions of men are fighting for the same principle, for which those who fought yesterday, struggled."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Shall Cuba then be compelled to lead her life under the harassing domination of Spain? Shall she then be forced to give tribute to Spain, to maintain in lazy luxury the favored class. Shall this be,—and by the culpable permission of the free nations? Shall Cuba yet assist that splendor which paraded its pomp untroubled, while Cuba was bathed in the blood of battle? Will the sister Republics restrain their aid from bleeding Cuba? Will they fail to assist that island because of the false pretext of her enemies, that she has not capacity for self-government?

"Will they not choose rather to be allies of her deserving cause, rather than the accomplices of an arrogant oligarchy? Cuba has been forced to pay all Spain's war taxes, even that for the expenses of the Cuban revolution itself. Such a tax is more degrading, and



CUBAN INFANTRY OFFICER.



CUBAN INFANTRYMAN.



**SPANISH TROOPS FALLING INTO AN AMBUSCADE.**

harder to be borne, than the stamp tax, or the tea tax, which precipitated the revolution, and such a burden should engage the cordial sympathy of the free States."

General Gomez, from Mayari, sent to the New York *Herald* a letter, dated the 4th of May, which is the synthesis of the Cuban General's plan of operations so successfully followed out during the coming twelve months, and ended as follows:

"To maintain the war until Spain, from physical and financial exhaustion, be compelled, as she was in Santo Domingo, to give up the fight, Cuba Libre will not need such a large military force, for, with our superior knowledge of the island, its every bridle path and secret mountain pass, we can with one and the same army, of much less strength numerically, assisted as we are by these important advantages, and by all the natural resources of the island, compel the Spanish army of occupation to keep strictly with the army of operation, harassing the enemy upon every hand, by our alternate movements of sudden dissemination and quick concentration."

From Holguin they went south to meet General Masso, who was coming from Manzanillo and Bayamo. Gomez and Marti were to proceed afterward to the central province. After a cordial interview with Masso, they encamped on the right bank of the Cauto river. The Spaniards were informed by spies of the presence of the Cubans, and attempted to surprise and capture them.

A battle was the result. While General Gomez was defeating the enemy by a flank movement, General José Marti, with a few followers, rushed to the front. He could not remain behind, even at the request of

Gomez; he was too brave to stand quiet, and see others fight for the flag of which he had just spoken with so much enthusiasm. Spurred on by his fearlessness, he rushed to within a few feet of the enemy's line.

The slim body of the pure and devoted patriot, rolled from the saddle never to rise again; his magnificent head fell on the bosom marked with the lead of tyranny, his sublime face disfigured by the bullet which silenced forever the tongue of fire and redemption. The melancholic eyes of the poet were to dream no more, the lips of the orator were sealed, the energetic arm of the soldier lifeless, the spacious forehead not to be illumined again with the ideal of the statesman and liberator. José Martí was dead!!

Those were indeed the darkest hours of Cuba's revolution. The symbol had fallen, and the Spanish government believed that with it the spirit of liberty had perished. How mistaken they were, subsequent developments have proven. The death of Martí instead of discouraging the patriots, served to strengthen them. They had risen not to follow a man, however great, but to defend their rights; Guillermo Moncada and Flor Crombet had fallen already, but new generals had taken their places; it was Martí's glorious spirit that had inspired their patriotic hearts, and that immortal soul did not cease to move them, when his cold corpse was exhibited by the Spanish tyrant; he had to be avenged, and the only way to accomplish it, was to obtain the independence of the land for which he died a martyr.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### FIRST BATTLES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opening of the rainy season, which considerably lessened his prospects of a speedy victory, General Martinez Campos cabled that the revolution was weakening. Yet in the early part of May, the battle of Jobito was fought, in which Spanish Colonel Bosch was killed. The following is a description of this encounter given by an eyewitness:

"José Maceo was quartered some distance back of the Perseverancia plantation, his men being encamped in the form of a great triangle, one side of which was open. The Spanish unsuspectingly entered the trap, and were quickly surrounded. Seeing that a detachment of his men was holding its own, General Maceo did not utilize his full force. Being short of ammunition, the insurgents played a waiting game, and when the Spaniards had used up the larger part of their ammunition in useless firing, the Cubans charged on them with drawn machetes. It was a terrific onslaught. The insurgents, crying out, "Cuba Libre," dashed into the enemy, slashing right and left, until the Spaniards became demoralized and retreated in a panic.

"I know for a fact, that the Cubans lost only fourteen, killed outright, while thirty-two were wounded, and the Spanish loss was five times as great. What little ammunition the insurgents had, was well used. If they had had plenty of ammunition, or if Maceo had



been willing to sacrifice a large number of his men, there would not have been a Spaniard left. As it was, I am able to report, and my information is verified by secret government reports, that the Spanish loss exceeded two hundred and fifty dead and wounded. There were only six hundred troops employed, each man carrying one hundred rounds of ammunition. A convoy of ammunition, which was hastily sent to the soldiers from a neighboring town, was captured by the insurgents."

In the meantime, General Maximo Gomez, undaunted by the misfortune of Dos Rios, was making his way west. He diverted the attention of the enemy, by the march of Antonio Maceo in the north of Santiago, and suddenly turned the military *trocha*, and entered the southern part of the province of Puerto Principe, early in June. The former Marquis of Santa Lucia, Lope Recio, ex-Vice President of the Home Rule Committee, and hundreds of young men of the best families immediately joined him.

All the proposed railroads and improvements, which Campos had offered the people as an inducement to remain peaceful, were abandoned; the Spanish General had lost his initial campaign, and he had to declare a state of siege in the fourth province of the island—Puerto Principe, on the 17th of June, 1895. Efforts were made by prominent inhabitants of the province, at the instigation of the government, to convince the Cuban chief, of the impossibility of defeating the Spanish troops. This so enraged Gomez, that he gave notice that he would shoot any person who broached to him, the subject of treaty or compromise.

The Cuban General by a circular march in Puerto

Principe, captured, with their garrisons and arms, the towns and forts of Altagracia, El Mulato, and San Jeronim, collected all available horses to mount his men, and then relapsed into apparent inactivity, which lasted for several months.

He was accused of doing nothing, but his wonderful march and occupation of Matanzas, Havana and Pinar del Rio provinces, proved subsequently, that he was preparing a great blow to Spain in these summer months, during which yellow fever was doing as effective work as the Cuban rifle and machete.

The Cubans abroad, had, at the death of Marti, with commendable unanimity, called to their head, Tomas Estrada Palma, ex-President of the Cuban Republic, a man of unquestioned patriotism and integrity, who had the entire respect of Cubans at home and abroad. Mr. Benjamin J. Guerra, whose careful administration had earned repeated reelection, continued in his post as treasurer, and the writer was made secretary.

The Cuban revolutionary party had for its principal labor, the landing in Cuba, of the leaders still abroad, the sending of arms, and the general political representation of the unorganized revolution, so as to pave the way for the future work of the government's representative. The party was very fortunate in its endeavors. Arms and ammunition were safely sent to Cuba, and Generals Roloff, Sanchez, Rodriguez, Castillo, Lacret, Aguirre, Carrillo, Torres and Colonel Francisco Sanchez landed in the island, where they assumed the heads of their respective columns. Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, the son of the martyr president, also joined the army, with a supply of war materials.

Of the cargoes which arrived later and the impor-

tance of the landing of such leaders as General Garcia, we will speak further on.

The Cubans continued to run the blockade successfully, notwithstanding the fifty odd cruisers and gunboats which patrol the coast. Their greatest struggle was against certain constructions of the Neutrality laws by the United States authorities, but in every case they were victorious, and the law as it now stands, admits of the shipment of arms and ammunition, and the sailing of men with arms and ammunition, so long as there is no drill, or military organization. In no case, can the vessel carrying the supplies, or the supplies be confiscated, except when the vessel is fitted as a cruiser. The only mishap of the year was the mishap to the steamer Hawkins, with its valuable cargo and ten lives. This disaster was pretty well fastened on the paid agents on the enemy.

The month of July was eventful. In the province of Santa Clara, more than ten thousand patriots flocked to the standard of Generals Roloff, Sanchez and Rodriguez, and notwithstanding the eighty-seven thousand Spanish soldiers which had arrived up to July, the revolution—instead of diminishing—was growing every day. Spain saw her treasury depleted by \$1,500,000 that she had to pay to the American citizen Mora, for damages which his property had suffered in the last revolution; this claim had taken twenty-six years of diplomatic correspondence, to finally settle it. But the great blow which the Government cause received, was the defeat of General Martinez Campos, at Bayamo.

This was the first time that Campos had fought the Cubans, and in his report, made several days after the

encounter, he confessed that the "rebels were well supplied with ammunition, and knew well what they were about."

General Campos, under the pretext of visiting Manzanillo and correcting the abuses reported, of ill-treatment and starvation of Spanish soldiers by their superior officers, had prepared a plan by which he proposed to catch General Gomez between two fires, annihilate him, and then strike at General Maceo, and thus kill the revolution. He was to leave Manzanillo with one thousand five hundred men. General Lachambre was to support him with an equal force from Bayamo, while General Suarez Valdes was to come from the north, with two thousand men. The Cubans aware of these movements, united the forces under Goulet, Guerra, Masso and Rabi, in all about three thousand men, and deployed them so as to prevent the three Spanish columns from uniting, and to surround each one separately, thus destroying the Spaniards' plan.

I yield the pen to one, who being present, gave an exact description of that memorable battle :

"General Campos started for Bayamo with one battalion, known as Isabel the Catholic, three companies of the Sixth Peninsular Battalion, one company of engineers, two companies of mounted guerrillas, and 1500 regulars. The insurgents had taken up an advantageous position, and deployed their lines across a stock farm. The Spanish forces on leaving Manzanillo, took first the road leading to Peralejo, instead of following the road which it would have been natural for them to take. The troops were guided by a negro seventy-four years of age, who was well acquainted with the locality. The column, suspecting treachery, turned to the

left, taking a path through the woods to avoid crossing a plain. This changed the plan of the Cubans, who were stationed around the plain, intending to surround the Spanish, when Maceo's cavalry could have cut them to pieces with their machetes.

Just before the meeting with the Cubans, the Spanish were marching in the following order: First, twenty-five explorers; second, a vanguard of 500 men under General Santocildes; third, in the centre at a distance of about a mile, General Campos with a large body of troops, and then, closing the line, a strong rear guard. The Cubans did not capture General Campos, because they mistook the "explorers" for the vanguard, and allowed them to pass. When the vanguard appeared, they made the attack, mistaking that body for the centre of the column where they supposed Martinez Campos to be.

The fight lasted six consecutive hours, partially on level, open ground, and partially on wooded hills. Victory looked alternately in favor of the Spaniards and the Cubans.

Campos and Santocildes were both in the midst of this terrible fight, from which the Spaniards could not extricate themselves. It was here that one bullet struck the heel of Campos' boot, and another wounded his horse so severely, that it had to be killed. In the second charge made by the Spanish cavalry, General Santocildes was killed, while gallantly endeavoring to protect the commander-in-chief. From the scurrying about of the staff officers, it was quickly perceived by the insurgent General Maceo, that some important personage of note among the Spaniards had gone down, and this knowledge seemed to spread with electrical

swiftness among the Cubans. They were seized with a frenzy of mingled delight and courage, and they renewed their onslaught on the hapless Spanish columns with relentless vigor.

General Campos was then obliged to take personal command of the troops. His presence imbued them with new courage, but Maceo pushed the attack so fiercely, that the Spaniards were compelled to form a hollow square, in the centre of which they placed the body of Santocildes to prevent it from capture, as the insurgents seemed bent upon securing it, supposing it was Campos. As soon as he realized the severity of the attack, he ordered the horses and mules to be killed and breastworks made of their bodies. The rear guard, badly cut up, had arrived in time to take part in forming the square. Twice the Cubans broke the square, which finally fought itself out of the fatal position, in which it had been forced to do nearly all of its fighting for several hours. Maceo joined all his forces after the shattered Spanish column began to move toward Bayamo, and continued the fight. He kept his cavalry charging, while his infantry poured a continued fusillade into the Spanish right flank. This was continued until within one mile of Bayamo. At that point, a large building afforded cover to the retreating Spaniards. Many passed through it, and when the Cubans arrived there they found thirteen officers and two chiefs dead. It was past six o'clock in the afternoon, when Maceo ordered the firing to cease, and the slaughter was stopped.

Campos only saved himself by a ruse. Taking advantage of the Cuban's well-known respect for the wounded, he had himself placed within a covered

stretcher, which they allowed to pass without looking inside of the cover. When outside of the Cuban lines, he was obliged to walk on foot to Bayamo, through six miles of by-paths under cover of the darkness, only accompanied by his colored guide.

The principal losses in this battle were, on the Spanish side, General Santocildes, his aide-de-camp, and all his staff except a lieutenant-colonel and a captain; two lieutenants were mortally wounded, and another lieutenant-colonel and a captain seriously wounded, and over 300 dead and wounded soldiers. The Cubans had Colonel Goulet and Colonel Machado killed, Colonel Gongora wounded, and about fifty men killed and wounded."

A most beautiful incident of the battle was the following letter that General Antonio Maceo addressed to Captain-General Martinez Campos:

*"To His Excellency, the General Martinez Campos:*

"DEAR SIR:—Anxious of giving careful and efficient attendance to the wounded Spanish soldiers that your troops left behind on the battlefield, I have ordered that they be lodged in the houses of the Cuban families that live nearest the battle grounds, until you send for them. With my assurance that the forces you may send to escort them back, will not meet any hostile demonstration from my soldiers, I have the honor to be, sir,

"Yours respectfully,

(Signed)

"ANTONIO MACEO."

This is the kind of war the Cubans made; they set at liberty the prisoners, they allowed the Spanish officers who surrendered to keep their side arms; they cared for the wounded and buried the enemy! What a

contrast to the conduct of the Spanish troops! The Red Cross Society was never admitted by the Government; on several occasions Cuban hospital-camps were captured and their inmates cruelly put to death; Major Garrido in the East and General Luque in Santa Clara were never punished for these butcheries; our soldiers were given no quarter; our leaders were submitted to a mock trial and executed. Let the world judge who were the bandits and the cut-throats!

The great victory at Bayamo was followed by that of Sao del Indio, on August 31st, 1895. It was the aim of the Spanish to capture General José Maceo, who was ill at Casimba. A Spanish deserter, who had joined the Cubans, gave information to the authorities. Under Colonel Canella and Major Garrido, a column of 1,200 soldiers, with two field pieces and a cavalry squadron, left Guantanamo toward the ruins of Ramon de los Yaguas. Advised of this movement, General José Maceo sent some sharpshooters to harass the enemy, and dispatched a courier to his brother, General Antonio Maceo, informing him of the expected attack. Gen. Antonio Maceo was at this time at Puerto Escandel, seven miles distant from Santiago de Cuba. He immediately placed a portion of his command in marching order, to proceed to the assistance of his brother. This force was composed of part of the Second and Third Brigades of the First Division, under Brigadier-Generals Cebreco and Perez, aggregating about 2,000 men. They marched all night, and until four o'clock the following morning, when they halted within a short distance of the enemy, near Ramon de los Yaguas.

At dawn, a scout informed the general, that the Spaniards were marching along the "La Pimienta" road



toward the Insurgent hospital. Orders were issued to Brigadier-General P. Perez, to occupy the height of Lucucu, on the left bank of the Baconao river, to prevent its occupation by the Spaniards. This movement was successful, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the enemy. General José Maceo, meantime, in spite of his illness, occupied the right bank of the same river, preventing the Spaniards from crossing to attack the hospital. Brigadier-General Cebreco occupied the heights of "San Prudencio," and opened fire on the Spaniards. This obliged the Spaniards to retire from their position. They regained it, only after a heavy artillery fire. The Cubans made a second and more determined attack, forcing the Spaniards back and driving them from their position. General Antonio Maceo stationed himself, with his staff, to the right of the enemy, thus surrounding them on three sides, and exposing them to a dangerous fire. He then attacked the centre of the Spanish column.

The fighting was heroic on both sides. The Spaniards steadily resisted the charges of the Cubans, and prevented the success of their desperate attempts to capture the field-pieces. For several hours the fighting was continued, both sides showing great courage and determination.

During his charges, General Antonio Maceo obtained possession of the Indio heights, and the crossing of the Baconao river at Camacko. He left the road by which the Spaniards had arrived, purposely open, having laid a trap there for them. He had stationed forces, under Lieutenant-Colonels V. Miniet and Demetrio Castillo, in advantageous positions along this road. The Spaniards fell into this trap, took to the road and were

steadily driven back by Maceo. As they retreated, the forces under Miniet and Castillo harassed them constantly, inflicting great damage, and killing and wounding a large number of soldiers. Their retreat was so hasty that they were compelled to abandon more than sixty dead, carrying with them eighty wounded men on stretchers. It was three o'clock in the afternoon, when the battle ended, after ten hours of fierce and constant fighting.

The Spaniards, on their retreat, took the road to Guantanamo, through "La Fortuna" and "Casimba." After one hour's march, as they were passing by "La Tontina," they walked over a subterranean torpedo, previously prepared and placed there, which exploded, killing and wounding over sixty men of the vanguard, and causing terrible panic among the rest, who fled in all directions. They were pursued and incessantly harassed by the Cubans, till night overtook them at the Yagua heights and compelled the firing to stop.

That night both generals camped within sight of the Spanish sentries.

At dawn of the following day, September 1st, the Spaniards resumed their march, and the Cubans continued with greater vigor their attack upon the rear guard, killing and creating havoc among the retreating Spaniards. They compelled them to cross through Vueltas Cortas to reach Iguanabano, where another fierce fight occurred, the Spaniards making a stubborn resistance. General José Maceo's horse was shot from under him, and there were many dead and wounded on both sides. The Spaniards were finally compelled to withdraw. Believing themselves totally lost, they burned their provision train, fearing it would fall into

the hands of the Cubans. The fighting continued to the very gates of Guantanamo, where the Spaniards were safe for the time being.

The verified losses were: On the Spanish side, nine officers of rank killed and thirteen wounded; two hundred soldiers killed and two hundred and thirty-seven wounded.

On the Cuban side, one captain killed; one lieutenant-colonel and two majors wounded; eleven soldiers killed and thirty wounded.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

**JOSÉ MARTI** was the head of the preliminary civil organization, and he, immediately upon landing with Gomez in Cuba, issued a call for the selection of representatives of the Cuban people, to form a civil government.

His death postponed for a time, the election of these men, but in the beginning of September, 1895, the call previously issued was complied with.

Representatives from each of the provinces of the island, making twenty in all, were elected to the Constituent Assembly, which met at Jimaguayu, on September 18, to establish a civil government, republican in form.

The delegates proceeded to the election of officers for the following session, which resulted after thorough discussion, in the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of Cuba.

The Constituent Assembly then proceeded to elect the Government Council by secret ballot. The following officers were chosen by a majority of votes and duly installed :

President, Salvador Cisneros, of Puerto Principe.

Vice President, Bartolome Masso, of Manzanillo.

Secretary of War, Carlos Roloff, of Santa Clara.

Assistant Secretary of War, Mario Menocal, of Matanzas.

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Rafael Portuondo, of Santiago de Cuba.

Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Fermin Valdes Dominguez, of Havana.

Secretary of Treasury, Seveno Pina, Sancti Espiritu.

Assistant Secretary of Treasury, Joaquin Castillo, of Santiago.

Secretary of Interior, Santiago J. Canizares, of Remedios.

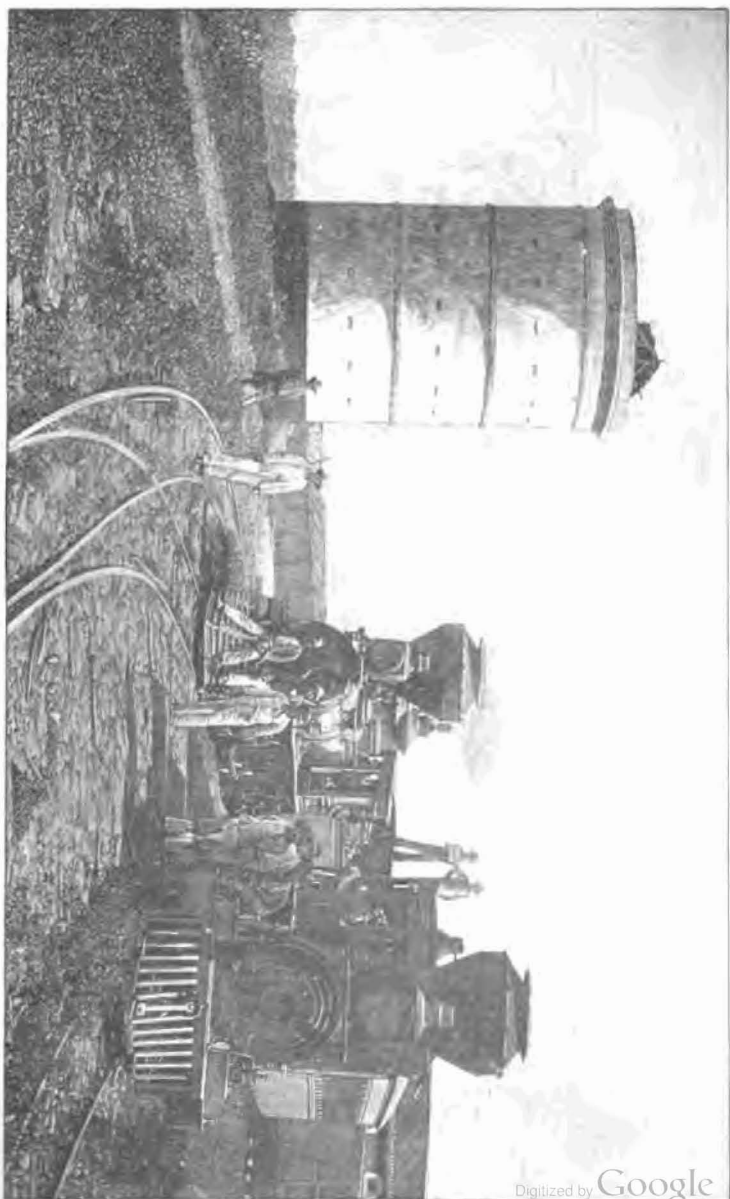
Assistant Secretary of Interior, Carlos Dubois, of Baracoa.

The election of the General-in-Chief and the second in command, with the title of Lieutenant-General, was then held, and resulted in the unanimous election of Maximo Gomez and Antonio Maceo, respectively. On the same day the Constituent Assembly by acclamation chose as Delegate Plenipotentiary of the Cuban Republic abroad, Tomas Estrada Palma.

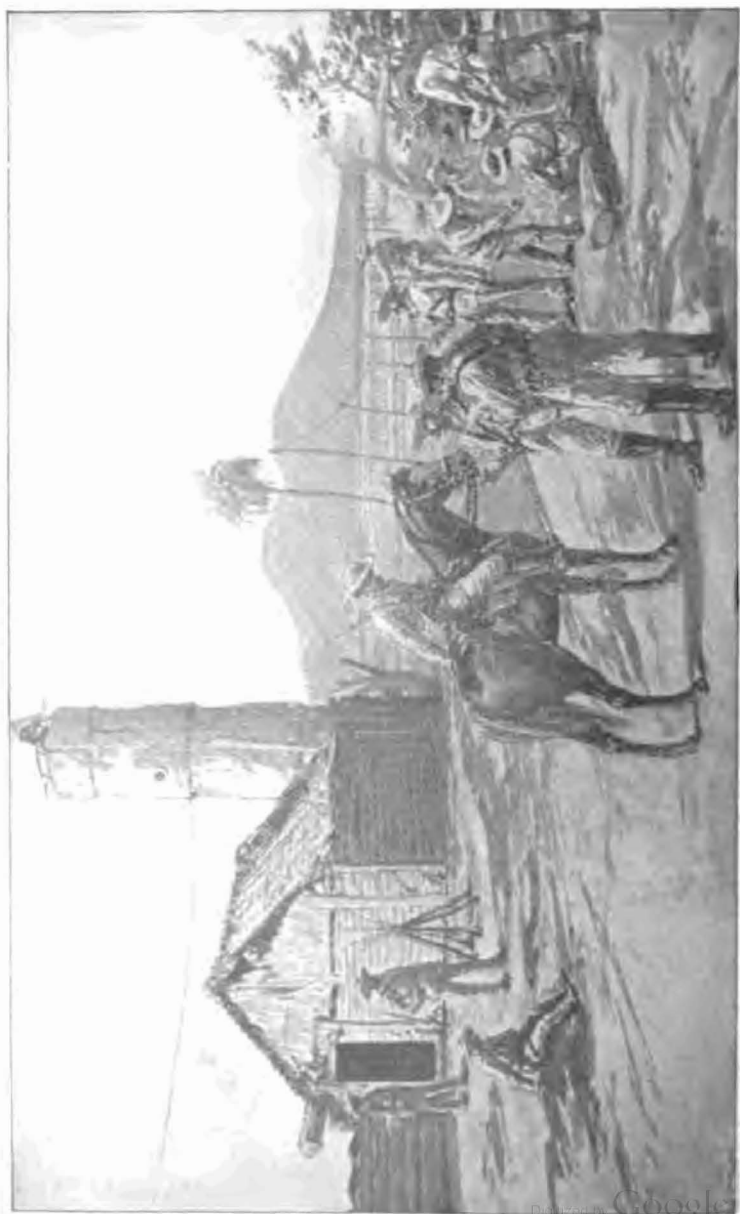
Thus in the clamor of war, the Cubans prepared themselves for peace. The names of the men who composed the assembly, should prove to any one who knows anything of the island, that the best elements of Cuba's population, were with the revolution.

The President was the ex-Marquis of Santa Lucia, of the most distinguished aristocracy of the island; a venerable man of seventy years of age, cultured and upright, who had devoted half a century of his life to the cause of liberty. He renounced his title of nobility when he joined the revolution of 1868, in which he was at the time, head of the Civil Government, and lost his vast estates by confiscation.

Bartolome Masso, the Vice President, was another veteran, respected even by the Spaniards, a well-to-do



FORT ON THE ROAD FROM LAS TUNAS TO SANCTI SPIRITUS



A SPANISH ADVANCED POST OUTSIDE REMEDIOS.

planter, esteemed for his liberal ideas, and his sterling character.

Of General Carlos Roloff, Secretary of War, the only disparaging remark heard, was that he was a foreigner. Spain forgets what she owes to the English swords. But Roloff was more Cuban than Polish. When a child, he established himself in the island, at Cienfuegos, where he attained a commendable position. In 1869 at the head of the young men of the most prominent families of the city, he joined the patriots, and until the end of 1878, occupied the first rank, both for his bravery, and his military talents.

The Assistant Secretary of War, Mario Menocal, was a relative of United States Chief Civil Engineer Menocal, of Nicaragua Canal fame, and was a Civil Engineer himself, a graduate of Cornell University.

Rafael Portuondo y Tamayo, the Secretary of Foreign Relations, was a lawyer of ability, who received his education in the United States and in Europe, and belonged to old and prominent families of wealth, and accomplishments in the liberal professions.

Fermin Valdes Dominguez, the Assistant Secretary of State, was a physician of standing. He barely escaped when the students of the University of Havana, his companions, were murdered in 1871 by the Volunteers; he, after years of penal confinement was set at liberty. It was due to his efforts that the handsome marble monument in the Havana cemetery was erected, as a denunciation of the horrible crime, as a memento of patriotism and love to those who were "innocents!"

Severo Pina, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a



lawyer of considerable practice, and a brother-in-law of General Serafin Sanchez.

Joaquin Castillo Duany, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was a graduate of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, having been one of the physicians who volunteered to accompany the Jeanette Relief Expedition, to the North Pole.

The Secretary of Interior was Dr. Santiago Garcia Canizares, who was Port Physician under the Spanish Government, and was ably assisted by Carlos Dubois, of Baracoa, a young man of intelligence and activity.

The General-in-Chief, Maximo Gomez, although born in Santo Domingo, was a thorough Cuban in aspirations, feelings and associations, his wife and children being Cubans. He went to the island in 1867 when the Spanish troops retired from Santo Domingo ; in 1868, he cast his lot with the patriots, and was deprived of his rank as Major in the regular Spanish Army. In 1873, he was Commander-in-Chief. As a guerrilla tactician he won world-wide fame ; he was a man of wiry constitution ; his sixty years having not dimmed the eagle eye, nor lessened the energy of the superb horseman.

Gen. Antonio Maceo, the Lieutenant-General, was a Mulatto. He came of a family of heroes, having had five brothers in the last war. Maceo had on his body twenty-three wounds. By his bravery and talents, he rose from a common soldier to Major-General, in the last war. After the treaty of El Zanjón was signed, he still held out for a year.

The Government passed laws dividing the republics into states, districts and prefectures, regulating marriages, establishing post offices and for the collection of

taxes. The Cuban Government also published two newspapers, issued stamps of various denominations and placed bonds, with which to obtain sufficient funds to bring the war to a rapid termination. In short, all civil functions compatible with a state of war, were exercised.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### CONTINUAL SUCCESS.

GENERAL CAMPOS now prepared himself for the winter campaign, in which he hoped at least, to weaken the revolution. At all events, it was necessary to crush it in Santa Clara, and prevent the carrying out of General Gomez's order, forbidding the making of the sugar crop, the destruction of which, meant the total financial ruin of Spain's credit, and consequently, her inability to float loans with which to continue the struggle.

These orders of General Gomez, entailing as they did in case of disobedience, the loss of property, was a subject of great criticism, by those who do not know the importance of depriving the enemy of nine-tenths of the capital with which it was to make war on liberty, but judged only of the direct tax imposed on sugar, an infinitesimal amount, compared to what Spain derives from the endless-chain taxation of millions. The motives underlying these apparent harsh decrees are here given in their own words. The preliminary warning of July 1, said :

"GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF LIBERATION,

"NAJASA, Camaguey, July 1, 1895.

"To the Planters and Owners of Cattle Ranches :

"In accord with the great interests of the revolution

for the independence of the country, and for which we are in arms :

"Whereas, all exploitations of any product whatsoever, are aids and resources to the Government that we are fighting, it is resolved by the General-in-Chief to issue this general order throughout the island, that the introduction of articles of commerce, as well as beef and cattle into the towns occupied by the enemy, is absolutely prohibited. The sugar plantations will stop their labors, and whosoever shall attempt to grind the crop notwithstanding this order, will have their cane burned and their buildings demolished. The person, who, disobeying this order, will try to profit from the present situation of affairs, will show by his conduct little respect for the rights of the revolution of redemption, and therefore shall be considered as an enemy, treated as a traitor, and tried as such in case of his capture.

"MAXIMO GOMEZ,  
"The General in-Chief."

Nevertheless throughout the country preparations were made for the grinding of the crop. A peremptory order, of which the following is a copy, was then issued on November 6 :

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF LIBERATION.

"TERRITORY OF SANCTI SPIRITUS, Nov. 6, 1895.

"Animated by the spirit of unchangeable resolution in defence of the rights of the revolution of redemption of this country of colonists, humiliated and despised by Spain, and in harmony with what has been decreed concerning the subject in the circular dated the 1st of July, I have ordered the following :

"Article 1. That all plantations shall be totally destroyed, their cane and outbuildings burned, and railroad connections destroyed.

"Article 2. All laborers who shall aid the sugar factories—these sources of supplies that we must de-

prive the enemy of—shall be considered as traitors to their country.

“Article 3. All who are caught in the act, or whose violation of Article 2 shall be proven, shall be shot. Let all chiefs of operations of the army of liberty comply with this order, determined to unfurl triumphantly, even over ruin and ashes, the flag of the Republic of Cuba.

“In regard to the manner of waging the war, follow the private instructions that I have already given.

“For the sake of the honor of our arms and your well-know courage and patriotism, it is expected that you will strictly comply with the above orders.

“M. GOMEZ,  
“General-in-Chief.”

On the 11th of November the following proclamation was issued:

“HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF LIBERATION,

“SANCTI SPIRITUS, November 11, 1895.

“To Honest Men. Victims of the Torch:

“The painful measure made necessary by the revolution of redemption, drenched in innocent blood from Hatuey to our own times, by cruel and merciless Spain will plunge you in misery. As General-in-Chief of the Army of Liberation, it is my duty to lead it to victory, without permitting myself to be restrained or terrified, by any means necessary to put Cuba in the shortest time, in possession of her dearest ideal. I therefore place the responsibility for so great a ruin on those who look on impassively, and force us to those extreme measures which they then condemn, like dolts and hypocrites that they are. After so many years of supplication, humiliations, contumely, banishment, and death, when this people, of its own will, has arisen in arms, there remains no other solution but to triumph,

and it matters not, what means are employed to accomplish it.

"This people cannot hesitate between the wealth of Spain, and the liberty of Cuba. Its greatest crime would be to stain the land with blood without effecting its purposes, because of puerile scruples, and fears which do not concur with the character of the men who are in the field, challenging the fury of an army which is one of the bravest in the world, but which in this war is without enthusiasm or faith, ill fed and unpaid. The war did not begin February 24; it is about to begin now.

"The war had to be organized; it was necessary to calm, and lead into the proper channels, the revolutionary spirit always exaggerated in the beginning by wild enthusiasm. The struggle ought to begin in obedience to a plan and method, more or less studied, as the result of the peculiarities of this war. This has already been done. Let Spain now send her soldiers to rivet the chains of her slaves; the children of this land are in the field, armed with the weapons of liberty. The struggle will be terrible, but success will crown the revolution and the efforts of the oppressed.

"MAXIMO GOMEZ,

"General-in-Chief."

The Cuban General having perfected all his arrangements, instead of waiting to be attacked, took the offensive, and so upset all of Campos' preparations.

General Rodriguez was placed in command of the Third Army Corps, and Gomez ordered General Antonio Maceo, with about four thousand men, mostly infantry, to follow and join him at Sancti Spiritus, on the western boundary of Santa Clara, where Generals Roloff, Sanchez, Perez and Lacret, were waiting, under orders, for the advance of the Commander-in-Chief. Between the provinces of Santa Clara and Puerto

Principe, there was a line of forts extending from the town of Jucaro to the town of Moron, called the *trocha*. To prevent the entrance of Gomez into Santa Clara, General Martinez Campos, reinforced the garrisons, and placed strong columns along the line, to fill up the gaps. General Gomez, with a few hundred men, succeeded by a series of manœuvres in getting through this line and falling upon the town of Pelayo captured the forts which guarded it, together with the entire garrison, and a large amount of arms and ammunition.

He then moved north in the Province, of Santa Clara, into the district of Remedios, moved west, recrossed the *trocha* and there joined forces with General Antonio Maceo.

The column of invasion under the latter, started from the province of Santiago de Cuba; Maceo marched his soldiers through the entire province of Puerto Principe, although four large Spanish columns were sent to interrupt his progress. These he succeeded in eluding, defeating them, however, on several occasions. The combined forces of Maceo and Gomez, by a series of strategic movements, again succeeded in passing the *trocha*, their rear guard defeating Colonel Segura, inflicting heavy loss, and capturing many mules laden with arms, ammunition and supplies.

On the arrival of the combined forces in Santa Clara, Gomez, taking charge of all the forces in the district, divided them, sending flying columns in advance, under Generals Suarez, Perez and Lacret, despatching others to Sagua, in the north, and toward Trinidad, in the south; Maceo's forces made a demonstration on the city of Santa Clara, which was now Martinez Campos' headquarters, while Gomez threatened Cienfuegos.

In all the operations which now followed, General Gomez had ample forces in his rear, so that his retreat, if made necessary, would not be cut off.

Immediately on the threatening of Cienfuegos, General Martinez Campos removed his headquarters from Santa Clara to Cienfuegos, and thence despatched a large number of troops, to form a line between Cienfuegos, Las Cruces and Lajas, to impede the westward march of the Cuban army. Still advancing westward, and ordering a concentration of his troops, Gomez outflanked the Spanish command, his rear guard distracting their attention and engaging them severely at Maltiempo.

From the official report of this battle,—now in the archives of the Cuban Delegation in this country,—by General Miro, Chief of Staff, I quote :

“On the 14th of December, the army entered the district of Cienfuegos, and on the next day there was a fight at the Mal Tiempo plantation, in which the Spanish column was completely routed, and one after another, the squares formed to hold back the Cuban cavalry, were broken. Two hundred and ten men were cut down with machetes ; one hundred and ten Mauser rifles, thirty Remingtons, ten thousand cartridges, the baggage, mules, medicine chest, papers, and banner were captured. From the papers that were taken, it was discovered that the Spanish forces consisted of detachments from the Canary regiment of infantry, and the ‘Treviño’ cavalry. Generals Gomez and Maceo in person, led the Cuban charges.

“The Cuban loss was twenty-seven ; among the killed was Lieutenant-Colonel José Cefi y Salas. After a short rest, employed in caring for the wounded, and in



dividing the spoils captured from the Spaniards, another hostile column appeared in front, and was attacked by General Maceo's escort.

"A body of infantry was quickly formed, and armed with the rifles just captured, which, planted on a little height, riddled the enemy with bullets for half an hour, and forced him to retreat in haste, while the cavalry attacked him on the flanks. General Gomez, who had marched on with a part of the troops, fell in with another column of the enemy, and with the assistance of Zayas' brigade, that joined him at the right moment, did great damage to the enemy's forces. Meanwhile the rear guard under Colonel Pedro Diaz, held back the Spanish troops that came to the rescue. When camp was pitched, the Cubans had been seventeen hours on horseback.

"General Maceo sent out a number of flanking columns to march parallel with the body of the troops, and ordered General Lacret to advance rapidly to the North, into the province of Matanzas. Couriers were sent back to Camaguey, to direct General Rodriguez to to cross the *trocha* with the second contingent from the East, and to form a junction in that district. The situation of the Cuban forces on entering the most populous and richest district of the island, was as follows : Quintin Bandera, north of Trinidad ; the forces of Legon and Castillo against Sancti Espiritus and the *trocha* ; the troops of Pedro Diaz, Zayas, Rego and Cortina respectively, toward Remedios, Santa Clara, Cienfuegos and Sagua. Artega's forces were also sent toward Cienfuegos, and Rafael Cardenas was ordered to enter the districts of Cardenas, and Colon."

Martinez Campos again changed his headquarters,

moving to Colon, in the province of Matanzas, trying vainly to stem the tide. He had prepared what he thought was a sure "rat trap" he hoped that the Spanish forces to the rear of the Cubans, would be able to co-operate with him. But every means of communication by railroad, telephone or telegraph, had been completely destroyed by the Cubans in their progress west; no word could be sent, nor soldiers transported quickly enough for a combined attack on the front and rear of the Cubans. General Maceo, sometimes in the van, at others in the rear, skilfully directed the march. His strategy consisted in a series of zigzag movements, almost always from east to west, approaching as near as possible to some hostile district, and then retreating from it and continuing the advance. While his column was braving the enemy's forces to throw them off the track, and defeat them in detail, General Gomez made a rapid flank movement with five hundred horsemen to the village of Roque, which he entered in triumph.

From this time on, the fighting was very sharp, the order of Gomez, concerning the grinding of the sugar crop, was evidently being disobeyed in Matanzas and Santa Clara. The torch was applied, with the result, that only a sixth of the harvest was realized that year.

With calls for the protection of the plantations in the said provinces, the cities of Santa Clara and Colon threatened, with all communications to the East, except by water, cut off, and with the Cuban forces advancing in oblique directions to the West, General Campos was in a sea of troubles.

On the 23d of December, he took personal command in the field, for the second time. The battle of Coliseo, lasting an hour, was the result. The Spanish forces

consisting of two thousand five hundred infantry kept up a tremendous fire, but without being able to advance. Martinez Campos again changed his headquarters to Jovellanos, then to Limonar, to Matanzas and finally to Havana, where he actively engaged in fortifying the land approaches to the Capital, while he concentrated as many troops as possible, sending to the most easterly province, that of Santiago, for all the troops that could be spared from that district, and hurried to the neighborhood of Batabano as many battalions as possible, withdrawing even a large number of the marines from the fleet, to assign them to shore duty.

This line of Batabano was broken too. Engagements and skirmishes were of daily occurrence; the Cubans driving the Spaniards back.

At Calimete, on the 29th of December, a battle was fought, with the Spaniards formed in three squares. One of these was broken, the men cut down with machetes, a greater number retreating. After an hour and a half of fighting, the Cuban infantry decided the battle.

The new year, found the patriots in the province of Havana; they took several towns, such as Guira de Melena, Gabriel, Alguizar, Ceiba de Agua, Vereda Nueva and Hoyo Colorado. In some of these places, the volunteers of the garrisons, did not oppose a declaration of the people in favor of independence. At Hoyo Colorado, the town proclaimed itself for the revolution, the volunteers tore off their uniforms, and gave up their arms.

On the 7th of January, outside of the town, a great parade of all the forces of the Army of Invasion

united there took place. They numbered eleven thousand seven hundred men.

In accordance with the new plans of operation, the forces then separated, General Gomez with seven thousand horsemen and five hundred infantry, marching back to the province of Matanzas, while the rest under General Maceo, continued to advance toward Pinar del Rio. The advance guard on that day, came very close to Marianao, and at night could make out the lights of Havana.

While General Gomez constantly operated within thirty miles of Havana, General Maceo triumphantly paraded through Pinar del Rio, after breaking the military line at Mariel. The seaport of Cabañas surrendered in spite of the presence of a Spanish cruiser, San Diego de Nunez and Bahia Honda followed. On the 18th, the battle of Las Taironas took place with a Spanish column of three thousand men; it was a stubborn contest, but the Government troops were unable to check Maceo's advance. On the 20th of January, the Cubans entered the town of Guanés, which gave them an enthusiastic reception, the church bells pealing a welcome. From the funds of the municipality, some salaries were paid, specially those of schoolmasters, whose salaries had not been paid by the Spanish authorities, for eighteen months. The public authorities remained in their respective positions, and the mayor was appointed prefect of the district.

Mantua, the most westerly town, fell on the 23d, into the hands of the Cubans. The people of Mantua gave them a similar reception to the one at Guanés. General Maceo, accompanied by his chief of staff, was present at a council meeting, where minutes were drawn

in which the council adhered to the principles represented by the Cuban army; the council, judges, mayor, and principal dignitaries, were all Spaniards, and the mayor was appointed prefect of Mantua. In the evening, a ball was given in the hall of the Spanish Casino, in honor of General Maceo, which the belles of the city attended. The beautiful standard of the Cuban army replaced that of Spain, which covered the picture of the youthful King, hung in the dais.

General Miro, speaking of this invasion, under date of January 23, said in his official despatch:

"The brilliant success of the expedition is due to the rapidity of the marches and the splendid physical condition of the men, who were in the saddle for sixteen or eighteen hours a day, during a whole month. The flanking parties, acting at great distances, were very effective in the Matanzas and Colon districts, acting often independently of the main body. The political tact shown by Generals Gomez and Maceo, has greatly aided the revolutionary cause, converting into active sympathizers, very many persons of Spanish origin who were previously hostile. Whole districts, inhabited by uncompromising Spaniards, have declared themselves for the principles of the revolution, on becoming convinced of the purity of the Cuban ideal, and seeing the honest behavior of the army. In the province of Pinar del Rio, known as the black continent, many Asturians, formerly hostile, have accepted office under the republic, and are contributing to its cause."

The army was well provided for during the campaign; in the rapid marches in Cienfuegos and Matanzas, ten thousands remounts were obtained, and the troops were clothed anew. The Cuban losses were in all, thirty-

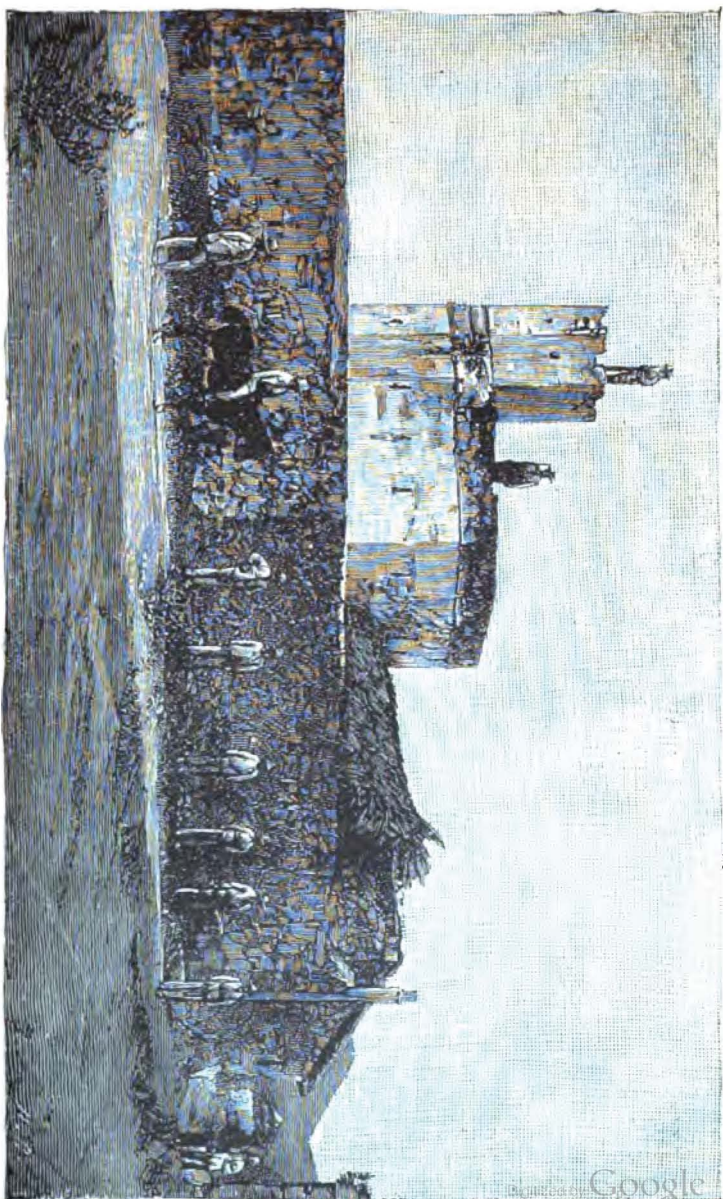
nine killed, of whom twelve were superior officers, and ten officers, and seventy officers and ninety privates wounded. The Cubans captured more than two thousand rifles from the enemy, and nearly one hundred thousand cartridges. At this time, the Cubans had sixty thousand men under arms; twelve thousand joined them in the invaded provinces. General Martinez Campos made gigantic efforts to prevent the passage of Maceo into the provinces of Las Villas and Occidente, and his military plans were well conceived. Dismayed as he was after the fight at Coliseo, at seeing all his efforts useless to bar out the invasion, it is not surprising that the steps he took later were blunders. The Spanish infantry always fought bravely, but it showed no enthusiasm; the cavalry never measured arms with the Cubans. On two occasions only, the affairs at Manacal and at Calimete, were the Spaniards the attacking party; in all the other fights, they kept behind protections.

During the campaign, the cane fields of all the sugar plantations, in the districts through which the army passed, were burned—a painful necessity, but thereby the government was deprived of the rich revenue it counted upon, from the sugar crop. Martinez Campos and his lieutenants, declared solemnly that the sugar crop would be harvested; but the invading army demonstrated that it had at its command the means of rendering ineffective, the most positive assertions of the Spanish Government. The results of the invasion may be summed up in General Maceo's own words:

“The campaign of invasion with its glorious result, due to the occurrence of circumstances of many kinds,

must necessarily mark a turning point in the relations between the Spanish elements in the island, and the independent Cubans. Those, who to-day refuse to understand our objects, and the political design of the campaign, will recognize in the end, what are the necessities of war, and that this people must be free. They will eagerly seek for some means of escape in the future, from another blow like that of the war of 1868. With no guarantees from the Spanish government, with their sugar property destroyed, and the republic strengthened on all sides, will come the conviction from the eloquent teaching of deeds, infusing into the most optimistic minds the idea that we will employ the efficacious treatment used in this campaign, periodically, and with even greater vigor, until the solution desired by Cuba is attained. On the other hand, truth always makes its way, and in the end, even those will see it who have lived among the delusions, created by an oppressive and detestable government, which impoverished the very men who have helped support it. The Spaniards who are still hostile, will become supporters of our cause, when they recognize as many others have already done, that the revolution only aims to overthrow the Spanish dominion in the person of its officials, and by no means to drive away the sons of the peninsula, whose social life is intermingled with ours, and whom we wish to see also sharing our political life, without the unjust privileges which have been granted to them hitherto."

General Martinez Campos, after his defeat at Coliseo, could no longer remain in command. He had lost the only thing which could keep the volunteer mob in check—the faith of the regular army in him. Notwith-



FORT CUBA AT HOLGUIN.





**A CRACK SHOT KILLED BY A SPANISH BULLET.**

standing the official and personal confidence expressed to him by the Queen Regent, on December 27, the artificial popular demonstration in his honor on his return to the capital, when the very men who, weeks after demanded his resignation saluted him as "our grand old Commander," the opinion of the Minister of War, Azcarraga, that, "his recall would be the first great victory of the Cubans before the country, the United States and the world," and messages of congratulations from the Cabinet, the rabid intransigents, who were not satisfied with his conduct, who wanted not only chiefs killed, as Mujica, Acebo, Amezaga and Gonzalez had been, but wholesale massacres, as those ordered by Garrido, Tejeda, the ex-convict, Benitez, Molina and Luque, and who clamored for a reign of terror, forced the Madrid authorities to oust Campos, for not complying with the demands of those, who would have made of him, not a general, but an assassin.

General Sabas Marin, who took the command *ad interim* of General Martinez Campos, thought he might catch General Maceo between Candelaria and Artemisa, but the three columns which advanced on the Cuban forces were not only routed, but the operations of the invading army continued with increasing success.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### WEYLER SUCCEEDS CAMPOS.

GENERAL VALERIANO WEYLER, of dark memory in the last ten years' war, as a lieutenant of the ferocious Valmaceda, succeeded Campos. There are no words strong enough, with which to describe the cowardly acts of this monster, during his subordinate commands. His victims were defenceless men, and his greatest feats were to insult, outrage, and torture the Cuban women. He represented a cruel and brutal policy, and for that reason was sent to Cuba; the wholesale murders with which he crushed anarchism in Barcelona were thought by his admirers, to be a good way of obtaining the pacification of the patriots in Cuba. The whole press of the island about two years ago, in times of piece, when he was proposed for Captain-General, protested against his appointment as an insult and provocation to the Cuban people. General Campos speaking of his companion in arms said: "Even the dead will rise against him." He is a Torquemada and an Alba combined; he is called the "Hyena of Spain;" those who know of his deeds best, prefer to designate him as the "butcher!"

The following decrees, interpreted in the Spanish style of duplicity and barbarity, scarcely convey an idea of his proposed measures to "exterminate" the patriots:

#### "PROCLAMATION."

"Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marquis of Teneriffa, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of  
(526)

Cuba, General-in-Chief of the army, etc., desirous of warning the honest inhabitants of Cuba and those loyal to the Spanish cause, and in conformity to the laws, does order and command:

"Article 1. All inhabitants of the district of Sancti Spiritus, and the Provinces of Puerto Principe, and Santiago de Cuba, will have to concentrate in places which are the headquarters of a division, a brigade, a column, or a troop, and will have to be provided with documentary proof of identity, within eight days of the publication of this proclamation in the municipalities.

"Article 2. To travel in the country in the radius covered by the columns in operation, it is absolutely indispensable to have a pass from the mayor, military commandants, or chiefs of detachments. Any one lacking this, will be detained and sent to headquarters of divisions, or brigades, and thence to Havana, at my disposition, by the first possible means. Even if a pass is exhibited, which is suspected to be not authentic or granted by authority, to persons with known sympathy toward the rebellion, or who show favor thereto, rigorous measures will result to those responsible.

"Article 3. All owners of commercial establishments in the country districts, will vacate them, and the chiefs of columns will take such measures as the success of their operations dictates, regarding such places which, while useless for the country's wealth, serve the enemy as hiding places in the woods and in the interior.

"Article 4. All passes hitherto issued, hereby become null and void.

"Article 5. The military authorities will see to the immediate publication of this proclamation.

"VALERIANO WEYLER."

"HAVANA, February 16, 1896."

The second proclamation is as follows:

"PROCLAMATION."

"Don Valeriano Weyler Nicolau, Marquis of Tene-

rifle, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Cuba, General-in-Chief of the army, etc:

"I order to avoid suffering and delay, other than that essential in time of war, and the summary proceedings initiated by the forces in operation, I dictate the following proclamation:

"Article 1. In accordance with the faculties conceded to me by rule two, article thirty-one, of the military code of justice, I assume, as General-in-Chief of the army operating in this island, the judicial attributes of H. E. Captain-General.

"Article 2. In virtue of rule two of said article, I delegate from this date, these judicial attributes, to the commanders-in-chief of the first and second army corps, and to the general commanding the third division, that is, in Puerto Principe.

"Article 3. Prisoners caught in action, will be subjected to the most summary trial, without any other investigation except that indispensable for the objects of the trial.

"Article 4. When the inquiry is finished, subject to consultation with the judicial authorities, the proceedings will continue during the course of operations, and in the presence of the judicial authority, with an auditor, the sentence may be carried out. When said authority is not present, the process will be remitted to him, and the culpable parties detained, at the locality where the division or brigade headquarters is situated.

"Article 5. The military juridic functionary of whatever rank, who accompanies in the operations the judicial authorities, when the latter thus decides, will act as auditor, dispensing with the assessors' assistance at court-martial, during operations, in cases where no other member of the juridic body is at hand.

"Article 6. When the sentence is pronounced, if the sentence be deprivation of liberty, the culprit will be brought to Havana, with the papers in the case, so that the testimony can be issued as to the penalty, and the sentence be carried into effect.

"Article 7. The said authorities will be acquainted with all cases initiated against the accused in war.

"Article 8. I reserve the right of promoting and sustaining all questions of competence, with other jurisdictions, as also with the military, and to determine inhibitions in all kinds of military processes, in the territory of the island.

"Article 9. I reserve likewise the faculty of assuming an inquiry into all cases, when it is deemed convenient.

"Article 10. No sentence of death shall be effected, without the acknowledgment by my authority, of the testimony of the judgment, which must be sent to me immediately, except when no means of communication exists, or, when it is a case of insult to superiors, or of military sedition, in which case sentence will be carried out, and the information furnished to me afterwards.

"Article 11. All previous proclamations, or orders, conflicting with this, on the question of the delegation of jurisdiction, in this island are hereby rendered null and void.

"VALERIANO WEYLER."

"Havana, February 16, 1896."

The third proclamation is as follows:

"PROCLAMATION."

"Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marquis of Tenerife, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Cuba, General-in-Chief of the army, etc:

"I make known that, taking advantage of the temporary insecurity of communication between the district capitals, and the rest of the provinces, notices which convey uneasiness and alarm, are invented and propagated, and some persons, more daring still, have taken advantage of this, to draw the deluded and the ignorant to the rebel ranks. I am determined to have the laws obeyed, and to make known by special means, the dispositions ruling and frequently applied during such times as the present, through which the island is

now passing, and to make clear how far certain points go, in adapting them to the exigencies of war and in use of the faculties conceded to me, by number twelve, article seven, of the code of military justice, and by the law of public order of April 23, 1870. And I make known, order, and command that the following cases are subject to military law, among others specified by the law:

"Clause 1. Those who invent or propagate by any means, notices or assertions favorable to the rebellion, shall be considered as being guilty of offences against the integrity of the nation, and comprised in article two hundred and twenty-three, clause six, of the military code, whenever such notices facilitate the enemy's operations.

"Clause 2. Those who destroy or damage railroad lines, telegraph or telephone wires, or apparatus connected therewith, or those who interrupt communications, by opening bridges, or destroying highways.

"Clause 3. Incendiaries in town or country, or those who cause damage, as shown in caption eight, article thirteen, volume two, of the penal code ruling in Cuba.

"Clause 4. Those who sell, facilitate, convey, or deliver arms or ammunition to the enemy, or who supply such by any other means, or those who keep such in their power, or tolerate or deal in such through the customs, and employees of customs who fail to confiscate such importations, will be held responsible.

"Clause 5. Telegraphists who divulge telegrams referring to the war, or who send them to persons who should not be cognizant of them.

"Clause 6. Those who through the press, or otherwise, revile the prestige of Spain, her army the volunteers, or firemen, or any other force that coöperates with the army.

"Clause 7. Those who by the same means endeavor to extol the enemy.

"Clause 8. Those who supply the enemy with horses, cattle, or any other war resources.

" Clause 9. Those who act as spies ; and to these the utmost rigor of the law will be applied.

" Clause 10. Those who serve as guides, unless surrendering at once and showing the proof of force majeure, and giving the troops evidence at once of loyalty.

" Clause 11. Those who adulterate army food, or conspire to alter the prices of provisions.

" Clause 12. Those who by means of explosives, commit the offences referred to in the law of June 10, 1894, made to extend to this island by the royal order of October 17, 1895, seeing that these offences affect the public peace, and the law of April 23, 1870, grants me power to leave to the civil authorities the proceedings in such cases as are comprised in captions four and five and treatise three of volume two of the common penal code, when the culprits are not military, or when the importance of the offence renders such action advisable.

" Clause 13. Those who by messenger pigeons, fireworks, or other signals, communicate news to the enemy.

" Clause 14. The offences enumerated, when the law prescribes the death penalty or life imprisonment, will be dealt with most summarily.

" Clause 15. All other proclamations and orders previously issued in conflict with this, are annulled by this

" VALERIANO WEYLER."

" HAVANA, February 16, 1896."

From the first proclamation it can be seen that the three Easterly provinces were in possession of the Cubans, and that the provisions were a subtle covering, to kill with impunity, the peaceful inhabitants of the Republic.

By the second, he suspended judicial functions and invested himself and the military authorities with the right to dispose of the life of any prisoner.



But the third was the most refined product of Weyler's method ; in fact under it, no Cuban could escape.

Fortunately for the cause of independence, Weyler could, as Campos has expressed it, "do no more" than he; "the people are with the Cubans." "The sad scenes of the last war, such as the shooting of the students," were not tolerated by civilized America. But these bloodthirsty measures only served to increase the ranks of the Cuban army, which daily became more powerful, by the capture of arms and ammunition.

When General Weyler took command, his plans could be summed up as follows :

1st.—To "clean out of rebels," the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana and Matanzas by the 15th of March.

2d.—To have the sugar planters grind by that time, thus accomplishing what Campos was not able to do, and proving to the world that the Cubans could not carry out their decrees.

3d.—To weaken the revolution in the other territories, prevent the landing of war material, and so prepare his campaign of two years' duration in which he hoped to end the war.

4th.—To influence public opinion in this country, and coöperate with Minister Dupuy de Lome to prevent, at all hazards, any expression of sympathy from the Senate and House of Representatives in favor of the struggling patriots.

In all this he signally failed. The military operations during the ensuing months were very successful for the patriots. The Spaniards having withdrawn most of their troops to the West, left the Eastern provinces abandoned ; the Cuban forces, taking advantage of this condition of affairs, surprised the few small

garrisons left, and Ruenes in Baracoa, Perez and José Maceo in Guantanamo, Demetrio Castillo and Francisco Sanchez Echeverria in the neighborhood of Santiago, Rabi in Manzanillo and Rojas in Holguin, increased their respective commands by the accession of Spanish soldiers, who joined them with arms and ammunition. In Camaguey, General José M. Rodriguez harassed the enemy constantly, and by brilliant attacks cut down several detachments of Spanish soldiers. In Las Villas there was constant fighting, the Spaniards being unable to make any headway ; men of position who were waiting to see how the tide would turn, left their homes to lead new groups of patriots ; in the district of Cienfuegos, Rego, famous for his magnanimity at Cantabria, in Sancti Spiritus, General Serafin Sanchez, in Santa Clara, Vidal and the Nuñez in Cardenas, Lacret, kept thousands of Spanish troops running hither and thither, in the vain attempt to protect the plantations, and to prevent the Cubans from entering and sacking the towns. The province of Matanzas, which has the largest number of sugar plantations, was no more contested ground, but a stronghold of Cuban independence, and every day reports were received of engagements with the numerous forces of the patriots. But the triumphs, which determined the complete defeat of Weyler, were the second march of General Antonio Maceo to Pinar del Rio, and the admirable tactics of General Gomez.

The "cleaning out of rebels" and the "grinding of cane" in the Western provinces by the 15th of March, was not accomplished.

General Antonio Maceo, after leaving Mantua, proceeded East again, having obtained the unanimous up-

rising of Pinar del Rio, where the Spaniards claimed to have him completely penned up. The battle of Paso Real was one of the most stubborn of the war. General Luque was in command of the Spanish troops; after twenty-seven hours of almost continuous marching he came up with the Cuban troops, commanded by Generals Maceo, Zayas, and Colonel Sotomayor, a gallant Chilian. The Cubans in possession of the town, fired from the tops of the houses and along the fences around the city. The Spanish vanguard, under Colonel Hernandez, attacked the vanguard, centre and rear of the Cubans, who held their ground, retreating to other positions as the enemy advanced. The patriots now entrenched themselves in a heavy palm grove. By a feint movement of the Cubans, the Spaniards were brought face to face, with one thousand insurgent cavalry, ready to attack. Lines of battle were formed two kilometers in length. There were two companies of Savoy, and one company of the Galicia battalions, under Colonel Hernandez, and three companies of the St. Quintin battalion, commanded by their colonel, besides three companies under Col. Frances in the centre, with one piece of artillery commanded by Col. Levon.

In the above order, the Spanish forces advanced from one position to another, firing volleys. They were met by the Cubans, three hundred yards from the palm trees. The rebel cavalry charged, coming as far as the bayonet points of the Spanish soldiers.

The Spanish infantry fought bravely, being formed in a straight line with a second line of squares. The Cuban horsemen caused great havoc in the squares. General Luque was shot through the right leg; two majors, several officers and about two hundred were

killed and an equal number wounded. The Cuban loss was about sixty two. Afterwards, followed the victories of Candelaria and Rio Hondo.

On the 10th of February another important engagement occurred in Nueva Empresa, near Candelaria. Maceo, intrenched in an advantageous position, was waiting for the troops under General Cornell. The fight lasted three hours, and at times was desperate. The Cuban losses were six, counting among them General Maceo's bugler, who died heroically, pierced by bayonets, struggling against a group of Spanish soldiers. On the Government side, the losses were considerable, General Cornell being wounded in the breast. Just about this time, in Palo Prieto, province of Las Villas, a glorious victory for the Cuban arms was obtained by General Serafin Sanchez, after five hours of struggle; the Spaniards lost two hundred and thirty-five men; the Cubans sixty-four.

General Maceo entered the province of Havana on the 12th, completely destroying the military combinations of General Marin, without firing a single shot, the Cubans crossed the terrible wall. Many skirmishes took place, until the 18th, when General Maceo, desirous of striking a blow at the prestige of Weyler, resolved to attack the City of Jaruco. One after another the different garrisons of the place fell into the hands of the Cubans.

The Guadalajara battalion of Spanish regulars, assisted the local volunteers, in the defence of the city. Maceo entered the city at the head of from three to four thousand men, after having encountered the Guadalajara companies this side of the town, at seven o'clock in the evening.

The Spanish companies made a stout resistance, but they were fighting against heavy odds. They managed to kill one of Maceo's men and captured one wounded insurgent, besides several horses. The Spanish troops lost one volunteer, who was killed, and six men of the Guadalajara battalion were wounded.

The small Spanish garrison was finally forced back into the city, but between eight and nine o'clock a reinforcement of cavalry and artillery arrived, having been hurriedly started east from Havana. The artillery opened fire, throwing shells toward Maceo's troopers.

Maceo then fell back into the city and began to burn houses right and left. The volunteers, who had retreated into the town ahead of him, kept up a desultory fire from several houses. The light of the burning town could be seen for many miles. Eighty rifles and two thousand rounds of ammunition were captured. At the same time, a train with reinforcements was compelled to return. General Maceo, met, the day after, General Gomez, who took position at the vanguard near the sugar plantation of Moralito. They opened fire on the strong column of the enemy, which was fought for half an hour by the General-in-Chief. General Maceo came galloping to his aid with cavalry of the East, and the brigades under Zayas and Bermudez, charging them immediately. The battle lasted two hours, with great vim on the part of the Cuban horsemen. By the line of fire of the enemy, it was judged that there were two Spanish columns. An hour afterwards, the battle was renewed, a league distant from the first encounter. The enemy's columns did not advance.

The Cubans continued east. On the 20th, was the skirmish at El Gato, in which the Spanish were worsted.

The enemy, when it entered the plantation El Gato, gave itself up to all kinds of outrages, assassinating the owner and his family, and several peaceful people.

The Cuban army spent the next few days in marching through the provinces of Havana and Matanzas. General Weyler announced that the Cuban forces were demoralized, and in bad plight were marching toward the east, giving out a proclamation, the "Te Deum" alone failing to solemnize his imaginary victories. According to official reports, General Gomez was fleeing through the forests of the Sigüanea; Maceo also, with small forces, was following the same steps. Of the forces that had been in the province of Pinar del Rio, the Government said, only small fleeing bands were left, avoiding meeting the loyal Spanish troops. But this was all false. General Gomez was diverting the attention of the enemy by a movement toward Colon, while General Maceo remained in Coliseo, where the military combination of General Martinez Campos failed, on the 23d of December, 1895. On the first anniversary of the revolution, not a shot was heard.

On the 25th of February, a fierce battle took place at "La Perla," the Cuban calvary reaching to within ten metres of the Spanish square; for two hours the fighting went on, being renewed in the afternoon in the hills of Guamacaro. The town of Santa Cruz, situated on the northern coast, was captured four days after. The garrison of thirty men surrendered, and afterward were set at liberty. Thirty rifles and one thousand six hundred rounds of ammunition, fell into the hands of the patriots. The Spanish General Prats, coming up after the engagement, burned all the huts of the neighborhood, and the peaceful dwellers were assassinated.

Letters from Spanish soldiers, taken some days after from the enemy's correspondence, related the details of these atrocities, and contained statements like this: "That the epoch of tolerance had ended; and that any one found in the country has his head cut off." It was these horrible abuses, and those of Punta Brava and Guatao, which will be described in another chapter, that caused General Maceo to write the following denunciatory letter to Weyler:

'GEN. VALERIANO WEYLER, HAVANA:

"In spite of all that the press has published about you, I have never been willing to believe it, and to base my judgment of your conduct on its statements; I thought it impossible for a soldier holding your high rank, to commit so many atrocities and crimes, which dishonor any man of dignity. The accusations seem to me rather to be made in bad faith, or to be the utterances of personal enmity, and I expected that you would take care to give the lie in due form to your detractors, rising to the height required of gentlemen, and saving yourself from any imputation of that kind, by merely adopting in the treatment of the wounded, and of prisoners of war, the generous course that has been pursued from the beginning, by the revolutionists, toward the Spanish wounded and prisoners.

"But unfortunately, Spanish domination must always be accompanied by infamy, and although the errors and wrong acts of the last war, seemed to be corrected at the beginning of this one, to-day it has become manifest, that it was only by closing our eyes to invariable personal antecedents, and incorrigible traditional arbitrariness, that we could have imagined Spain would forget forever, her fatal characteristic of ferocity toward the defenceless, and of assassination with impunity.

"But we cannot help believing evidence; in my march, during the period of this campaign, I see with

alarm, with horror, how the wretched reputation you enjoy, is confirmed, and how the deeds that disclose your barbarous irritation are repeated. What! must even the peaceful inhabitants, (I say nothing of the wounded and prisoners of war) be sacrificed to the rage, that gave the Duke of Alba his name and fame? Is it thus that Spain, through you, returns the clemency and kindness with which we, the redeemers of this suffering people, have exercised in like circumstances? What a reproach for yourself and for Spain! The license to burn the huts, assassinations like those at Nueva Paz, and the villa El Gato, committed by Spanish columns, in particular those of Colonels Molina and Vicuña, proclaim you guilty before all humankind; your name will be forever infamous, here and far from here, and remembered with disgust and horror!

"Out of humanity, yielding to the honorable and generous impulses which are identified with both the spirit and the tendency of the revolution, I shall never use reprisals that would be unworthy of the reputation and the power of the liberating army of Cuba. But I, nevertheless, foresee, that such abominable conduct on your part and on that of your men will arouse at no distant time, private vengeance to which they will fall victims, without my being able to prevent it, even though I should punish hundreds of innocent persons.

"For this last reason, since war should only touch combatants, and it is inhuman to make others suffer from its consequences, I invite you to retrace your steps, if you admit your guilt, or to repress these crimes with a heavy hand, if they were committed without your consent. At all events, take care that no drop of blood be shed outside of the battlefield; be merciful to the many unfortunate peaceful citizens. In so doing you will imitate in honorable emulation, our conduct and our proceedings.

"Yours,

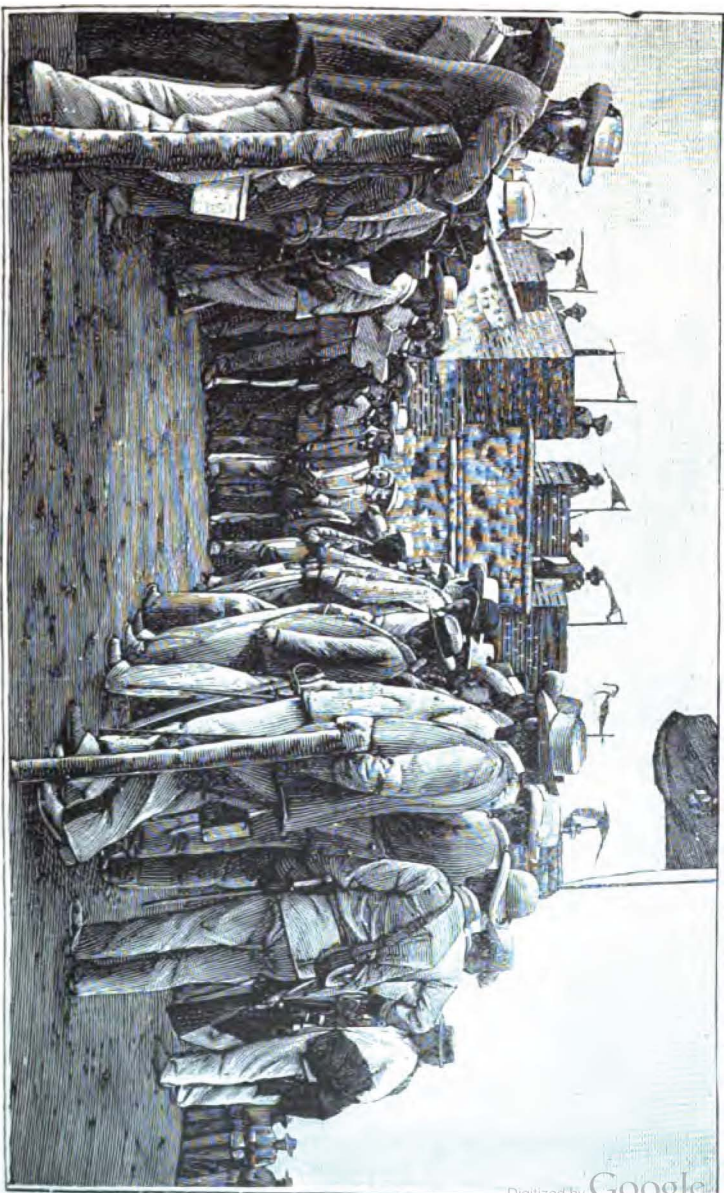
"A. MACEO."



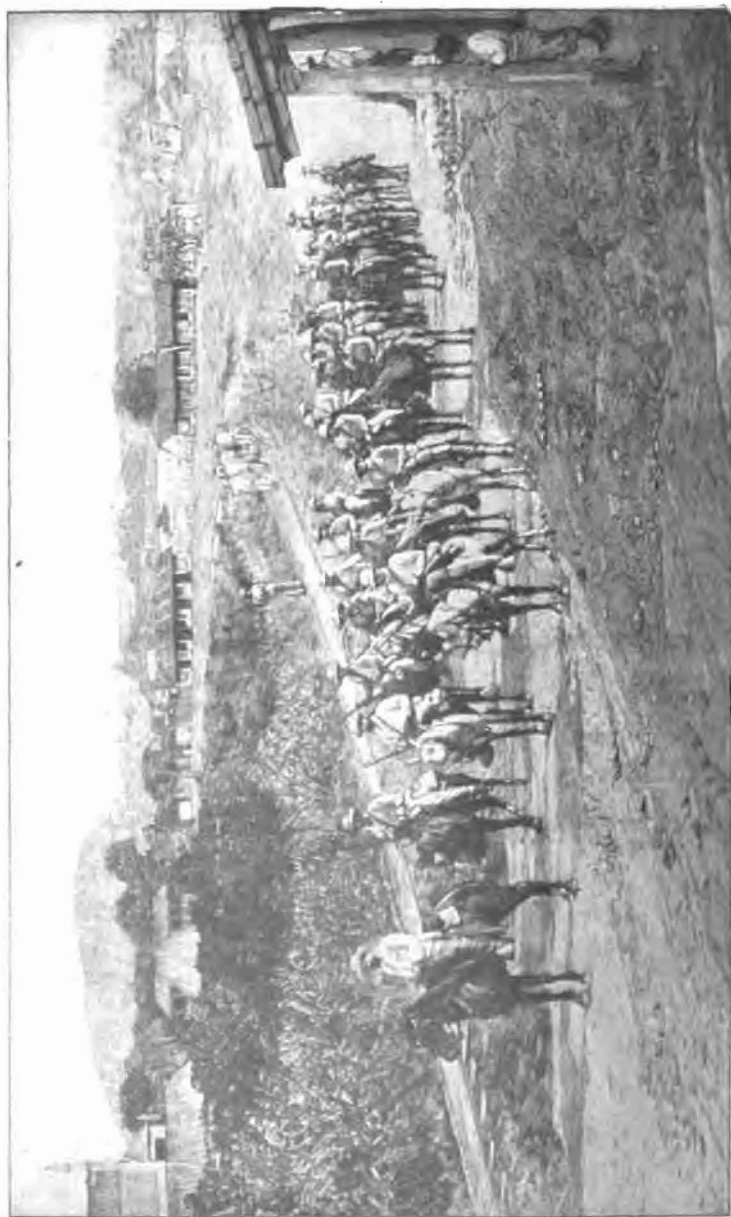
During the first week of March, General Maceo returned to the province of Havana, in spite of numerous forces under Generals Aldecoa and Linares, who could not check him. The Lieutenant-General made a junction with General Lacret, at Diana, and together returned to Matanzas, where at Galeon, they met on the very day appointed beforehand, the General-in-Chief and General Quintin Bandera at the head of the infantry of the east. The troops were enthusiastically reviewed on the 10th of March early in the morning. On the same day, the General-in-Chief, with his escort and some cavalry, countermarched toward the centre of Matanzas; the infantry of the East remaining with Maceo, for a second invasion of Pinar del Rio.

This new invasion was due to the proclamation of General Weyler, which declared, that there remaining only small bands in the provinces of Havana and Pinar del Rio, he considered those territories as pacified; that the insurgents captured—belonging to those groups—should be treated as bandits and incendiaries, and that the owners of sugar plantations should commence grinding in a few days.

In order to counteract these assertions, made for the express purpose of influencing the action of both Houses at Washington, and to show how far from the truth were the statements of the Spanish Captain-General, the Cuban leader again determined to enter the so-called trap of the Government. The subsequent destruction of property, if due to anybody, is due to General Weyler, and to the firm determination of the Cubans, to carry out the circular order dated at **Mi Rosa**, the Headquarters of the Liberating Army, on January 10, 1896, which is as follows:



CEREMONIES AT THE FORT OF PIEDRA PICADA.



A MOUNTED GUERRILLA TROOP.

"Inasmuch as the work of grinding sugar is now suspended in the western districts, and as, consequently, the burning of the cane fields is no longer necessary, I hereby order as follows:

"Article 1. The burning of cane fields is positively and absolutely prohibited.

"Article 2. Any person, whatever his rank or position in the army, who disobeys this order, shall be treated with the utmost severity of military discipline, and of the moral order of the revolution.

"Article 3. The boiling houses and machinery of sugar estates shall be destroyed, in case their owners or managers shall attempt to resume work, notwithstanding this order for the protection of property.

"Article 4. The persons and agricultural property of all peaceable inhabitants of the island of Cuba, whatever their nationality, shall be respected.

"The General-in-Chief,

"M. GOMEZ."

General Maceo now rushed straight across the Havana province, swerving here and there, only to dodge the Spanish column. The feeble resistance encountered, barely checked the impetuous advance of the Cuban forces. On the 18th of March, after leaving Generals Lacret and Zayas, who countermarched to their respective territories, the invading army advanced toward Batabano, which was attacked at about eight P. M.; three columns went into the very heart of the city, and one as far as the beach, which was shelled by the Spanish gunboats in the harbor. The Cubans destroyed everything in their path; the cavalry placed on the railroad, preventing the Spanish from being relieved. At midnight, almost all Batabano was burning, and the patriots retired with fifty rifles, much provision, and many cartridges captured from the enemy, besides, all

the infantry were clothed. After meeting General Diaz at Alquizar, they passed the "*trocha*" by Majana; and subsequently engagements took place at "Neptuno," "Esponda," and "Galope."

On the 17th, three Spanish battalions, under command of Colonel Suarez Inclan, encountered the Cuban forces near Candelaria. Colonel Inclan had a formidable artillery force. General Maceo opened the attack, completely encircling the Spanish column, and notwithstanding the fact that the enemy brought his artillery into play, the Cubans repeatedly charged with the machete. General Maceo, placing himself at the head of the infantry, rushed to the seat of battle, followed by his escort and by a squadron of the East. General Miro, the Chief of Staff, overpowered the enemy on one of the flanks, while Maceo broke its front. The Spanish column became disorganized, Colonel Inclan pushing toward Candelaria, after two hours of hard fighting. General Maceo tried to push him to the left, so that the Spaniards would be cut down by the Cuban cavalry, which he had placed at a convenient point; but the orders given were misinterpreted by his Aid-de-Camp, and the Spaniards found the road clear to Candelaria. To this they owe their salvation; the cannon escaped because of a wire fence, but many mules and horses laden with arms, ammunition and grenades were taken. The Spanish loss was very great.

In the battle of Cayajabos, on the 18th, the Government had three hundred killed and wounded; the Cubans were behind walls which served them as works.

The military accident of the 14th was of dire consequence to the loyal troops. It grew out of a misunder-

standing of the reply to a challenge and resulted in the killing and wounding of many Spanish soldiers. A small band of Cubans had set fire to the cane and buildings, on a sugar estate near Marianao, province of Havana. The smoke attracted the attention of two columns of Spanish troops, who were advancing in search of the Cubans. The column which first arrived on the estate, entrenched themselves as a precaution against any sudden attack from the insurgents, who were supposed to be near. The second column, consisting of the San Quintin Battalion, arrived on the scene after dark. As they approached the entrenchments of the first column they were hailed by the usual "Alerta!" from a picket, and responded by calling out the name of their battalion—San Quintin. The picket, confused by the sudden appearance of the column, misunderstood the reply, taking it from the similarity of sound to be Quintin Bandera, the name of one of the patriot leaders. He at once concluded that the insurgents were moving to attack the column to which he belonged, and, without further parley, discharged his piece and fell back to the entrenchments, where the report of his rifle had caused all the troops to seize their arms, and prepare to repel an attack. The second column had in the meantime continued to advance, supposing that they had come upon the Cubans, for whom they were looking. They had not gone far, before the first column poured a volley into their ranks. The second column returned the fire, and then, in response to an order, fixed their bayonets and rushed forward to take the entrenchments by storm. As they went over the entrenchments, the first column poured another volley into them, and then when the troops

came into close quarters it was discovered, from the uniforms, that a fatal blunder had been made.

On the 1st of April, the military situation could be summed up as follows: The Cuban army had completely foiled the plans of the Spanish General. General Antonio Maceo using rigorous measures, had stopped all the sugar grinding which had commenced in the province of Pinar del Rio, which was overrun from one end to the other by Cuban forces under Bandera, Miro, Socarras, Delgado and Sotomayor, and General Weyler strengthened his military *trocha* between Mariel and Majana—the shortest distance between the northern and southern coast of the island, covering the twenty-one miles with forts, trenches and earthworks, and concentrating nearly fifty thousand men on that line, in the expectation that General Maceo would try to cross it, and would be caught in its meshes. General Maceo, at about ten miles to the west of the *trocha*, said that when he got ready, and when it was convenient for his plans, he would cross it without any molestation or serious loss. In the province of Havana, the Cuban commands, under Generals Aguirre, Diaz, Collazo, and all the subordinate chiefs, occupied the province, being within a few leagues of the capital, and prevented railway trains from running to any considerable distance. The summary execution of a sugar planter, who persisted in disobeying the orders of the Republic, was of salutary effect, and no plantation afterward attempted to make the harvest.

The same thing may be said of the province of Matanzas, where General Lacret and his subordinates Arnieva, Cardenas, and Roque raided the villages and

towns, and had absolute possession of the interior. General Gomez, who separated from Maceo at "El Galeon" marched eastward to Santa Clara, where the Cubans attacked and entered the capital of that province, on the morning of the 24th of March, under Leoncio Vidal, while the General-in-Chief was encamped within a few leagues of the city. Another fatal mistake was committed by the Spaniards, although it was attributed to a trick of General Gomez. It is said, that instead of fighting the Spanish himself, he camped between a column under command of Colonel Holguin on one side, and General Godoy on the other. Then he sent word first to Holguin, then to Godoy, that he was there. These officers immediately got their respective commands under way, with the intention of giving the Cubans a lesson. While each was marching to the attack, Gomez, with his forces, quietly slipped away to the southeast. Holguin was the first to get to the late camp of the patriots, and just as he was looking around for the enemy, General Godoy came up with his columns, opening a furious fire on Colonel Holguin's command, who promptly returned it; thus, these two forces fought for about twenty minutes before they discovered their mistake; then they dropped their guns, and threw themselves into each other's arms, crying like children; while Gomez, then on his way to Sancti Spiritus, was enjoying his clever piece of strategy. In this action there were about one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on both sides. Generals Sanhchez, Zayas, Perez, Nuñez, Rego and other active officers of the Cuban army, controlled this province, and were preparing for a westward advance to support the other corps in the most western



districts. In Puerto Principe, General Rodriguez, and afterward General Suarez, who succeeded him, had little to do, as the Spanish forces did not dare to leave the few towns in their possession. In the province of Santiago de Cuba, Generals Rabi, José Maceo, Cebreco, and Colonels Sanchez, Echeverria, Estrada, and Ruenes, were holding their own successfully, and menacing the few garrisoned seaports. In a word, the Cubans controlled more than three-fourths of the island, with an army consisting of over sixty thousand men, more than half of whom were well armed and equipped.

## CHAPTER XL.

### FILIBUSTERING EXPEDITIONS.

THE effectiveness of the Cuban army was greatly increased after the beginning of the second year of the war, by the landing of several large cargoes of arms and ammunition, besides veteran leaders. In the province of Pinar del Rio, frequent arrivals of war material reached the thousands of men still unarmed in that province. General Enrique Callazo, after many attempts to reach the island, finally arrived near Cardenas, in the middle of March, with Brigadier-General Vazquez, and about sixty young men of the best families of the island. He took a large cargo, a great part of which he saved. From la Coronela, Cardenas, under date of April 3, he wrote this most interesting letter, which we copy entirely, as it gives a most faithful description of the status of the Cuban Revolution and an eloquent story of his landing :

"I have been more than agreeably surprised since my arrival here ; no one outside of the island can imagine the magnitude or power of the revolution. The power of the Spanish Government does not extend beyond the ground that their soldiers occupy, and that only while occupied, and, therefore, they live well entrenched in the cities they inhabit.

"Not an estate grinds without our permission. Even '*Portugalete*,' belonging to Don Manuel Calvo (the chief supporter of the Spanish Government in Cuba),

has, nicely framed and hung up over the entrance to the estate, Maximo Gomez's order for its protection.

"Since my arrival here, I have seen many Spaniards that live out in the country; they are respected by our forces. They are bound to work, so as not to die of hunger, and as they cannot make a living in the towns, are bound to work in their fields. We respect them, and do not interfere with them, and yet every now and then they fall victims to Weyler's companions, whose conduct is all the more vile and infamous, because it is so hypocritical. He protests publicly against these outrages, but his private orders are to the contrary.

"They call us incendiaries, and yet they burn everything they come across, where they know that the poor owners have not the means of letting the outside world know what is going on. The greater part of the killed that they report, consist of the '*pacifcos*,' who live in the country by the permission of the Spanish, in order to gain their living, and not starve in the cities. These are the victims, and these are the ones who go to fill up the number of their so-called 'killed in battle.'

"The wake of the Spanish troops can be followed by burnt remains of all the small huts, and the destruction of every farm, or bit of land that is under cultivation. Every horse, or animal that they come across is killed, so as to prevent us from utilizing them.

"I will now take up the history of our landing. I gave Pedro Vasquez orders to go ashore with six men, to reconnoitre and find out exactly where we were. While he was gone, the other boats were lowered and loaded. Vasquez had not returned, and, judging from his silence that everything was all right, the other boats, with forty men, were sent ashore. Our pilot

had instructions to take us to a given point, and we were anchored, as he said, at that place. Some time having passed, and none of the boats returning for the balance of the cargo, and no signs being made, I was getting quite anxious, for, with forty men ashore and four boats, I ought to have had some information. About that time, one of the boys returned in a boat, saying they were completely worn out buffeting with the waves; that the coast, although a sand beach, was unapproachable without great risk, for the waves were very high, and breaking heavily, to such an extent that the three large boats, as soon as they touched the beach, had been capsized. It was impossible to get them off again, and they were soon beaten to pieces. He also brought the startling information, that they had landed at a small town, that he thought was Varadero, and about sixty yards from a Spanish fort.

"My feelings cannot be described. All my carefully studied plans, so well executed, so ably seconded by my friends, and all to be lost at the very brink of success, through a mistake of our pilot, a mistake that very probably would cost us all our lives.

"At first I thought of bringing back the men, and returning the next day to land the balance, but I immediately gave up the thought, it being utterly impossible. Our large boats were wrecked on the beach, and the men could not be quickly brought back. The other alternative was to take the balance of the men ashore, join my men and together run the chance of life and death. It was impossible for me to abandon them in their perilous position.

"Upon my reaching the beach, I found them fighting with the waves, and landing everything from the cap-

sized boats. A large trench was dug, and everything was buried in the sand. We then prepared to march inland, for we were in a very dangerous position, as we were upon a narrow tongue of land with only one exit, and that very difficult. Fortunately Menocal knew the place and acted as a guide, but we had hardly advanced forty paces; when two shots were fired at us from one of the houses. The few that were in the front returned the fire, and then fell back on the main body. I then left Pedro Vasquez in charge of the men, and went with six men to reconnoitre, fearing that those shots might mean an ambuscade, but found that such was not the case. No more shots were fired, and by daybreak we were out of our narrow prison.

"Before 8 o'clock that morning we met the Cuban forces under Lieutenant-Colonel Cepero, Commander Miquelini and Captain Tavio; they had heard of our landing, and with the utmost rapidity had marched to our assistance.

"The Spaniards waited until daybreak before they left the fort, and when we returned, they were digging up and loading an ox wagon and mule cart with the arms and ammunition. They were immediately attacked and we recovered everything. We then attacked the fort, and were fighting for some time; the first to hit the target was Candido Crespo, and he captured the rifle and hat of the soldier he killed.

"That same evening, we started on our march inland, and before dusk fell in with Lacret, who was coming to meet me. There are about 12,000 Cubans in the field in this district, 4,000 of whom are mounted. This mounted division is in three brigades, one under Colonel Pepe Roque, one under Eduardo Garcia, and

Brigadier Pedro Vasquez has been put in command of the third.

"It is difficult to state exactly the number of men in this vicinity, but from the data I have, and that I am certain is not exaggerated, Matanzas province has 10,000 men, 12,000 in the province of Havana, and 17,000 in Vuelta Abajo (province of Pinar del Rio), a total of 39,000 men. In Las Villas, Camaguey and Oriente there are many more."

The most daring, and perhaps the most successful venture of this kind, was the one which occurred simultaneously with the above. It was under the general supervision of Brigadier Emilio Nuñez, but under the immediate command of Major Braulio Peña, a brave and able officer of the last war. With but eight men, among whom was the famous Osgood of the Pennsylvania football team, Peña landed in Puerto Principe, nearly four hundred rifles, one-half a million rounds of ammunition, a two pounder Hotchkiss and a vast quantity of munitions of war, at two in the afternoon, unmolested by any Spanish cruiser. Everything on board of the steamer which took the stout-hearted crew, was saved and was placed in the hands of those men, who when they rose, had only the few cartridges that Caridad Aguero, a woman who recalls Spartan valor by her deeds, had brought in her trunks, after the uprising, at the peril of her life.

But the great blow to the blockading fleet,—which during the year had lost the Sanchez Barcaiztegui at the harbor of Havana, with Admiral Parejo, officers and crew aboard, and shortly after the Cristobal Colon on the Colorado reefs, watching for filibusters,—was the landing in Cuba, of the distinguished veteran, Major-General Calixto Garcia.

As soon as the old warrior heard of this revolution, he placed himself at the orders of Marti. His health, and the vigilance of the Spanish authorities in Madrid, did not permit him to reach New York until some months after the uprising. As soon as he arrived, he asked the Cuban Revolutionary Party to send him to the island. His first attempt was on the unfortunate *Hawkins* which the Spaniards scuttled, not stopping at the murder of ten men, who were drowned, in order to prevent General Garcia from landing on Cuban soil. General Weyler knew what the powers of the able tactician was capable of, and the affectionate hold which he still has on his fellow citizens in the Eastern Department. Every precaution was taken on sea, by the cruisers and gunboats, and in the United States, by the Spanish Minister and his paid detectives, to thwart the plans of the Cubans. But, as with the other expeditions, the patriots finally triumphed, although after unnecessary expense and hardship, due to certain interpretations of the neutrality laws. The Spaniards were hardly celebrating their criminal victory of the disaster of the *Hawkins*, and proclaiming that with it, the resources of the Cubans had been exhausted, and that for the time being no cargo of arms and ammunition, nor General Garcia could be sent to the island, when the Spanish Minister was nervously going up the steps of the State Department, of which he has become a permanent fixture, asking that the English steamer *Bermuda*, off Liberty Island, should be detained. It seemed as if Spain believes that the Federal authorities and the United States Revenue cutters, should do their police duty. The Spanish Legation was elated to know, that on the 24th of February, the vessel in ques-

tion had been detained until the authorities were satisfied, that the plans of the supposed expedition had been frustrated. The arms and ammunition were seized, and General Calixto Garcia, Benjamin J. Guerra, Captain Samuel Hughes, Captain John D. Hart, Captain John Barbazon and Bernardo Bueno were held for trial, for violation of the neutrality laws. They were tried on the 6th of April before Judge Brown and were acquitted on the 10th, after the jury was out only ten minutes. As he did not appear, General Calixto Garcia's bail of \$2,500, was forfeited. He was in Cuba, and on the very day of the decision, the following letter was received by the Cuban Delegation, and published in the American Press :

"To the people of the United States of America :

"I am well aware of the obligation under which I am to present myself for trial for my alleged violations of the laws of your country. I have not remained to take the consequences of my act, simply because I believe I have a higher duty to fulfil as soldier and as a Cuban. Having struggled for the independence of my country ten years, and afterwards upheld the idea for which we then fought, I consider it the highest and most sacred of my duties to combat, shed my blood, and if it be necessary to die, in order to obtain the independence of my country.

"I am sure that if I fall, my death will expiate before your eyes, whatever offence for which I should be tried there ; if I survive, I give you my word as a man and soldier, that I will return to your country, and will willingly submit to the results of your laws.

"My conscience tells me that in proceeding thus, I will satisfy the laws of justice, and that the citizens of the United States will so judge my conduct.

(Signed,) "CALIXTO GARCIA."



Mr. Dupuy de Lome and his hirelings could not prevent the General from leaving the United States on the 15th of March. Brigadier Emilio Nuñez was too cunning for the Spaniards; by a happy combination, on the 25th, General Calixto Garcia, General Avelino Rosas, a well-known military leader of Colombia; Col. José Rodríguez, and ninety men of the most aristocratic families of the island, landed on the Eastern coast of Cuba, at the same time that the largest cargo of war material that has ever entered the island, consisting of thousands of rifles, a million cartridges, cannons and accoutrements, was safely delivered into the hands, of the thousands of patriots who were anxiously waiting. The third aim of Weyler was frustrated, and the Cuban army received not only a valuable contingent of experienced chiefs, but the necessary means with which to keep up the struggle for many months.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### SPANISH CRUELITIES.

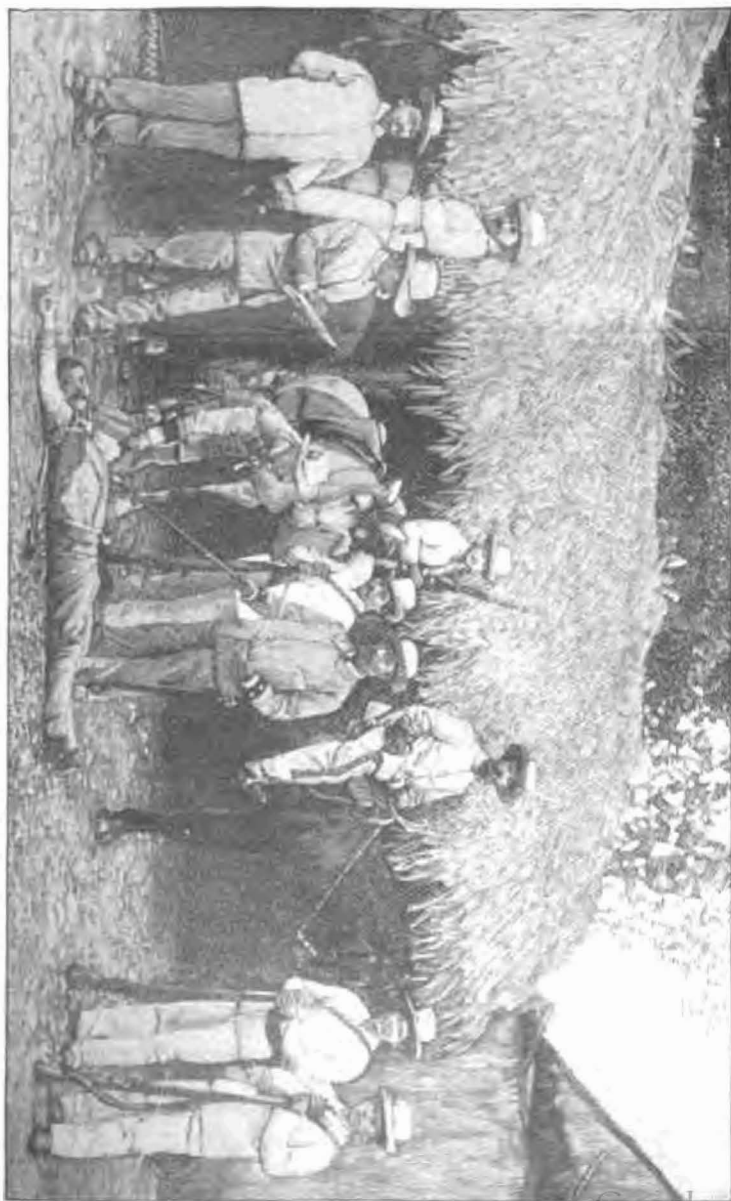
No sketch of the Cuban Revolution would be complete, without, at least a succinct account, of the cruelty and desperation with which Spain carried on the war against the patriots. The Government opened all the prisons of Cuba, and Spain, and offered freedom to the convicts, on condition of their taking up arms against Cuba. Shiploads of these criminals, and all grades of low outcasts were sent to the island, not only from Spain, but also from Central and South American republics, to enlist in the Spanish forces, as guerillas and irregular troops.

Among these criminals was the famous Lolo Benitez, recently killed, who with the title of Lieutenant-Colonel, committed all sorts of vile outrages on defenceless men, women and children, both native and Spanish; his followers were all of the very lowest criminals, turned loose to prey upon the country. We have already touched on the conduct of the Spanish soldiers toward the Cuban hospitals. The Spanish Government, anxious that no knowledge of their actions should reach the civilized world, refused the Red Cross Society permission to establish a service on the island, for the benefit of the sick and wounded of both sides.

Late in the month of August the insurgent leader Jesus Rabi, captured the town of Baire, surprising the garrison. Forty-six of the Spanish soldiers joined the

insurgents of their own free will. The others preferred the liberty which was offered to them, after their arms had been taken. The Cubans had not been in possession of the town long, however, when a body of Spanish troops under Major Garrido, known on account of his cruelty, as Valmaceda, one of the greatest tyrants that ever ruled the island, appeared, having been summoned to reinforce the garrison.

They succeeded in driving out the Cubans and were so enraged at the sight of the dead and wounded, they saw on the ground about them, that they began a slaughter rivaling the Port Arthur massacre. The Spanish butchered all who happened in their way, not even sparing inoffensive citizens attempting to flee. Patricio Garriche, a leading citizen, who was at work at the time, was killed. Señora Vera was compelled to look on while the soldiers butchered her six-year-old daughter Juanita, after which they ended the mother's frenzied grief by putting a bullet through her brain. The house of Señora Alejandrina Ribot, a widow, was visited and \$1,000 in American gold was stolen. Major Garrido said he took the money, because it was being kept by the widow for the insurgents, to be used for purchasing arms and ammunition. The unfortunate woman was killed by bayonet thrusts for remonstrating. Señorita Dolores Medero, a young girl, was hanged and a placard pinned to her dress, reading, "Death to sympathizers with insurgents." She was believed to be betrothed to a young Cuban insurgent officer, and for that reason was made a victim of Spanish cruelty. A Frenchman named Lanet was visited by the maddened troops, who destroyed his estates valued at \$500,000, but spared his life.



POLICE VIEWING A BODY AFTER AN ASSASSINATION.



THE PRADO AND THE FOUNTAIN OF INDIA, HAVANA.  
 FORT ST. JOSEPH, BETWEEN MANZANILLO AND BAYAMO.

The difference between the Chinese Port Arthur and the Cuban Port Arthur is that the Japanese soldiers, inflamed by the sight of their slain countrymen, could not be held back by their officers, whereas the Spanish troops were urged on by their commander, who is said to have distinguished himself above all his men, for barbarity. That was the recompense of the Spaniards, for the magnanimous treatment accorded to their prisoners by the Cubans, of which the following is an instance given by an American correspondent, who cannot be accused of partiality :

He said : " On one occasion, twenty-six Spanish soldiers were captured in a small engagement near Sagua. They were placed in line in front of the headquarters of General Maceo, and when the chief stepped up in front of them they expected instant death. They had been told various stories of cruelty by their officers, and the limbs of every one, with the exception of a veteran surgeon, trembled with fear. ' Well, there is one of two things for you fellows to do,' said General Maceo ; ' you can either stay here, or go back to your own people. Now, which do you want to do ? ' They were struck dumb with astonishment, and several tried to kiss the hand of their preserver. They held a consultation among themselves, and finally it was decided that the surgeon and fifteen of the soldiers, would return to their own forces. The remaining eleven decided to join the forces of the rebels, and General Maceo paroled these men, after writing a letter explaining to the Spanish commander the bravery of his men, and how they had been compelled to surrender. He then sent them back rejoicing, accompanied by an armed escort, carrying a flag of truce."

In another defeat that the Spanish suffered at the hands of Colonel Alfredo Rego, at the sugar estate of "Cantabria," district of Cienfuegos, the insurgents took sixteen soldiers prisoners, two of them badly wounded. Colonel Rego had the wounded soldiers treated, and then sent a communication to the nearest Spanish officer, asking that a detachment of soldiers be sent to receive the prisoners. This was accepted by the Government officer, who wrote in answer the following letter:

"ARMY HEADQUARTERS AT CUMANAYAGUA.

"*Mr. Alfredo Rego:*

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I had the pleasure to receive your polite note. I see by it the generosity of your heart, and I thank you in the name of my superior officers, to whom I will communicate your humanitarian act.

"I send the committee desired, to bring back the prisoners. It takes this letter to you, and is composed of Benito Mesa and Telesforo Ramirez. I beg you to give them the necessary aid, promising you that your men will be respected by this garrison.

"Yours truly,

(Signed)

"JOSÉ BRETONES, Lieutenant."

But such acts in conformity to the following circular, have not been imitated by the Spaniards.

The noble spirit of the revolution can be judged by this order:

"GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF LIBERATION,

"CAMAGUEY, August 1, 1895.

"In order to establish in a clear and precise manner the mode of procedure toward the chiefs, officers and soldiers of the monarchy captured in action or operations, and toward those who voluntarily surrender to

our columns or authorities, I have deemed it convenient to order as follows :

" Article 1. All prisoners captured in action, or by the troops of the Republic, will be immediately released and returned to their ranks, unless they volunteer to join the army of liberation. The abandoned wounded will be gathered and attended to with all care, and the unburied dead interred.

" Article 2. All persons who shall be arrested, charged with committing the misdemeanors in the circular of July 1, by violating or disregarding the said order, will be summarily proceeded against.

" Article 3. Those of the prisoners who are chiefs or officers of the army of the monarchy, will be respected and considered according to their rank and treated according to the valor with which they may have resisted, and will all be returned to their ranks if they so desire.

" Article 4. Those who volunteer to join the ranks of the Republicans, and appear before our columns and authorities, will have their option in the mode of serving the cause of the Republic, either in arms, or by more peaceful occupations, civil or agricultural pursuits.

" I communicate this to you for your instruction and for your rigid compliance. Country and liberty,

" MAXIMO GOMEZ,

" General-in-Chief."

On the other hand, all the Cuban prisoners were executed and as an American said :

" There is supposed to be a general understanding among commanders of Spanish columns, that no prisoners are to be taken in engagements in the field. All Cuban patriots who fall into the hands of the troops, through being wounded or from other cause, are likely to be shot at once, and counted with the number killed in battle."

Two days after the engagement of General Linares



and the Cuban leader Rabi, in Descanso del Muerto, an officer of the column of General Lipares took as prisoners, four peaceful citizens whom he met near the sugar estate of Hatillo, and then notified the General of their arrest. The General, angered by the defeat he had received in his encounter with Rabi, ordered the men to be shot immediately. Three of them were shot. The other, who is the uncle of a well-known lawyer in the city of Santiago, escaped because he screamed so loud that he attracted the attention of Lieutenant-Colonel Tejeda, who was acquainted with him, and assured the General that the prisoner was a peaceful man.

An eleven-year-old boy whom the Spaniards captured on November 19th, having been wounded on the road leading to Cartagena, shortly after the engagement with Aniceto Hernandez's band, was tried at Matanzas by court-martial on the 12th and sentenced to life imprisonment and perpetual chains.

Early in November, while General Lacret was invading the province of Matanzas, the Spaniards under Colonel Molina attempted to stop his march. An engagement took place at Cayo Espino in which the government troops were worsted. Colonel Molina, enraged, entered the saw mills there, belonging to two Spaniards named Gonzalez. The families who inhabited the mills, took refuge in a deposit of sawdust. There they thought they would be free from Spanish bullets. The Spanish soldiers followed them and shot into these innocent people under the pretext that they were insurgents in arms. When the Spanish had finished their butchery, there were thirty bodies in the pile of sawdust, among them several women and children. Colonel Molina was not even reprimanded.

The massacres at the towns of Punta Brava and Guatao, twelve miles from the capital, were some of the most disgraceful scenes of this revolution. The Cubans were in possession of the town, when a Spanish column appeared. The troops found a group of Cubans at a stone bridge on the highway, at the eastern entrance of Punta Brava, at four P. M., and some desultory firing followed. No losses occurred on either side.

The Cubans retreated south along the road leading to Guatao, a small town one mile distant, leaving the road before arriving at the town, and scattering in all directions.

The Spanish column kept the road and entered Guatao, firing right and left at everything in sight. A milkman, leaving a wagon in front of his house an eighth of a mile outside of the town, was shot and wounded. He ran and concealed himself in the house. Some troops left the line, broke into the house, and shot the man dead in his room. The people of Guatao fled to the woods, or hid in houses upon the arrival of the troops, who fired indiscriminately.

The town contains about forty houses, many of them only thatched huts. Several men were shot while running toward the woods and others in places of concealment. Some were too old to run. One man, sick with erysipelas, was killed in bed. The troops entered the houses and shot men in the rooms. One woman, whose husband hid in a bedroom, stood in the front door pleading for life, but was struck by the butt of a musket and knocked insensible. Then a soldier broke down the door and shot her husband. One man fifty-eight years old was killed. All were peaceable citizens. The three brothers, Chaves, cigarmakers, working in

Havana, left work in that city, Saturday noon, and went to Guatao in the afternoon to visit their mother. One was shot dead running to the woods, and two were taken prisoners.

Troops brought the bodies of the dead from the houses and fields, and placed them on the ground in front of the main store. The prisoners who were captured in houses and fields, without arms, were pinioned and compelled to walk to Marianao. They were bruised, and illtreated on the way, and required medical attendance upon their arrival. Three physicians of the Red Cross Society went to Guatao, and found thirteen dead, and no wounded. The bodies were buried in the cemetery at Guatao. Five prisoners taken on the morning of the fight on the outskirts of Punta Brava, were killed in the fields, making eighteen peaceful citizens slain. The authors were never punished.

Not only were Cubans the victims of Spanish brutality, but American citizens were shamefully treated. They were thrown into jail for supposed conspiracy; the American newspaper reporters were hounded, persecuted, imprisoned or expelled from the island. In some cases the Americans were threatened with execution. The case of the Delgados which occurred in March, and for which General Melguizo was promoted, was a good example of the high handed way in which Spain carried on the war in the interior of the island. José Gregorio Delgado, an American citizen, who had a claim against the Spanish Government since the last war, for several hundred thousand dollars, was occupying a combined sugar and cattle estate, known as "Dolores" near Bainoa, about fifty miles from

Havana. He was in the plantation with his son, Dr. José Manuel Delgado, who, though born in Cuba, is also an American citizen, and a graduate of a New York medical college.

On March 4, General Antonio Maceo, with a force of about four thousand men, arrived near Bainoa, and halted on the Dolores estate, which was occupied by the doctor, his father, two servants, and about fifty colonos (tenants), at eleven o'clock in the morning. An hour and a half later, General Melguizo's Spanish column came up in pursuit. Their advance guard exchanged a few shots with Maceo's rear guard, and then the insurgent chief and his force rode away.

Dr. Delgado, and seven colonos who were ploughing in the fields, ran to the house for shelter from the flying rifle balls. Meantime, the doctor's father, noticing the approach of a Spanish captain with a detachment of troops, ran out of the house to invoke their protection. As he came up, the captain asked, "What are you running away for?"

The old man explained that he was not running away, but was running to meet the Spanish troops.

The soldiers then accompanied him back to his house. As they entered the front door Dr. Delgado, the son, followed by the colonos and three women, who had run for refuge from the huts to the plantation, entered hurriedly through a back door.

One of the colonos was Venancio Pino, seventy-three years old. The women were his wife, his daughter and his daughter-in-law. The Spanish Captain turned to old Mr. Delgado and demanded:

"Who are these persons?"

"This is my son and these are tenants of our estate," said the elder Delgado.

"I am José Gregorio Delgado, an American citizen, and these papers will show it," replied the old man. He then produced papers of American citizenship, and a letter recently received from Consul-General Williams, assuring him that, as an American citizen, his horses were exempt from levy.

Dr. Delgado, the son, also stepped forward promptly and showed his proofs of American citizenship. The Spanish Captain perused the papers, and said:

"These are the worst possible credentials you could have on you. It's the same old story of American citizenship. Come along with us, all of you."

Under guard the whole party started across the fields toward headquarters. Dr. Delgado protested against the three women being arrested, and the Captain said they could go back to the house. They did so, and the same privilege was granted to the elder Delgado. He grasped the hand of his son, then started back to his home, the walls of which had been chipped and splintered here and there by rifle bullets.

His son and the colonos were conducted to the presence of General Melguizo. Old Mr. Delgado and the women sat trembling in the house. Then they heard the sound of a sharp volley, followed by several scattering single shots. Mr. Delgado was apprehensive, and after another half hour of suspense he ventured out cautiously. Not far away he met Venancio Pino staggering toward the house, covered with blood and nursing an arm that had been shattered by a rifle ball. Delgado said—"But where are the others?"

"Dead—all dead," moaned Pino. "They stood them up, bound with ropes, and shot them to death."

Delgado almost swooned. "And my son," he groaned.

"They have not killed him? Impossible!"

"Alas, he was the first to die," said Pino. The father waited no longer. He rushed out of the house in the direction taken by the troops. A quarter of a mile away he met Pedro Gomez and Augustin Matamoras, frightened colonos, who took him to the scene of the massacre.

There lay the bodies of the six slaughtered tenants, all dead, shot through and through and then slashed with machetes. They were Simon Guerra, seventeen years old; Lito Guerra, fourteen years old, brother of Simon; Juan Martinez, eighteen years old; Juan de Dios Tavio, twenty-two years old; Eduvige Tavio, twenty years old, brother of Juan; Gregorio Pino, thirty-eight years old, son of Venancio Pino, the old man who escaped with a shattered arm.

Lying on a cot provided from a hut of one of the tenants of the estate, the father found his son, Dr. Delgado. Above him stood two stalwart countrymen, armed to the teeth and ready to defend the little life he had left. He smiled as he recognized his father, and with a surgeon's instinct he directed them to bring phenic acid and arnica, and told them how to carry him back to his home so as to cause his shattered body the least possible pain. From Venancio Pino, and a day or two later, from his wounded son, old Mr. Delgado learned what had happened after the prisoners had been taken before General Melguizo.

The Captain arraigned his prisoners before the General, and two soldiers tied them together with a piece of rope taken from one of the huts. Dr. Delgado again produced his American papers and protested that he was a peaceful planter, and left his plough at the sound of the firing by the advancing column. Melguizo laughed.

"You rebels always come to us with that tale of American citizenship," he said, "and, as for your papers, they will not serve you here." Melguizo, as he spoke, cuffed the Doctor roughly on the face with the palm of his hand, and then turning to the Captain he said, "Take them to the rear."

A sergeant with a guard of twelve volunteers took the prisoners in charge, the Melguizo bugler sounded the advance and off rode the column. The eight prisoners, tied together, were placed in a row. The twelve volunteers formed a platoon in front of them, the Remington rifles came to a level and the sergeant unflinchingly gave the word. The rifles cracked and every man of the eight fell. Dr. Delgado, Venacio Pino and Simon Guerra alone were not killed by the first fire, but one or two of the others moved spasmodically. The volunteers then advanced and fired at these individually.

When every one of the bodies had ceased to move, the volunteers approached and turned all the victims over on their backs. One of them detected that Dr. Delgado was still breathing.

"This fellow is not dead," he said, and drawing his machete he raised it aloft and prepared to finish his work. The weapon caught in a vine, and that broke the force of the blow, and also broke the weapon. Half of it, however, inflicted an ugly wound on the Doctor's head.

The day after Dr. Delgado had been taken back on a stretcher to his home, friends told his father that the Spaniards hearing how he had survived, and fearing trouble from the fact of his American citizenship, intended to come back and despatch them both.

These facts having been brought to the attention of the American Consul, he obtained the stopping of the pro-

ceedings which were in progress in the Dolores plantation. Dr. Delgado was then removed to the Capitol, where he slowly recovered from his wounds. The Spanish Government, as usual, disavowed the outrage, but rewarded the General in command, and will pay, a quarter of a century hence—if ever—an indemnity for the attempted murder.

The jails in Cuba were filled with men bowed in years, youths, merchants, professional men, clerks, and farm laborers, of all colors, gathered in and thrown together with little or no evidence of having aided or taken part in the insurrection. Every steamer that departed for Spain carried banished Cubans to the unhealthy, solitary, inhuman penal colonies of Africa, there to die a slow death of starvation, sickness and misery. The Fair Isle of Pines was settled with husbands driven from their wives, with children taken from their mothers in the stillness and darkness of night. General Weyler, now satisfied that this Government would not interfere in his scandalous acts of brutality continued his methods of carnage; he did not change his role of the General who does night fight—but assassinate; he followed his maxim of exterminating every Cuban, whether it be man, woman or child, so as not to leave the seed for future movements against Spain. But he could not conquer souls which had made a compact with immortality, and from behind the iron bars, from the stifled voice of the victim, from the last breaths of the gloomy dungeons, came that sublime cry which was raised triumphantly by the courageous army of liberation: "Long live free Cuba! Cuba shall be free!



## CHAPTER XLII.

### BANKRUPT SPAIN AND CUBA ABROAD.

ONE of the most potent allies on the side of the Cubans, was the economic situation of Spain. Not only had Spain to pay interest on her enormous debt, but on that of Cuba, of nearly \$300,000,000. This obligation in which the Cubans had no participation, came from the expenses of all the adventures of Spain in this continent, her efforts to reëstablish her power, and her war on the Cuban people in 1868. Besides, the islanders paid for all the Ministers in America, and the secret funds on which they grew rich.

The *Economist*, a leading financial paper of London, of February 8, 1896 in an article which cannot be accused of partiality, summed up this most transcendental aspect of the Cuban struggle, after showing how "the consequences of this outbreak of separatism were beginning to tell in a very perceptible way on the finances of Cuba, and those of Spain herself," how, notwithstanding the loans from the Banque de Paris and Pays Bas, Spain had only at her disposal £8,500,000 sterling, nominal Cuban five per cent. bonds, to cover the future expenses of the Cuban war, which already had cost \$60,000,000. The writer went on to say: "By degrees, the expenditure has risen in Cuba, to about a million sterling per month, and it will, of course, be increased when the Spanish Government forwards to the colony, in February, the reinforcements, amounting to

twenty-six thousand men, that the new Viceroy has asked for, to bring up the army of occupation to one hundred and forty thousand Spanish troops. At the present moment, the Cuban treasury is said to be in a position to dispose of about £4,200,000.

"All told, these four millions sterling may suffice to cover the expenses of the war, until the month of May. Fresh advances will then have to be made by the Bank of Spain, most probably on the remainder of the Cuban five per cent. bonds; as it is now hardly likely, that the Government can get a Parliament elected quickly, or easily enough before the spring, to vote supplies for Cuba.

"But not much can be expected from such devices, in the present state of the colony, when all the six provinces are overrun by the rebels, when the work on the sugar, coffee and tobacco plantations has been almost everywhere suspended, when trade and the customs revenue are declining and disaffection has assumed very formidable proportions, even in towns."

Four months passed and the state of affairs was still worse. The securities were more depressed and were going down, the expenses increased, and the Bank of France and of the Low Countries refused to lend any more money. Spain was forced to place her bonds among her own institutions and not very successfully at that. The Cortes elected on the 16th of April, and which provoked such protests in Spain, on account of the shameful frauds, found itself, with the treasury, in a terrible condition. Besides, there were no resources from Cuba, nor any expectation of any in the future, after the destruction of property in the preceding months.

The economic condition in the peninsula was most

harassing; all the young and able men had gone to the war or emigrated; the fields were deserted, the few industries abandoned; capital was timid; the enormous taxes continued, poverty stared the country people in the face; and in the cities of the classic land of the beggar, there were hundreds of invalids, who had returned from the Spanish army in Cuba, and who had to ask alms to live.

That was the way Spain, tyrannical to her colonies, took care of her defenders.

#### THE CUBAN CAUSE ABROAD.

The Cuban Revolutionary Party had prepared the ground for the future work of the Cubans abroad. It had presented the complaints of the Cubans many years before the uprising; it had, through the powerful and eloquent tongue of José Martí, aroused the sympathy of all liberty loving people.

Such a struggle, for the same cause for which their forefathers had fought, could not fail to enlist them in behalf of the patriots.

Mr. Tomás Estrada Palma, Delegate Plenipotentiary of the Cuban Republic abroad, in the exercise of his power of designating diplomatic agents, appointed representatives of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in different countries. In Chile, and other nations of South America, Doctor Aristides Aguervo, *ex-Professor* of the University of Havana, did most excellent work. Mr. Nicolas de Cardenas, of the bluest blood of the island, was cordially received in Peru, while in Brazil, the voice of that most illustrious of Democrats, Quintin Bocayuva, appeared to the great Republic of the south, in most touching and fervid words, for help in favor of Cuban liberty.

Rafael Maria Merchán, the distinguished Cuban publicist, exiled for many years in Colombia, exposed in a clear and incontrovertible manner the stupid, corrupt and rapacious government of Spain.

General Rafael de Quesada, in Venezuela, as well as Francisco Javier Cisneros, veterans of the last war, by their well deserved positions, were able to accumulate resources with which to carry on the struggle.

Yet, General Eloy Alfaro, the President of Ecuador, had the honor to be the first to address the Mother Country, asking that justice be done to the Cubans, in a letter addressed to the Queen Regent of Spain, dated the 19th of December, 1895.

In Central America, the active diplomatic agent of the Cuban Republic, Joaquín Alsina, found also that those countries were in complete accord with the aspirations of Cuba; despite the efforts of Spain, under the pretext of literature and of traditions, to deprive the Cubans of the help of Spanish Americans. Nicolás Domínguez Cowan, Yzaguirre and Palma, in Mexico and Central America respectively, also did their part in this labor of cordiality.

In Europe, where Spain was most anxious that no news injurious to her interests should reach, Dr. R. E. Betances, the venerable and beloved Porto Rican Patriot, in Paris, assisted by Bobadilla, Mestre and others, as well as José de Zayas, in London, gradually placed the Cuban question in its true light before the European public, and unmasked the deceptions of the Spanish Cabinet, and of its salaried Press, who only strive to keep up prices of Spanish securities in the Stock Exchanges.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### CUBA STILL VICTORIOUS. THE CAMPAIGN IN PINAR DEL RIO.

FROM April to December 1896 the military plan of the Spanish was to crush the revolution in Pinar del Rio. After pacifying this province they would march east, pushing the patriots until they would be confined to Santiago de Cuba and Puerto Principe. We shall see how they failed in their efforts.

For the purpose in view, General Weyler constructed the military *Trocha*, between Majana and Mariel, where the island is about twenty miles in width, and reënforced the old one of Jucaro and Moron, which marked the goal of his ambition; the first was to pen General Antonio Maceo, the second was to isolate the two eastern provinces under the complete control of the Cubans, from the other provinces.

General Antonio Maceo became the bull's eye; his forces must be destroyed first; so the Spanish placed on the forts and ditches separating Havana from Pinar del Rio, twenty thousand soldiers—more than twice Maceo's army, besides, several Spanish columns were to constantly give battle to the Cuban lieutenant-general. A large navy patrolled the coast to prevent any aid from coming from abroad, and the ports and towns in the interior were heavily garrisoned and fortified with artillery.

For nine months Maceo foiled all their plans. In  
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the last days of March, Colonel Sanchez Hechavarria fought the Cubans at Paso Real without gaining any advantage. During April, General Maceo took the offensive; he attacked the suburbs and forts of the city of Pinar del Rio, the town of Sumidero, and defeated the Spanish battalion Wadras at Guane. General Bermudez, one of his lieutenants, was recruiting, and others were burning San Nicolas, Melena del Sur, Guanabo and Hoyo Colorado. The Spanish were changing generals with no result, for while the Spanish hospitals were being crowded with sick and wounded, Maceo was capturing Palma and burning Pijiragua, while Bandera was attacking Guayabo and Candelaria.

On the 13th a most important engagement occurred at La Lechuza, lasting seven hours. Colonel Devos left Mariel with troops of the Alfonso XII. battalion to attack the Cubans. Against them Maceo sent his vanguard of two hundred men to lead them to the position chosen by Maceo to give them battle; here they were surrounded by the patriots; Devos was compelled to form his troops into squares and retreat precipitately to San Claudio. The Spanish were reënforced by Generals Inclan and Suarez, but the Cubans pursued them to the coast where the Spanish wounded were embarked under the protection of the gunboat Alerta. The Spanish lost over seven hundred and fifty men; and it was said that the Spanish columns failed to coöperate, and that this caused the defeat; Colonel Hechavarria was tried for his failure to be present with his troops, but was acquitted.

Maceo occupied the hills the rest of the month, the Cubans continuing to harass the enemy, destroying the tobacco crop. General Weyler announced the sur-

render of one thousand men and the semi-pacification of the island.

#### THE "COMPETITOR" INCIDENT.

On the 30th there occurred an incident which might have been the cause of war between the United States and Spain, had the latter followed her usual course of murder. The American schooner *Competitor* was captured by Commander Buitron, of the *Mensagera*, on the north coast of Pinar del Rio. The *Competitor* had left Key West with Colonel Monzon and about forty men, with a cargo of arms and ammunition. After landing thirty-seven men safely, and all the cargo but thirty-eight thousand cartridges, the Spanish vessel appeared, and the *Competitor*, after hoisting the American flag, was boarded and captured by the *Mensagera*. On the vessel there remained Alfredo Laborde, mate, Teodoro de la Maza, Dr. Elias Bedia, John Milton, of Kansas, and William Gildea, an Englishman. These were taken to Havana, after being submitted to all kinds of hardships. On the 8th of May they were tried by a Council of War, although four were Americans; on the 10th they were sentenced to death. The United States protested vigorously, not only against the form of trial, but as to the penalty imposed, holding, that if there was no war in Cuba, the offence was only a case of contrabrand. General Weyler wanted the men executed, but on the 12th, Spain, which shoots with impunity defenseless and innocent Cubans, yielded to the power of the stars and stripes, and postponed the sentence. The men are still confined in the prison at Havana.

## BATTLE OF CACARAJICARA.

With the arms and ammunition brought by the Competitor, General Antonio Maceo whipped the Spaniards on the 3d of May, at the battle of Cacarajicara. Three columns were to attack Maceo in his entrenchments, under Generals Inclan, Gelabert and Bernal. The last failed to appear. The Spaniards lost many officers killed and wounded, and were repulsed with a loss of two hundred dead and over three hundred wounded.

## OTHER ENGAGEMENTS.

During the rest of May, there were encounters with General Serrano at Candelaria, attacks on the *Trocha*, and continuous skirmishes. General Weyler, on the 16th, issued a decree, ordering all grain in Matanzas, Villas, Havana and Pinar del Rio to be brought within twenty days to the fortified towns. On the 24th he left by sea for Bahia Honda, but returned on the 25th, his ship having grounded.

In an engagement of the 26th, Generals Bermudez and Maceo defeated, at Guacanamar, General Suarez Valdes, who was twice wounded while leading his men against the Cuban cavalry.

In June and July, months in which the Spanish were unable to operate, Maceo assumed the defensive, while Weyler was sending columns after columns to no purpose. On the 25th of June, the Cubans received the first expedition of importance, in this province; Julian Sarraga, a well-known lawyer of Pinar del Rio, and Colonel Francisco Leite Vidal, a veteran of the last war, landed six hundred Maussers, five hundred thousand



cartridges, and a large quantity of dynamite and medicines. This time the whole cargo was landed.

Several engagements occurred during July, but none of great importance. Sickness was doing the work of the Cubans, and the steamer Triton was carrying hundreds of sick and invalid to Havana.

General Maceo wrote, on the 26th, the following, addressed to the American people :

#### MACEO'S ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"I would not like them to have to shed their blood for our liberty ; we are capable alone—provided that within the laws of nations we can obtain all the elements which we need—to expel from Cuba the ruined power of Spain in America. What only worries me are the victims which the Spaniards make of poor and innocent families which they assassinate daily. I wish that in this sense the Americans would interpose their good offices so that the Spanish wild beasts will cease in the butchery of defenseless people. For the sake of humanity this intervention should be favored by all civilized countries and nations interested in the moral and material progress of mankind."

#### BANDERA CROSSES THE "TROCHA."

The only notable incident in August was the passage of the so-called impregnable *Trocha*, by General Quintin Bandera, with fifty men, thus discrediting Weyler's assertions.

In the first week of September, General Rius Rivera, a distinguished leader of the last war, who had been sent for by Maceo to take charge of the forces of Pinar del Rio, landed with a magnificent expedition consisting

of over one thousand rifles, one dynamite cannon and half a million cartridges. All the efforts of the Spanish to prevent this valuable war material from safely reaching the Cubans, were of no avail. General Maceo and the expeditionists reached Montezuelo on the 23d. A Spanish column was encamped there. General Maceo fought them all night, and the following day, the Spaniards under Colonel San Martin, being unable to construct a fort they intended, abandoned horses and provisions. Hundreds of families joined General Maceo on his march, fearing not only starvation due to the wholesale devastation of the fields by the Spanish, but death at the hands of the cruel Spanish guerrillas.

On the 27th, General Maceo received news that at Majana—two leagues distant—there was a Spanish column in combination with another waiting to attack him on the road. The Spanish held the heights. Colonel Juan Ducasse, with a Cuban detachment, succeeded in routing the enemy. At the same time that this engagement was fought, the Cubans, under Colonel Torres, were meeting over four thousand of the enemy. The firing continued several days, and the Spaniards lost a flag and a large number of officers and soldiers.

#### BATTLE OF CEJA DEL NEGRO.

On the 4th of October, was fought the battle of Ceja del Negro. Three thousand Spanish, under General Bernal, were waiting for the patriots. General Maceo, already advised of their presence, marched at the head of his brilliant staff, as the vanguard. General Maceo ordered Colonel Llorente to take a position at the centre, the Brigade of the South to attack the enemy by

the left flank, and Brigadier Sotomayor, the Chilian, to use his artillery on the left.

The firing commenced at nine in the morning. An hour afterwards, another column of two thousand men exchanged shots with the Cuban outposts, on the road to Vinales. The Spanish intended to attack the patriots on the front and rear. General Maceo saw the danger. He ordered his artillery to fight the enemy on the rear, where Generals Bermudez and Diaz held them at bay. General Rivera and Colonel Vidal Ducasse continued to battle with the first column. Both Spanish columns finally gave up and retreated, one to Pinar del Rio and the other to Vinales. The Spanish abandoned their dead and carried off a large number of wounded. Several prisoners were captured by the Cubans, and then liberated. Seventy *Mauassers*, twelve thousand cartridges and twelve mules loaded with all kinds of provisions and merchandise, were the spoils.

On the 8th, at Galalon, three thousand men attacked Maceo, but after a day's combat retreated, leaving seventy dead. The total loss of the Spaniards up to that time, in sick and wounded, was calculated at seven thousand.

General Antonio Maceo, on the 22d, held a grand parade, and delivered the command of the troops of Pinar del Rio, to General Rius Rivera.

While Gonzalez Munoz was attacking the Cuban positions, Maceo was bombarding Artemisa. He used the dynamite cannon, already tried with success in the previous battle. About nine o'clock in the night the first shot was fired at a very short range. The Spaniards answered with artillery also. At the fifth shot from the dynamite gun, the cries were so heartrending

that General Maceo ordered the bombardment to cease, the Spaniards having refused to allow the Cuban families to leave. More than thirty were killed, and a large number wounded by a bomb which exploded in the Spanish arsenal. Next day was the engagement at Soroa, which lasted the whole day, the Spanish losing over five hundred men.

#### WEYLER TAKES THE FIELD.

On the 9th of November, General Weyler, forced by Spanish public opinion, and ordered by his government to do something before the publication of the message of the President of the United States; went to Mariel by sea. General Arolas went to enforce him with six thousand men and six pieces of artillery, and Weyler sent General Echague to storm the hills of El Gobernador. General Maceo completely repulsed the Spaniards, who, seeing General Echague badly wounded, were demoralized.

Weyler returned to Havana on the 24th, having failed totally to dislodge Maceo, but repeated cables from Madrid forced him to again return to the province of Pinar del Rio on the 28th of November.

#### THE WAR IN OTHER PROVINCES.

While General Weyler devoted his attention to General Maceo, and employed nearly one-third of his army in this task, the Cubans were profiting by it in the other provinces. In Havana and Matanzas where it was thought that owing to the level ground it would be impossible for the patriots to hold their own; they maintained themselves skirmishing and harassing the Spaniards. The Cubans under General Aguirre and his

subordinates, Acosta, Aranguren, Arango and Castillo, kept their forces within a radius of twenty miles from the capital and sometimes entered the suburbs of Havana itself; trains were derailed and towns captured and burned. Marianas, Balatario, Vieja Bermeja, Guira de Melena, Ceiba de Agua, Jamaica, San Felipe, Alquizar, Pozo Redondo, Cañas, Vega, Cojimar were raided. One of the most audacious episodes of the war was the landing of sixty-four men and three hundred and fifty rifles and four hundred thousand cartridges by Dr. Joaquin Castillo, nine miles from the Morro Castle. What more eloquent proof of the impotency of the Spanish navy, and the determination of the Cubans to assist their brethren in arms; than this challenge at the very gates of Havana!

#### DEATH OF GENERAL ZAYAS.

On the 1st of August, the Cubans received a blow to their cause in the province of Havana, in the death of General Juan Bruno Zayas, the youngest general in the Cuban army. General Zayas was scarcely twenty-one years old, but had shown extraordinary military talents; he had made the invasion with General Maceo, and after returning to Matanzas, was trying to attack the *trocha* in Havana province, coöperating with Maceo. He was betrayed by a peasant, and while in a hut near Quivican with three of his companions, one thousand five hundred Spanish surrounded him. Only a small detachment was near at the time. The Spanish knocked at the door of the hut, and when General Zayas opened the door he was shot through the head. Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of his few companions, his body remained in possession of the enemy, who dis-

figured it with bayonet and machete thrusts. In November, a Spanish column under Moncada had an engagement with Arango in the Grillo hills and was badly defeated.

#### IN MATANZAS.

In Matanzas, Generals Lacret and Betancourt, Clotilde Garcia and Jose Roque, remained firm against all odds; their subordinates following the same active tactics of the other provinces, wasting very few cartridges and tiring the enemy. The cane-fields were continually destroyed, here as well as in the other provinces, and not one week passed that trains were not dynamited, and bridges blown up. On the 22d of June, Major Ricardo Trujillo with a handful of men but with four hundred Maussers, four hundred thousand cartridges, medicines, etc., landed on the northern coast near Cardenas; all the efforts of the Spanish to prevent the patriots from being helped from abroad were futile.

After this expedition the Cubans fought with renewed vim. General Lacret, meeting in July, the combined columns of the Spanish generals, Prats and Molina near Bolondron, and caused them a large loss of wounded were added to the hundreds of victims of yellow fever in the crowded hospitals of Cabezas, Alfonso XII. and Matanzas; Major Garcia took Macagua; Itabo was raided; between Santa Ana and Ceiba Mocha a fierce engagement occurred on the 6th of August; Clotilde Garcia defeated on the 20th the Spanish at San Jose de los Ramos; and there were skirmishes during the rest of the autumn, at Conchita, Cuzco, Costanera, Sabanilla and Aguada de Pasageros.

## GOMEZ ATTACKS SANTA CLARA.

After General Gomez separated from General Maceo he marched east through Matanzas and Santa Clara. The Spaniards fortified Cienfuegos, but Gomez attacked Santa Clara, the capital of the province on the 2d of April, surprising the six thousand men there under General Bazan, and raided and sacked the town for five hours. The Spanish generals were soon after recalled. General Gomez continued toward Puerto Principe. General Zayas on the 8th of April entered the town of Remedios, obtained a large quantity of provisions, and burned several houses. On the 11th, Brigadier Jose Gonzalez fought the Spaniards in Camajuani, where a dynamite bomb placed by the Cubans, exploded, causing great havoc among the enemy. Las Cruces was taken by the patriots on the 24th of April, and the town of Mordazo was raided on the 26th of June.

## LANDING OF GENERAL BETANCOURT.

Nothing noteworthy occurred in the province until the arrival, in October, of the expedition under General Miguel Betancourt; who brought one thousand and thirty-nine rifles, six hundred thousand cartridges, a dynamite cannon, machetes, medicines and dynamite. After landing, they were fiercely attacked by the Spanish, and a very small number of rifles fell into the hands of the enemy; the rest were delivered to General Francisco Carrillo, commanding the province.

## DEATH OF GENERAL SANCHEZ.

With General Serafin Sanchez, the Inspector General of the army, who had arrived there early in November

to prepare for Gomez's winter march, they attacked El Condado and fought a fierce battle near the river Zaza, in the pass called Las Damas. General Luque and Colonel Lopez Amor, with four thousand Spaniards attempted to prevent the march of the Cubans, and to capture the convoy of arms. General Sanchez, while repulsing the charges of the Spaniards, was shot through both legs and his horse killed; he refused to leave the field and at the head of the Cuban horsemen he fell, shot in the head. The Cubans bought the victory dearly, for not only was this constant patriot and distinguished commander killed, but General Francisco Carrillo was wounded in the cheek. The Cubans prepared themselves for the announced coming of General Gomez in December, and gave no rest to the Spanish commanders. General Jose Maria Rodriguez had already crossed the province in November, moving to Matanzas.

#### IN PUERTO PRINCIPE.

In Puerto Principe—or Camaguey, as called by the Cubans—there were hardly any operations on the Spanish side; the patriots being unmolested. The Government of the Republic had its residence in this state, and throughout the year issued decrees regulating the different departments of the civil administration. On the 15th of May, General Juan Fernandez Ruz, a veteran of the last war, with one hundred men and a valuable cargo landed in this province.

#### BATTLE OF SARATOGA.

General Gomez entered Puerto Principe on the 28th of May. On the 9th of June, he commenced the sum-



mer campaign with the important battle of Saratoga. In the morning of that day, General Gomez saw the Spanish flanking him on the left; he countermarched, and at five in the afternoon he could see them in their camps at Saratoga. He immediately opened fire, and hearing that they had over five hundred cavalry, ordered two sections of Cubans, under Colonels Sanchez Agramonte and Calunga, to engage them if possible, but the Spanish did not answer the challenge of the Cuban horsemen. General Gomez now laid siege to the Spanish forces under General Jimenez Castellanos, who had entrenched themselves. All night, and the following day, the Cubans poured a galling fire on the Spanish mass. On the 11th, after receiving seven hundred fresh troops under General Godoy, the Spanish resolved to extricate themselves from their perilous position. General Gomez, unable to continue the siege as his men were completely worn out after forty hours of constant firing, sent small groups to molest them on their way. After the Spanish abandoned their position, the Cubans confirmed the great loss of the enemy; over two hundred had been killed. The patriots lost eleven dead and thirty nine wounded.

#### IN SANTIAGO.

General Gomez now marched to Santiago Province, and early in July met the Government and General Calixto Garcia, for the purpose of conferring as to the future campaigns of the army and conduct of the revolution. General Maximo Gomez, together with General Garcia, operated all the month of August, around Cambute, Holguin and Gibara; and afterwards, General Gomez returned to Puerto Principe, for his sum-

mer headquarters, and prepared his plans for the dry season. The Cubans were not idle in the province; General Rosas attacked General Godoy who was taking a convoy to Cascorro and Guaimaro on the 10th of August, and the Spaniards abandoned many mules laden with valuable merchandise.

#### LANDING OF CABRERA.

General Maximo Gomez was welcomed on his arrival in Puerto Principe, by the landing of a large expedition on the northern coast, in the latter part of the month, under the command of Colonel Rafael Cabrera. Cabrera brought nearly one thousand five hundred rifles, over half a million cartridges and a cannon, besides the usual medicines and dynamite. General Gomez then attacked Cascorro, but his principal object was to make General Jimenez Castellanos leave the capital of the province and fight. Gomez succeeded in whipping the Spanish general, with about two thousand of the famous cavalry of Camaguey. On the 13th of October, General Garcia reached Blanquizar, and the combined Cuban forces were moved toward Guaimaro. General Gomez watched the city of Puerto Principe, while General Garcia besieged the town of Guaimaro. For several days the Cubans waited, until the provisions of the garrison were exhausted. On the 16th, General Gomez ordered the siege to commence in due form. The Government of the Republic had arrived to witness the operation. On the 17th. the first shot from the cannonably placed by Major Winchester Osgood, announced at six in the morning, the beginning of the glorious battle. After fourteen shots had been fired, General Garcia ordered the assault. Fort Mella was abandoned

by the Spaniards; Lieutenant Miranda raising the lone star flag on the citadel. All the families of the town left at the request of General Garcia.

#### DEATH OF MAJOR OSGOOD.

On the 18th, trenches were made around Fort Gonfau and the twelve pounder belched forth fire. Fort La Paloma was also attacked. During the day, and at the very moment when he' was firing a last shot at the fort, Major Winchester Osgood fell over the piece with a fatal bullet in his brain. Brave American soul, the emulator of Lafayette! On the 26th, a bomb killed the Spanish commander. On the 27th, the town was bombarded by the two pieces, Fort Tarragona suffering much. At seven in the evening, a cannon shot announced a general attack. Fort Tarragona surrendered to General Cebreco. At midnight, the church which was fortified also, gave up, with the rest of the block houses. There only remained in the hands of the Spanish, the hospital and the Cuartel. The next day, the Cubans with the Government at the head, entered in triumph; and finally the last stronghold gave up to General Garcia. The Cubans captured nearly three hundred *Maussers*, over one hundred thousand cartridges, and other spoils. The following official documents show the terms of capitulation, and the treatment of the prisoners and sick by the Cubans. A vote of thanks was granted by the Government, there assembled, to the distinguished General Garcia.

#### THE SURRENDER OF GUAIMARO.

“Minutes of the surrender of Guaimaro:

In Guaimaro, on the 28th of October, 1896, there

being present in the garrison quarters of this town, Colonel Mario G. Menocal, of the Cuban army, Chief of Staff of the Military Department of the East, and Captain José Rosario Baez, of the Spanish Army. The latter said that his situation being unbearable, owing to the siege of this fortified town, since the 17th instant, by the forces under Major General Calixto Garcia Iniguez, Chief of the department, he surrenders the fortified town under the conditions offered respecting his life and those of his troops under him. The officers and other forces which defended the forts of the town having given up in the same manner. Rosario is to keep his own arms and his property and that of his subordinates. Rosario delivers forty *Mausser* rifles, eight boxes of ammunition for the same, two bugles and \$1,580.40 in silver, which he says was given him as a deposit by the Commissary of War.

"Mr. Garcia Menocal representing Major General Calixto Garcia Iniguez, ratifies the above conditions and acknowledges receipt of the fortified town, and the effects and money mentioned, stating that when Captain Rosario surrendered, the Cuban forces were in possession of the fortifications and troops that defended them and occupied the town.

"And so that it shall appear from the proceedings, they sign two of the same tenor. M. C. Menocal—José Rosario.

This is a copy, the Chief of Department.

Major Manuel Rodriguez.

"In the free town of Guaimaro, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of October, 1896, Doctors Eugenio Molinet, Colonel, Chief of the Sanitary Department of

the Army of Liberation of Cuba, and Fernando Perez de la Cruz, Physician of the First Class of the Sanitary Corps of the Spanish Army, having come together, agreed to draw the following minutes, in which it is stated that at two o'clock in the morning of the same day, and before the surrender of the garrison, neutrality was granted to the hospital of Guaimaro, in conformity to what was determined in the International Congress, which took place in Geneva, in which it was declared in a solemn manner that the wounded, field hospitals and sanitary employees would be respected. This neutrality was granted not only on account of the petition made by the head of the hospital, but also because of the desires of Major General Calixto Garcia Iniguez, Chief of the Military Department of the East, who desires that it shall be known that it is his firmest intention to respect the treaty above referred to, although the Spanish government has not wished to accept said treaty with respect to the Cuban army.

"At the request of Dr. Fernando Perez de la Cruz, he was left in charge of the cure of the sick and wounded of the said hospital, leaving him all the means which he deemed necessary for the care of his sick and wounded. He was also offered all the means, personal, as well as medical, of the Cuban Army. The said doctor of the Spanish army was provided with all the means to transport his sick and wounded to a place where they can be gathered by forces of his army.

"And so that it shall appear from the proceedings, we sign the present minutes, in duplicate.

Country and Liberty,

Dr. E. Molinet.—Fernando Perez de la Cruz.

"In the cattle farm "El Platano," State of Camaguey, on the 2d of November, 1896, Dr. Eduardo Padro, Lieutenant Colonel of the sanitary department of the army of liberation of Cuba, and Dr. Manuel Huelva Romero, physician of the first-class of the Spanish army being present. Dr. Padro said that by order and representation of Major General Calixto Garcia Iniguez, chief of the military department of the East, and by virtue of a communication that the said superior chief had sent and was sent to the chief of the Spanish army, Adolfo Jimenez Castellanos, in regard to the universal laws of war that the Cuban army observes, although they are not observed by the Spanish army, he delivered in this act to Dr. Huelva twenty-two sick and wounded, five sanitary employees, four civilians, Dr. Fernando Perez de la Cruz, and an officer of the first-class of the military department, Julio Perez Pitarch, said individuals being all taken prisoners in the field hospital of the Spanish army, to which they belonged, in the capture of the town of Guaimaro by the Cuban forces under the orders of Major General Calixto Garcia Iniguez, which took place on the 28th of last October. And Dr. Manuel Romero said that in representation of the Spanish general, D. Adolfo Jimenez Castellanos, and in conformity with what has been declared by Dr. Padro, he admits the receipts of the sick, wounded and other prisoners mentioned, declaring that among the wounded there is a chief and an officer, and in order that it shall appear from the proceedings for its proper use, they drew up the present minutes, making two of the same tenor.

Dr. Eduardo Padro—Dr. Manuel Huelva."

As a result of the surrender of Guaimaro, and the engagements around Cascorro, Minas and San Miguel de Nuevitas, these places were abandoned by the Spanish troops, and the whole central province was virtually in possession of the Cubans; the Spanish forces being confined to the city of Puerto Principe, and the two ports. General Garcia then returned to Santiago Province, and General Maximo Gomez and the Government finished their preparations for the westward march. The province of Santiago de Cuba continued to be Cuban territory, with the exception of the ports and a few inland towns. Since the landing of General Calixto Garcia, who was appointed to the command of the eastern military department comprising Camaguey and Santiago, the operations of the Cubans were uniformly successful and brilliant. General Jesus Rabi proved a most able auxiliary, and took a prominent part in all the successful engagements. On the 15th of April, the Cubans burned in the Manati river the Spanish steamer Rosalia.

#### LANDING OF PORTUONDO.

In the latter part of May, Lieutenant Colonel Rafael Portuondo Tamayo, Secretary of Foreign Relations, who had been in the United States on leave of absence, returned to Cuba with the largest expedition ever sent to the island. He landed near Santiago de Cuba, saved the one thousand two hundred rifles and six hundred thousand cartridges and a very large amount of war material. This, and the subsequent cargoes which arrived in the province, placed it on such a footing that the war could have been sustained there for five years. Some ports were held by the Cubans;

Maravi for instance being occupied for some time, the Spanish with their gunboats forcing it to be evacuated finally. On the 17th of June, a Spanish vessel grounded on the Cauto and was destroyed by the Cubans; the members of the crew were set at liberty.

#### DEATH OF GENERAL JOSÉ MACEO.

The 5th of July was a sad day for Cuba, General José Maceo being killed in the engagement of La Loma del Gato. On the 4th, the anniversary of American Independence, all was joy in the camp, the day being celebrated as a national feast; and on the following morning General José Maceo marched to meet the Spanish under General Linares, who were burning and devastating the county. Maceo charged them with his staff and part of General Cebreco's cavalry. The Spanish fled before the Cuban horsemen's charge. Maceo attempted to carry the enemy's position by assault, and charged several times. During one of these furious onslaughts, Maceo, who was riding a superb white horse, was struck in the head by a bullet which lodged in the brain. He was taken from his horse and brought to the town of Tiarrba, held by the Cubans, where he died shortly afterward without uttering a word. Generals Cebreco and Periquito Perez continued the fight, and their men, exasperated by the death of the brave leader, inflicted a defeat on the Spanish troops, who lost eighty dead and one hundred and sixty wounded. The news of the death of General Maceo was received by Generals Gomez and Garcia, as they marched toward Santiago, brilliantly operating against the enemy. During the latter part of August, General Garcia captured the strong fort of La Loma de Hierro,



near Auras, after using successfully a two pound Hotchkiss. The two expeditions mentioned, in combination with that of Puerto Principe, on the southern coast of Santiago de Cuba on the 21st and 26th of August, completed a total of four thousand rifles and two million cartridges, sent in three weeks to the island by the Cuban Delegation in the United States, under the able direction of the Chief of Expeditions, General Emilio Nuñez, and assured the continuance of the war for the Cubans, to the end of the summer of the following year. This was the way the Cubans answered the extraordinary effort made by Spain who reënforced her army with thirty-five thousand recruits, but which in reality only served to cover the losses of the Spanish during the eighteen months of war. Once the material of war was safely distributed, General Garcia marched toward Camaguey, to coöperate with General Maximo Gomez.

#### FROM SECRETARY OLNEY'S REPORT.

As a summary of the military situation at this time, no more impartial one could be found, than that of the Secretary of State, the Hon. Richard Olney, presented in his report to the President of the United States, dated the 7th of December, 1896. The following paragraphs are quoted :

" Confined in the outset, as in the ten years' insurrection which began at Yara in October, 1868, to the eastern portion of the island, where the topography and absence of settled centres especially favored the desultory warfare apparently normal to this class of contests, the present insurrection very early took proportions beyond those of its predecessor and therewith

assumed an aggressive phase, invading the populous central and western districts. Passing the defensive lines or trochas traversing the island from north to south, formidable bodies of the revolutionary forces early in the year established themselves in the rich sugar-planting districts of Santa Clara, Cienfuegos, and Matanzas, made hostile forays almost in sight of Havana itself, and, advancing westward, affected a lodgment in the fertile tobacco fields of Pinar del Rio, which has so far resisted all efforts of the Spanish forces to overcome.

"No prominent seaport has been attacked by the insurgents or even menaced beyond occasional raids upon the outskirts. A large part of the twenty-two hundred miles of the irregular coast line of Cuba, comprising the comparatively unsettled stretches of its western extremity and the inhospitable mountain shores of its eastern part, is practically in the hands of the revolutionists. The character of these shores, filled to the westward with shallow indentations inaccessible to any but light vessels of small tonnage, and to the eastward with rocky nooks dangerous to approach by night and affording insecure anchorage for larger craft, lends itself peculiarly to the guerrilla warfare of the interior, so that the insurgents, being relieved of the need of maintaining and garrisoning points upon the coast, are effectively able to utilize a considerable part of it as occasion offers, to communicate with the outside world and to receive clandestine supplies of men, arms and ammunition.

"Although statistics of their military strength are attainable with difficulty and are not always trustworthy when obtained, enough is certainly known to

show that the revolutionists in the field greatly exceed in numbers any organization heretofore attempted; that with large accessions from the central and western districts of the island a better military discipline is added to increased strength; that instead of mainly drawing as heretofore upon the comparatively primitive population of eastern Cuba, the insurgent armies fairly represent the intelligent aspirations of a large proportion of the people of the whole island; and that they purpose to wage this contest, on these better grounds of vantage, to the end and to make the present struggle a supreme test of the capacity of the Cuban people to win for themselves and their children the heritage of self-government.

"A notable feature of the actual situation is the tactical skill displayed by its leaders. When the disparity of numbers and the comparatively indefensible character of the central and western Vega country are considered, the passage of a considerable force into Pinar del Rio followed by its successful maintenance there for many months must be regarded as a military success of a pronounced character.

"So, too, the Spanish force, in the field, in garrison on the island, or on its way thither from the mother country, is largely beyond any military display yet called for by a Cuban rising, thus affording an independent measure of the strength of the insurrection.

"From every accessible indication it is clear that the present rebellion is on a far more formidable scale as to numbers, intelligence, and representative features than any of the preceding revolts of this century; that the corresponding effort of Spain for its repression has been enormously augmented; and that, despite the con-

stant influx of fresh armies and material of war from the metropolis, the rebellion, after nearly two years of successful resistance, appears to-day to be in a condition to indefinitely prolong the contest on its present lines."

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THE POLICY OF EXTERMINATION.

ALL the decrees and measures of General Valeriano Weyler during the year 1896 were directed to devastate the island and exterminate the Cuban people. Over one hundred and fifty political prisoners were executed in the city of Havana, not to speak of the thousands of defenceless people butchered in the country and who afterwards appear as slain in battle. The newspapers of the United States were full of these horrors, giving names, places, and dates, and all possible evidence as to their genuineness.

In the western provinces the wholesale murders were most common. Such an impartial and talented observer as Mr. C. E. Ackers of the *London Times*, speaking of the so-called pacification of Pinar del Rio by General Weyler, in a most comprehensive article dated at Havana, said: "Judging by what has taken place in Pinar del Rio, during the months of November and December, the word pacification means the extermination of the inhabitants and the complete desolation of the country.

"General Weyler ordered the inhabitants to concentrate in the towns, under pain of being considered as rebels if they failed to obey this mandate. Now the policy governing the treatment of rebels is, that only dead rebels are good rebels; that policy was carried out to the letter in General Weyler's recent campaign in

Pinar del Rio. Dwelling-house, farm-buildings—everything, in fact, of value was demolished, cattle and horses were killed, property of all kinds destroyed. The excuse for this wanton destruction was that if not destroyed these things would benefit the rebels. In these circumstances no sane man can think of pacification—rather must he qualify such proceedings as a war of extermination. These same measures have now been applied to the province of Havana; later on they will take effect in Matanzas and Santa Clara. They have only one result—the women and children are driven into the towns, to die of starvation, the men join the fighting ranks of the rebellion. The worst enemy of Spain could not have devised a better means to strengthen the rebel ranks than this method of General Weyler's for pacifying the island of Cuba. It is brutal and barbarous, it causes indignation amongst friends and foes, it destroys the last remnants of loyalty left amongst the Cubans, it makes rebels of many Spaniards who otherwise would never have thought of aiding or abetting the revolt." In another paragraph he said:

"The policy of the authorities in Cuba for the past twelve months has cemented and intensified the hatred of the Cubans for Spanish rule. What is now passing in connection with the concentration of the population into the towns, is only on a par with what has occurred previously. Hundreds of prisoners of war have been tried by summary court martial and have been shot; thousands of persons, on the mere suspicion of sympathy with or complicity in the rebellion, have been transported to the Spanish penal settlements without even the show of a trial. Everywhere homes have been

broken up and families ruined through the arbitrary and tyrannical action of a government that pays small heed to justice, and knows not the meaning of mercy or pity."

In Bainoa, in Songo, and in Matanzas provinces, the Spaniards have shown their ferocity and cruelty toward the aged and the sick and wounded in the hospitals. In Sagua, the blood thirsty Carreras, killed some *pacíficos*. He had them bound with ropes before the execution and afterwards, in order to obtain a reward photographed the victims, and published a reproduction of the photograph in the newspapers, placing under each body a supposed name of a Cuban leader. But the Spanish hero forgot to take off the ropes which bound the arms and legs of the unfortunate peasants and the original picture, obtained by Mr. Dawley, reached the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, an incontrovertible proof of the murder, which in the Spanish official reports was announced as a most glorious victory.

On the 30th of November, 1896, the New York *World* published a long list of atrocities, and offered the State Department all the documents in its possession to substantiate its assertions. Among them was a letter found on the dead body of a Spanish officer which said:

"Now all the prisoners have their heads cut off. Now all the columns carry a detail of men dressed in the clothes of the country, with concealed arms. They enter all the farms and ask if any one wishes to go out and kill them, because now the columns have secret orders to kill all whom they take prisoners."

In Guanabacoa, Major Fondeviela perpetrated the

most horrible crimes, refusing even burial to the slaughtered, saying that "Cuban carcasses are for dogs and pigs."

Cuban women were imprisoned in order to influence their husbands in the fields; ladies of the best families and highest social positions were confined in filthy jails, in company with degraded women and criminals. United States Senator Hernando de Soto Money, on his return from the island, eloquently summarized this sad aspect of the barbarous Spanish warfare in the following paragraphs, which are quoted to show that it is not the Cubans who condemn Spain, but fair and unbiased judges:

"It is a frequent occurrence to see people march through the streets of Havana to the steamer, to be sent for life to the Chaffarine Islands, off the north coast of Africa, or to Ceuta or to Fernando Po, off the west coast of Africa. The horrors of this deportation are inconceivable in America. There is now in jail upon the island of Cuba, the accomplished wife of a rebel general, who, unless some interference is made in her behalf, will soon be sent to one of these settlements for life. She will be without means of support, for Spain does not feed her convicts, and her fate will really be worse than death. Her offense lies in writing to her husband a letter becoming a good and faithful wife."

. . . . .

"Another matter which has injured the Spanish cause in Cuba, is the cruelty and savage inhumanity of their methods. They never take prisoners. They butcher the wounded of the enemy with their ma-



chetes on the field of battle. Every insurgent is killed who can't get away. Weyler makes no secret of this. The Spanish policy would seem to be one of extermination.

"An English gentleman at Havana, becoming shocked at the atrocious method of the Spanish and their butchery of wounded rebels, went to Weyler and offered at his own expense, to found a Red Cross Society to accompany the Spanish troops to the field as hospital people. The Englishman offered to pay all expenses and to take care of the wounded of both sides with equal impartiality. Weyler cut him short.

"'No,' said he, 'we want no Red Cross Society. We will dispatch the wounded rebels as they deserve. They are traitors and deserve death. As for my own wounded, I can take care of them myself.'"

. . . . .

"Continuing on Weyler's hospital methods, I might say that it is the invariable Spanish custom to destroy insurgent hospitals wherever they find them. They cut down the nurses, the doctors, and kill the patients in their cots. They make a clean sweep. The Spanish victory is decisive whenever they find an insurgent hospital."

. . . . .

"Public sentiment in Cuba gets much of its inspiration from the harsh cruelty of Spanish measures. I have already shown that the Spaniards take no prisoners, but kill the insurrectionists as soon as captured; that they slaughter the sick in hospital cots, strike down the nurses by their side; that '*Pacificos*' for

slight or no cause are dragged from their homes to be butchered; that others are deported to be lost for life in horrible Spanish penal colonies on the coast of Africa. It is these things which set the Cuban temper on edge and make even the women resolve to perish or free their homes from Spanish rule."

## DEATH OF ANTONIO MACEO.

General Antonio Maceo at the beginning of December, 1896, resolved to give the Spaniards a surprise in Havana province. Weyler was busy looking for him in the mountains of Pinar del Rio, forced to again take the field by the clamor of the Spanish populace, and the urgent requests of the home government to do something before the publication of President Cleveland's message, and the re-assembling of Congress. General Antonio Maceo finished the organization of the Cuban forces in the province of Pinar del Rio, and placed them under the able leadership of General Rius Rivera, who was his trusted friend and companion in the last war; and whom he especially requested the Cuban Delegation to send to Cuba for this special command. The prefectures had been well established throughout the interior, ample deposits of provisions, and cattle driven to secure places; assured the maintenance of the army for many months; and the arms and ammunition recently landed, placed the Cuban army in splendid condition for a successful defense.

On the 4th of December, 1896, General Maceo crossed the *trocha*, and appeared in the province of Havana with about forty men, among them Generals Miro, his chief of staff, and Pedro Diaz, Lieutenant Francisco Gomez,

the son of the General-in-Chief, and Colonels Justiz and Nodarse and other members of his staff. Maceo's intention was to concentrate the Cuban troops, suddenly enter and burn one of the suburbs of the capital, while General Weyler was hunting for him in the hills; and then, marching east to meet General Maximo Gomez, who was coming west, arrange with him for the winter campaign in the Western Military Department. On the 5th, the Cubans celebrated the passing of the so-called impenetrable *trocha* and on the 6th and 7th General Maceo met about four hundred men under Sanchez and Acosta.

On the morning of the 7th, the Spanish Major Cirujeda, left Punta Brava with about six hundred of the San Quintin regiment, famous for their cruelty. He marched to the coast, but hearing shots in the direction of Hoyo Colorado, he went to that town and breakfasted. There he was informed that at the plantation San Pedro, between Wajay and Govea, there was a concentration of Cuban forces.

When the Spanish troops arrived, they were saluted by continuous firing from behind a stone fence which the Cubans were stoutly holding.

General Maceo had divided his forces into two wings, and these were flanking the Spanish and hemming them in. It was then that General Maceo, who was holding the centre exclaimed, "this goes well," and at the head of his staff ordered what he thought would be the decisive move: the charge "*al machete*." At the head of his gallant officers he spurred his magnificent steed; fifty paces from the enemy successive and furious discharges from the rifles of the Spanish infantry laid him low, with most of his companions by his side. A bul-

let had entered the brave chieftain's chin, broken the jawbone and had come out by the shoulder, another had pierced his abdomen. The famed and true Maceo was no more! The Cubans, thrown into a momentary panic by the loss of Maceo, retreated, leaving the bodies on the field; General Miro saw that if he tried to recover the body of Maceo immediately, the Spaniards would suspect that some leader of importance had fallen, and would redouble their efforts to keep it and kill every one of the staff. The Spaniards, in their cupidity looked less at the papers and documents on Maceo's corpse, and on that of his companion, than at the valuables on the dead General. They stripped him of everything that could be melted in the jewelry shops of Havana. Some suspicions having arisen as to the identity of the bodies, they were tied to horses' tails and dragged for some time. General Miro, who had now gathered some troops under General Diaz, was fighting the Spanish in their retreat; finally the pursuit becoming too hot, the Government troops abandoned the bodies. The Cubans recovered the corpse of their beloved chief and that of the gallant young Gomez. General Antonio Maceo was then buried in a secret place, by a committee of Cuban officers, under oath not to reveal the sacred ground. At the inhumation, General Miro saturated his handkerchief in the noble blood still dripping from the mortal wounds, and said: "*I shall keep this to show it to the Cubans if at any time they feel discouraged; this blood will remind them of him who personified Cuban loyalty and patriotism, it will teach them to fight till their independence is attained, or to die like the hero Antonio Maceo, in the epic struggle; but never surrender!*"

## WEYLER FINISHES HIS FIRST YEAR'S CAMPAIGN.

By the accident of war which caused the death of General Maceo, General Weyler received a new lease of life in his position; for there was so much discontent at his military failure and the barefaced robberies in the administration, that Spain was demanding his recall. General Weyler returned to Havana in triumph. He now announced that he would pacify Pinar del Rio where there were, according to him, but a few hundreds of rebels. The following lucid resumé of the movements of Weyler, is from the pen of the correspondent of the *London Times*. Mr. Ackers said:

“General Weyler completely failed to take advantage of the shock caused to the rebels by the loss of their boldest leader. Then the Spanish commander-in-chief decided that, Maceo being dead, the rebels in Pinar del Rio were no longer an important factor, basing this assumption on the fact that the insurgents made no further attempt to concentrate. A more fatal error General Weyler could not have committed. No rebels in Pinar del Rio have surrendered, no arms have been captured, only some two hundred and fifty men have been killed or taken prisoners by the Spaniards. General Weyler, is, however, acting as though the rebels had suffered a decisive defeat, and is withdrawing some twenty-seven thousand men from Pinar del Rio for service in Havana, Matanzas, and the eastern provinces. Reliable information from Pinar del Rio is to the effect that once the withdrawal of these twenty-seven thousand Spaniards is effected, the rebels will assume a more aggressive policy, the more especially so as they have been reinforced by over one thousand men

from the east. The rebels in Pinar del Rio will, therefore, be quite as strong as they were six months ago, and, moreover, all reports tend to show that they have sufficient food supplies in this district for several months to come, in spite of Spanish official declarations to the contrary. Dr. Zertucha, who surrendered after the death of Maceo, estimates the number of rebels in the fighting ranks now in Pinar del Rio as between seven thousand and eight thousand, well armed, and with a fair supply of ammunition. In these conditions the rebels are in a position to carry on a guerrilla warfare for years, if necessary, against a very large body of troops, always provided that ammunition can be obtained and food is available. Expeditions have brought and will continue to bring the former, the country contains the latter, so far as cattle, and other food animals and edible roots are concerned."

This was exact. General Rius Rivera who succeeded to the command and General José Maria Rodriguez, the supreme head of the Cubans in that province, followed the work mapped out by Maceo and the patriot forces were stronger than ever. On January the 6th, a cargo of over one thousand rifles, half a million cartridges, a cannon, and dynamite, was landed in the western extremity of the island, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Rafael Perez Morales.

General Weyler's work in this province as well as in the others, was one of extermination of the inhabitants and destruction of property.

In Havana and Matanzas continuous skirmishes occurred. General Weyler marched through them continuing his "pacification," but after announcing it,

every day, the cable reported engagements even at the gates of the capital.

The tactics and activity of the insurgents in these districts was thus described by Mr. Ackers, the fearless correspondent of the *London Times* :

"In the province of Matanzas there are some eight thousand rebels scattered over the country in small groups, in Havana about six thousand, in Santa Clara probably ten thousand or more. The instructions issued by the rebel commander-in-chief to the different commanders of these districts are of a most positive character. The insurgents are to avoid fighting on all possible occasions ; they are only to return fire when such is absolutely necessary in self-defense ; wherever they can do so they are to prevent any work being done on plantations ; they are to harass columns of troops when such can be done without any great danger to themselves."

The early days of December, 1896, found General Maximo Gomez and the Cuban Civil Government in Sancti Spiritus. Eastward from the Jucaro and Moron *trochas*, Cuba was free. Twenty-five thousand patriots under the direction of General Calixto Garcia held the Spaniards in the principal towns, prevented convoys from relieving these island garrisons, captured arms and ammunition and sunk with torpedoes such gun-boats as the *Reclampago*, in the Cauto River. Puerto Principe and Santiago were so completely in the power of the Cubans that the war could have been prolonged for ten years in those provinces, even if the revolt had been crushed west of the Jucaro *trocha*.

General Weyler, with one thousand five hundred men marched into Santa Clara and established his

headquarters in the capital of that province. Opposed to him in February, 1897, was the wily Cuban general, Gomez, who with a large force operated within a radius of forty miles from the Spanish leader, never allowing himself to be drawn into a decisive battle, however. During the encounters, General Weyler's own camp was fired upon, so near were the opposing forces.

At the end of the first year of his operations, General Weyler was further from subduing the island than ever; his army was reduced by disease and bullets, and all kinds of abuses in his management of affairs, had been unearthed.

On the other hand, the Cubans on the second anniversary of the uprising (February 24, 1897), had a complete civil organization, an effective army of thirty-five thousand well equipped men, and active agents abroad ready to send thousands of rifles and millions of cartridges to the island. Confident of ultimate triumph, and with the peninsula clamoring for peace; the Cubans would not accept anything at the hands of Spain, but their independence. They regarded Spain as hopelessly bankrupt and that her financial Waterloo arrived with the loan she wrung from the peninsula in November, 1896, after her failure to negotiate one in foreign markets.

In commenting on this loan, an English authority bore out the Cuban contention, saying: "The cost of maintaining the Spanish army in Cuba increases steadily as the food supplies of the country become exhausted; and all necessities and provisions have to be imported from abroad. To continue the war until the end of this year, Spain will require no less a sum than \$100,000,000—and more if all obligations are to be met,



the arrears in Cuba now amounting to \$41,000,000. With \$100,000,000 Spain will, by one means or another, sustain the war for the next eleven months, and this sum she can obtain by the sale of the government rights in the tobacco and salt monopolies of the peninsula. When the proceeds of these two valuable assets are expended, the end of Spanish dominion in Cuba will be near at hand, unless the unexpected happens and the rebels are completely annihilated before that date. In all human probability, however, this latter contingency will not occur, and we may therefore expect to see the Cuban republican government installed in Havana in about eighteen months from now.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### IN THE UNITED STATES.

Cuban sentiment in the United States is worthy of extended mention ; because there were but few classes hampered by any fear of claims from Spain, or of bombardment of ports by that weak and decrepit nation, but also, because herculean efforts were made by Spain, to deprive the Cubans of the moral support of the American Republic : a million dollars were sent to the Spanish Minister, at Washington, for special expenses in influencing public opinion, and preventing any resolution being taken, favoring the cause of the island. But all to no purpose ; such assertions as—that the revolutionists were only bandits, outcasts and negroes were disproved by the facts themselves. In Florida, where Cuban emigration was so numerous, cities sprang up where there were only sand banks, built by the activity of these so-called lazy and incapable men ; the banished Cubans governed themselves ; no thieves or murderers went into the jails ; in the legislature, Cubans such as Dr. Moreno, Colonel Fernando Figueredo and Corbet made laws ; in Jacksonville, Huau was made Mayor ; Marti City was founded by the Patriots, as Key West was the work of Cubans like Gato, Recio and Poyo. And all these men worked, without ever being discouraged, for their native country, and were the best examples of the energy and enterprise, with which the new Republic started.

In every city of the United States, where there were Cubans, they have strove their best, to have the name of their land respected ; whether it was in commerce or in professions, if they did not attain the highest places—at least they occupied such as they were not ashamed of. Brigadier Emilio Nuñez, who wielded the sword, as well as he prepared the plans which provided his country with the necessary arms, was a respected merchant of Philadelphia ; and the President of the Clubs in that city, was no less than the famous Professor of Pathology of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Juan Guiteras.

In New York Dr. Joaquin Castillo, the subdelegate, was a most faithful and active auxiliary to Mr. Palma, and Colonel Manuel Sanguily, one of the most brilliant writers of America, Enrique José Varona, the only Philosopher of Spanish countries of this epoch, Nestor Ponce de Leon, the Bibliophile and author, and such men as the Poet Sellen, the Journalist Trujillo, Zayas, Zaldo, Gutierrez, Pierra, Drs. Luis, Miranda, Henna, Portuondo, Menocal, Figueroa (Sotero), Rivas, Porrest, the Agramontes, and that most venerable and persevering of patriots, Juan Fraga, all, with their names and prestige, contributed to the success of the work of the Cuban Delegation. All over this country, throughout its length and breadth, from every city, from every town, from every hamlet, there came the word "God-speed" to the fighting Legions of Cuban Emancipators.

Boards of Trade, organizations of every kind, the Legislatures of many states, wherever a group of true American hearts were assembled, their sentiments were expressed in no unmistakable terms. The American Press, without any division of section, party or creed,

declared that it was the ardent wish of the Mother Republic to see Cuba throw off, once for all, the yoke of medieval Spain.

Early in December, 1895, Mr. Tomas Estrada Palma, the Delegate Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba, went to Washington, in order to obtain justice for his country. He was accompanied in this work by the Honorable Horatio S. Rubens, an American, whom Cuba will never be able to repay for his services and sacrifices, the friend of José Martí, the lifelong and brotherly companion of the author of these lines, and the counsel of the Cubans from the time of the notorious "Lagonda" and "Baracoa" affairs, to date. The writer was chosen by Mr. Palma as Secretary of Legation; and on the 11th of April, was promoted to *chargé d'affaires* and acting Minister at Washington, and Mr. Ricardo Diaz Albertini, a most cultured gentleman, was made second Secretary of Legation. Mr. Palma presented to the State Department, an able and moderate document, in which he pleaded for recognition of belligerency, and concluded, after examining all the aspects of the case, with the following words:

"In view of the history of this revolution as herein stated, in view of the causes which led to it, its rapid growth, its successes in arms, the establishment, operation, and resources of the Government of the Cuban Republic, the organization, number, and discipline of its army, the contrast in the treatment of prisoners to that of the enemy, the territory in its control and subject to the carrying out of its decrees, of the futility of the attempts of the Spanish Government to crush the revolution, in spite of the immense increase of its army in Cuba and of its blockade and the many millions

spent for that purpose, the cruelties which on the part of the Spanish have especially characterized this sanguinary and fiercely conducted war, and the damage to the interests of the citizens of this country under the present conditions, I, as the duly accredited representative, in the name of the Cuban people in arms who have fought singly and alone against the monarch of Spain for nearly a year, in the heart of a continent devoted to republican institutions, in the name of justice, in the name of humanity, in the name of liberty, petition you, and through you the Government of the United States of America, to accord the right of belligerency to a people fighting for their absolute independence."

#### IN CONGRESS.

On the 3d of December, 1895, Mr. Call, of Florida, the constant champion of Cuba, in the Senate, presented the following resolution :

"Resolved, etc., That the Government of the United States recognizes a condition of public war between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba ; and the United States of America hereby declare that they will maintain a condition of strict neutrality between the contending powers and accord to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States. The Congress of the United States protest and remonstrate against the barbarous manner in which the war in Cuba has been conducted, and the President is hereby authorized to take such steps as may be expedient, in his judgment, to secure an observance of the laws of war as recognized

by all the civilized nations," on which he spoke on the 5th, two days after, saying:

"This Government is actually giving aid and comfort to the Spaniards against the Cubans. It is the power of this Government, that to-day maintains the Spanish army in the Island of Cuba. It is this Government which is responsible for the outrages. I do not mean to say that it is the President, or his Cabinet, but that it is this Government, and the attitude it occupies in all its branches, in not declaring that those people are entitled to belligerent rights in our ports and territory, which to-day is maintaining the power of Spain in the Island of Cuba."

The resolution was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations. On the 29th of January, 1896, Senator Morgan, of Alabama, reported the following from the majority of the Commission:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the present deplorable war in the Island of Cuba, has reached a magnitude that concerns all civilized nations to the extent that it should be conducted, if, unhappily, it is longer to continue, on those principles and laws of warfare that are acknowledged to be obligatory upon civilized nations when engaged in open hostilities, including the treatment of captives who are enlisted in either army; due respect to cartels for exchange of prisoners and for other military purposes; truces and flags of truce; the provision of proper hospitals and hospital supplies, and services to the sick and wounded of either army; be it further

"Resolved, That this representation of the views and opinions of Congress be sent to the President; and

if he concurs therein, that he will in a friendly spirit use the good offices of this Government to the end that Spain shall be requested to accord to the armies with which it is engaged in war, the rights of belligerents, as the same are recognized under the laws of nations," supporting it with a report, which expressed that:

"The devastation of Cuba in the war that is now being waged, both with fire and sword, is an anxious and disturbing cause of unrest among the people of the United States, which creates strong grounds of protest against the continuance of the struggle for power between Cuba and Spain, which is rapidly changing the issue to one of existence on the part of a great number of the native population.

"It is neither just to the relations that exist between Cuba and the United States, nor is it in keeping with the spirit of the age or the rights of humanity, that this struggle should be protracted until one party or the other should become exhausted in the resources of men and money, thereby weakening both until they may fall a prey to some stronger power, or until the stress of human sympathy or the resentments engendered by long and bloody conflict, should draw into the strife, the unruly elements of neighboring countries.

"This civil war, though it is great in its proportions, and is conducted by armies that are in complete organization, and directed and controlled by supreme military authority, has not the safeguard of a cartel for the treatment of wounded soldiers or prisoners of war.

"In this feature of the warfare, it becomes a duty of humanity that the civilized powers should insist upon

the application of the laws of war recognized among civilized nations, to both armies. As our own people are drawn into this struggle on both sides, and enter either army without the consent of our Government, and in violation of our laws, their treatment when they may be wounded or captured, although it is not regulated by treaty and ceases to be a positive care of our Government, should not be left to the revengeful retaliations which expose them to the fate of pirates or other felons.

“The inability of Spain to subdue the revolutionists, by the measures, and within the time that would be reasonable when applied to occasions of ordinary civil disturbance, is a misfortune that cannot be justly visited upon citizens of the United States, nor can it be considered that a state of open civil war does not exist, but that the movement is a mere insurrection, and its supporters a mob of criminal violators of the law, when it is seen that it requires an army of one hundred thousand men and all the naval and military power of a great kingdom even to hold the alleged rebellion in check.

“It is due to the situation of affairs in Cuba, that Spain should recognize the existence of a state of war in the island, and should voluntarily accord to the armies opposed to her authority, the rights of belligerents under the laws of nations.”

Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, presented the views of the minority, accompanied by a most lucid and complete sketch of the political history of Cuba, from 1869 to date. He went over the steps taken during General Grant's administration and declared :

“The danger and the scandal of the Cuban situa-



tion have been such as can be compared with nothing, but the condition of Armenia. So serious did they become, and so imminent was the peril, that in 1894-95, the Spanish Government at last adopted measures looking to the partial satisfaction of Cuban demands. These measures we need not discuss. They were held by the old insurgent party to be illusory and deceptive. Another attempt at independence was decided upon, and in February, 1895, the present "sanguinary and fiercely conducted war" broke out, "in some respects more active than the last preceding revolt." In thus characterizing the situation in Cuba as a state of war, President Cleveland, like Secretary Fish, has cleared the subject of all preliminary doubts. A state of war exists in Cuba. With that, and with that alone, we have to deal.

"The precedents are clear, and if our action were to be decided by precedent alone, we should not be able to hesitate. The last great precedent, was that of the civil war which broke out in the United states in the spring of 1861. In that instance, without waiting for the outbreak of actual hostilities, further than the bloodless attack at Fort Sumter and its surrender, April 13, 1861, the British Government issued its proclamation of neutrality on the 13th of May following, before it had received official information that war existed, except as a blockade of certain insurgent ports. The French Government acted in concert with Great Britain, but delayed the official announcement until June. The Spanish Government issued its proclamation of belligerency June 17; and the first battle of our war was not fought until July 21, or known at Madrid until August.

"In this great instance, the outbreak of insurrection and the recognition of belligerency, were simultaneous. The United States protested against the precipitancy of the act, and have never admitted its justice or legality. Neither in 1869, nor in 1895, did the President enforce the precedent against Spain, in regard to the insurrection in Cuba. Not even in 1875, when the insurgents held possession of a great part of the island and seacoast, with no restraint but the blockade, did the United States recognize their belligerency.

"Yet belligerency is a question of fact, and if declared at all it should be declared whenever the true character of neutrality requires it, or the exigencies of law need it. The nature of such action may be political or legal or both. As a political act, impartiality requires, that belligerency should be recognized whenever existing in fact, its denial is equivalent to taking part with one of the belligerents against the other. In such cases the unrecognized belligerent has just ground for complaint. The moral support of the neutral government is given wholly to its opponent. That the Cuban insurgents were belligerents in fact, as early as 1869, was expressly stated by Mr. Fish when he explained the meaning he attached to his phrase regarding "the civil war now ravaging the island." The word *war* in such conditions necessarily implies the fact of belligerency. President Cleveland, in his annual message of last month, informs us that the present war is more active than the last preceding one.

"Nevertheless, our Government has still refrained from what Mr. Fish called "any public recognition of belligerent rights to the insurgents." No legal necessity arose to require it, and the political exigency was

not absolute. Yet, after the victory of Bayamo in the month of July last, when the insurgents defeated and nearly captured the Captain-General, Martinez Campos, and gained military possession of the whole Eastern half of the island, the fact of their belligerency was established, and if further evidence was needed it was fully given by the subsequent victory at Coliseo on the 24th of December, when the insurgents drove the Captain General back to Havana and gained military control of the Western provinces.

"If the Government of the United States still refrained from recognizing the belligerency of the insurgents after this conclusive proof of the fact, the reason doubtless was that in the absence of any legal complications, the question became wholly political, and that its true solution must lie not in a recognition of belligerency, but in a recognition of independence.

"In 1875, when the situation was very far from being as serious as it is now, President Grant, after long consideration of the difficulties involved in public action, decided against the recognition of belligerency, as an act which might be delusive to the insurgents, and would certainly be regarded as unfriendly as Spain. He decided upon a middle course. The documents above quoted show that he proposed to the Spanish Government, a sort of intervention which should establish the independence of Cuba by a friendly agreement. In doing so, he not only necessarily recognized both parties to the conflict as on an equal plane, but he also warned Spain, that, if such mediation should not be accepted, direct intervention would probably be deemed a necessity on the part of the United States.

"Spain preferred to promise to the insurgents, terms so favorable as to cause, for a time, the cessation of

hostilities. Since then, twenty years have passed. The insurrection, far from having ceased, has taken the proportion of a war, almost as destructive to our own citizens, as to the contending parties. The independence of Cuba was then regarded by the President of the United States, as the object of his intervention, and has become far more inevitable than it was then. Evidently the Government of the United States can do no less, than to take up the subject precisely where President Grant left it, and to resume the friendly meditation which he actually began, with all the consequences which necessarily would follow its rejection.

"Confident that no other action than this, accords with our friendly relations with Spain, our just sympathy with the people of Cuba, and with our own dignity and consistency, I recommend the following resolution to the consideration of the Senate :

"Resolved, That the President is hereby requested to interpose his friendly offices with the Spanish Government, for the recognition of the independence of Cuba."

"On February 5th, Mr. Morgan reported the following concurrent resolution, as a substitute to the previous one of the majority."

"Resolved, by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain, and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba ; and that the United States of America should maintain strict neutrality between the contending powers, and accord to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States."

Senator Call, on February 20th, offered an amendment reading thus: "That the United States recognize the independence of the Republic of Cuba, proclaimed at Jimaguayu under the presidency of Cisneros, and under the provisional constitution and form of Government proclaimed at Jimaguayu, on May, 1895."

On that day, the debate on the war in Cuba commenced in the Senate. Senator Call again spoke, giving a history of the island. Senator Lodge in an eloquent and erudite peroration, defended Cuba and argued, that with more reasons should the United States extend the sympathies, "to an Armenia at our own doors" to that other far away, the victim of Eastern despotism.

These paragraphs were applauded enthusiastically :

"Spain may ruin the island. She can never hold it, or govern it again. Cuba now is not fighting merely for independence. Those men are fighting, every one of them, with a price on their heads and a rope around their necks. They have shown that they could fight well. They are now fighting the battle of despair. That is the condition to-day in that island. And here we stand motionless, a great and powerful country not six hours away from these scenes of useless bloodshed and destruction.

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"In Cuba there is useless bloodshed, brutality, cruelty, and destruction of life and property—all the horrors that can accompany a savage war which is not submitted to the rules of civilized warfare. Is our civilization in the United States to break down, as the civilization of Western Europe has broken down before Armenia? I do not believe it to be possible. Of the

sympathies of the American people, generous, liberty loving, I have no question. They are with the Cubans in their struggle for freedom. I believe our people would welcome any action on the part of the United States, to put an end to the terrible state of things existing there. We can stop it. We can stop it peacefully. We can stop it, in my judgment, by pursuing a proper diplomacy, and offering our good offices. Let it once be understood that we mean to stop the horrible state of things in Cuba, and it will be stopped. The great power of the United States, if it is once invoked and uplifted, is capable of greater things than that.

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"We have the power to bring it to an end. I believe that the whole American people would welcome steps in that direction.

"Recognition of belligerency as an expression of sympathy, is all very well. I think it is fully justified by the facts in Cuba, but I should like to see some more positive action taken than that. I think we cannot escape the responsibility which is so near to us. We cannot shrug our shoulders and pass by on the other side. If that war goes on in Cuba, with the added horrors which this new general brings with him, the responsibility is on us; we cannot escape it. We should exert every influence of the United States. Standing, as I believe the United States stands, for humanity and civilization, we should exercise every influence of our great country to put a stop to that war which is now raging in Cuba and give to that island once more, peace, liberty, and independence."

Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in a speech lasting

several days, went over the whole ground of the Cuban question, supporting his views with documentary evidence from Spanish sources and with American quotations. He was frequently interrupted by the few opponents of the resolution, but he answered their objections with most convincing facts. His memorable speech constitutes by itself, a most thorough review of the grievances of the Cubans, the history of the war, the legal status of their case, and their justified claims for recognition.

In the subsequent speech which he made, when the report of the Conference Committee was made to the Senate, he tore to pieces the ridiculous document which Mr. Enrique Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish Minister, sent to the State Department. Senator Morgan bore the brunt of the debate, and by his undaunted and persistent advocacy of the Cuban cause, gained the sincerest and most eternal gratitude of the Cuban people.

Senator Gray, of Delaware, who had so ably defended General Carillo and his companions, at Wilmington, Del., and who, therefore, could by personal knowledge, judge the men engaged in the revolution, said in his speech:

"Cuba is again gravely disturbed. An insurrection, in some respects more active than the last preceding revolt, which continued from 1868 to 1878, now exists in a large part of the eastern interior of the island, menacing even some populations on the coast. Besides deranging the commercial exchanges of the island, of which our country takes the predominant share, this flagrant condition of hostilities, by arousing sentimental sympathy, and inciting adventurous support among our people, has entailed earnest effort on the part of this

Government, to enforce obedience to our neutrality laws, and to prevent the territory of the United States, from being abused as a vantage ground, from which to aid those in arms against Spanish sovereignty.

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“ Though neither the warmth of our people’s sympathy with the Cuban insurgents, nor our loss and material damage consequent upon the futile endeavors thus far made to restore peace and order, nor any shock our humane sensibilities may have received from the cruelties which appear to especially characterize this sanguinary and fiercely conducted war, have in the least shaken the determination of the Government to honestly fulfil every international obligation, yet it is to be earnestly hoped, on every ground, that the devastation of armed conflict may speedily be stayed, and order and quiet restored to the distracted island, bringing in their train the activity and thrift of peaceful pursuits.

“ Mr. President, we might as well be ashamed to own our own mothers, as to attempt to deny or conceal the origin of our own free institutions. They sprung from revolution ; they were achieved by our fathers with arms in their hands, and from that day to this, there never has been the suggestion that the flag of freedom had been unfurled anywhere, that the hearts of the American people did not go out in sympathy and encouragement, to the people struggling to uphold it. Therefore it is becoming in us, and entirely within all the proprieties which should govern a great nation like this, which, I admit, should in its foreign relations and in the conduct of its diplomatic intercourse be moder-



ate, self-respecting, and self-restrained—that we should give expression, dignified and proper expression, to the sympathy of the American people for the struggling patriots who are now upholding the cause of self-government in that fair island on our southern borders.”

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Senator Stewart, of Nevada, spoke in these strong terms:

“We cannot stand by longer and permit the existing condition to continue, without receiving and deserving the reproach of all mankind.”

On the 24th of February, 1896, Senator White, of California, submitted this amendment:

“Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Senate contemplates with solicitude, and profound regret, the sufferings and destruction accompanying the civil conflict now in progress in Cuba. While the United States have not interfered, and will not, unless their vital interests so demand, interfere with existing colonies and dependencies of any European Government on this hemisphere, nevertheless, our people have never disguised and do not now conceal their sympathy for all those who struggle patriotically, as do the Cubans now in revolt, to exercise, maintain, and preserve the right of self-government. Nor can we ignore our exceptional and close relations to Cuba, by reason of geographical proximity, and our consequent grave interest in all questions affecting the control, or well-being of that island. We trust that the executive department, to whose investigation and care our diplomatic relations have been committed, will at as early a date as the facts will warrant, recognize the belligerency of those who are

maintaining themselves in Cuba in armed opposition to Spain, and that the influence and offices of the United States may be prudently, peacefully, and effectively exerted, to the end that Cuba may be enabled to establish a permanent government of her own choice."

In speaking of this resolution, he presented to the Senate a masterly brief on the laws of neutrality.

In the course of Senator White's speech he said: "I do not believe that the Cubans have achieved independence, and will not vote that to be a fact which I know not to be a fact." This called for one of the most ardent pleas for Cuba, and was one of the most beautiful pieces of spontaneous oratory. Quivering with emotion, Senator Vest answered:

"I do not agree with the views of the Senator from California, as to the recognition of the independence of a foreign country, or a foreign people struggling for their rights to self-government. If the doctrine be correct, that all vestige of military power on the part of the mother country, or the country that seeks to put down the insurrection, must be swept away before we can act, then our action is simply *brutum fulmen*, and amounts to nothing. The people themselves, have already struck the blow that made them free, and we can only accept results, and say that the fiat of the god of battles, has been put upon their endeavor to assert their right to govern themselves. If we as the great Republic of the world, mean to stand by these people who are imitating us, and endeavoring to make a government for themselves like that of this country, we must help them in their hour of need, and if we do not go so far as to do it by arms, which is not advocated by anybody in this Chamber or out of it, we can at least do it, by

stating to the world, that we believe the attempt of the monarchy of Spain to suppress this insurrection, as they term it, this endeavor to form a republic upon the Island of Cuba, is absolutely hopeless and desperate, as I believe under God it is to-day. There will never come the hour when Spain can reassert her dominion over the Island of Cuba. It is impossible that she should do so, and I speak from the great teachings of history and experience.

"Sir, the course of Spain upon this continent is marked with blood. There was a time when the Spanish dominion extended almost from the southern limits of the United States, to the farthest and southernmost point in South America. No American can ever forget those burning pages of Prescott, that describe the conquest of Mexico and the conquest of Peru when the Spaniards, with the lust for gold and the lust for blood, marked their terrible pathway across the countries lying south of us. Of all those vast dominions won by blood, won through torture and fire, there remains to-day to this toothless old wolf, the single island of Cuba. And Spain to-day, like Giant Despair in that wonderful picture of Bunyan, almost helpless, sits at the door of the dark cave of despotism and grins with impotent rage at the procession of splendid Republics, that march on in the progress toward civilization and liberty.

"Mr. President, that wolf can never retain that single cub. Never can Spain hold the island of Cuba within sight of the Republic of the United States, but five hours away from us, after she has lost all the South American provinces, after she has been unable to hold one foot of soil south of us, in all the wide area of the southern half of this continent."

Asked by Senator Lindsay what proportion, if any, of the people of Cuba are in sympathy with Spain in her attempt to suppress this revolution, Senator Vest concluded with this fervid period:

"None from my information, and I have read from the Spanish press, for the Cubans have no press. From the Spanish press, under the espionage of the Spanish authorities, it can be proven that every Cuban is in sympathy with the patriotic endeavor to achieve independence and self-government, upon that island. No instance can be found, in which a people combined and confederated and unanimous as they are, a million and a half of people, have ever been subjugated except by extermination. Why, sir, what American boy does not recollect that burning oration of Henry Clay, the great orator of the West, when he spoke for Greece in 1824, and when he predicted that so long as Thermopylae and Marathon were there, no Greek would lay down his arms before the Turkish power?

"We are told now that these are negroes, mulattoes, Indians who are fighting for independence. So much the more cause why we should sympathize with them, and say God help them in their dire extremity. Liberty lives with the poor and the oppressed, not with the wealthy and the powerful. It throbs in the breast of the caged bird, and has gone with martyrs to the stake, and kissed their burning lips as the spirit winged its flight to God. Liberty cannot be extinguished, when a people are unanimous in defence of the rights which God has given them. If these people, ignorant and poor, struggling against this despotism, have imitated us, why should we content ourselves with the poor expression of sympathy with their cause?

"It is a mere farce for us to do anything else than declare before the world, that we believe the cause of the Spaniard is hopeless in the island of Cuba.

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"We are confronted now with one overwhelming, overruling, absolute, and determinate question in this debate. Shall we, the great exemplar of republican institutions throughout the world, declare that in our opinion the people of Cuba are able to maintain their independence and have achieved it? Are we to wait until that island is desolated by fire and sword? Are we, a Christian and God-fearing people, to stand silent and dumb, while the Spanish Governor, called a general, declares that he intends to pen up the people of Cuba, and butcher them into subjection to the Spanish throne? Sir, if we do it, God will curse us. If we do this thing, and stand here until a desert has been made of that splendid island, you may be certain that the time will come when there will be retribution upon us as a people, because we have not been true to the task assigned us by Providence, because we have not cherished the legacy of self-government, as bequeathed to us by our fathers."

On the same day the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House of Representatives, Mr. Hitt, of Illinois, submitted the following report, greeted with great applause :

"The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred House resolutions Nos. 34, 47, 89, and 157, having fully considered the same, and the numerous petitions relating to the same subject, report the following concurrent resolutions, as a substitute for the several said resolutions, and recommend their adoption.

“Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in the opinion of Congress a state of public war exists in Cuba, the parties to which are entitled to belligerent rights, and the United States should observe a strict neutrality between the belligerents.

“Resolved, That Congress deplores the destruction of life and property, caused by the war now raging in that island, and believing that the only permanent solution of the contest, equally in the interest of Spain, the people of Cuba, and other nations, would be in the establishment of a government by the choice of the people of Cuba, it is the sense of Congress that the government of the United States should use its good offices and friendly influence to that end.

“Resolved, That the United States has not intervened in struggles between any European governments and their colonies on this continent; but from the very close relations between the people of the United States and those of Cuba, in consequence of its proximity and the extent of the commerce between the two peoples, the present war is entailing such losses upon the people of the United States, that Congress is of the opinion that the government of the United States should be prepared to protect the legitimate interests of Americans by intervention, if necessary.”

On the 28th of February, the Senate declared itself to be in favor of granting belligerent rights to the struggling patriots in Cuba. It was a memorable session; the galleries listened with close attention, applauding all sentiments favorable to liberty; they were crowded to the utmost, and long files of people waited at every door for an opportunity to listen to the debate.

Senator Lindsay, of Kentucky, took an advanced position as to the duty of the United States toward Cuba, and brought forth one of the most powerful arguments advanced in the debate, that the United States, by saying repeatedly to Spain "Your possession of the island shall be protected against all foreign countries, even if it be necessary to call upon the naval and military resources of this country to protect you," could not shrink from the responsibility, and duty, it incurred toward the people of Cuba. The following paragraphs are a synthesis of his position :

"Having assumed that position seventy years ago, having sustained that position through all the years that have intervened since 1823, having declared that Cuba can not have good government at the hands of France or Great Britain or any other liberal and progressive country, have we not at the same time assumed a duty correlative in its extent, to the claim that we assert? Can we say to the people of Cuba, can we say to the civilized world, that unless Cuba unaided can secure her independence, she shall remain for all time to come, under all circumstances, in every contingency, subject to the rule of Spain, and at the same time shirk the responsibility of saying to Spain, 'In consideration of this guaranty we have the right to demand that you shall give to the people of Cuba some sort of respectable government, some sort of protection to person and property, a system of administration that to some extent commends itself to the enlightened civilization of the age in which we live'? I insist that we, having asserted these great rights, having claimed this high authority, having become sponsor to the world, that Spain shall continue to dominate this island, can not escape

responsibility, if we fail to see that Spain treats the people with some degree of justice. All during these seventy years that we have been guaranteeing Spain's possession, upholding Spain's authority over Cuba, affairs have been growing steadily worse.

"I do not pretend to say that Spain would not give Cuba good government if she could, but that the financial condition of Spain, has reached that point at which she can not live, without virtually confiscating the fruits of the labor of all the people of Cuba, and if the impositions in the way of taxation annually taken from the people of Cuba under the Spanish Government, have not been exaggerated by Senators on this floor who profess to speak by authority, then I say that in each year the profits which result from every Cuban's labor, the profits which result from every Cuban enterprise, and the profits which follow the cultivation of the richest soil upon the face of the earth, are taken from the people of Cuba and turned into the coffers of Spain, to enable that country to maintain its standing as a European power. Cuba can not get good government at the hands of Spain, because Spain's condition will not permit her to give it good government.

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"If it be true that it is but a question of money, then why should not an overture be made to Spain, not in an offensive way, not with any view to ultimate hostilities, but in the interest of common humanity, and why shall not Spain treat, upon the basis of affairs as they exist, for the surrender of her control over this island for a consideration which the Cuban people may be able to pay? In the past, propositions like this have



been made, and have not been regarded as cause for offence. Why, then, shall not the United States not only propose to Spain that she shall, for a fair consideration, part with her right to dominate Cuba, but, if necessary, announce that the Government of the United States, having that deep and abiding interest in Cuba outlined by Mr. Adams, and by all his successors, will guarantee that Cuba shall keep, and perform the obligations she may thus incur? Something must be done. It will not do to say that we merely hope for the close of a useless, unnecessary and wicked war, which can terminate only in the abject subjection or annihilation of the Cuban people, or in their independence. We can not longer answer at the bar of public opinion, nor to our own consciences, by claiming that we are not our brother's keeper. We have made ourselves the keeper of this brother, and if we shrink from the duties we have thus voluntarily assumed, the blood of that brother will cry out from the ground against us."

The venerable Senator from Ohio, Mr. Sherman, who since the last revolution has been one of the truest friends of the Cuban cause, said that he felt that the time had come when the United States must intervene to put an end to crimes almost beyond description. He referred to several pamphlets presented by Mr. Estrada Palma, the agent and representative of the Cubans in this country. Mr. Sherman said the statement showed the organization of a Legislature, of the army, of the President—the latter a man of high character. It was as complete an organization as the United States had during the Revolutionary War.

The rules of war observed by the Cubans were humane and honorable, showing none of the barbarous

ferocity of the Spanish troops. The Senator read from the orders of General Maximo Gomez, showing the humane treatment ordered for prisoners. It was in striking contrast with the murderous course of General Weyler, the Spanish commander.

Senator Sherman scathingly denounced General Weyler, and said :

“ Now we come to the saddest aspect of this question. Spain has evidently withdrawn Campos, who was a friendly, fair, and open ruler, and who sought in every way he could, to bring about some agreement between the two countries, because they are now two separate countries. Campos was withdrawn, and there was put in his place a Spanish general of renown, who has been long in the army, is well known, and of late has been christened ‘ the butcher.’ Events have happened within the last thirty days that have changed the whole of my feeling in regard to this matter. This man Weyler, if we can judge by what he has done, and if he is to be judged by what he threatens to do, is one of the worst men who could be sent there to pacify a people or to compel them to surrender. His warfare is massacre. He openly avows it.

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“ We have seen that this actual tragedy has already commenced. I read in the morning paper—it is open to all—the account of about the first battle which has been fought there since the arrival of this general, and the murder of unoffending prisoners. I wish to say upon my own responsibility, that if this line of conduct is pursued by Spain in Cuba, and the people of the United States are informed of its conditions as they

are narrated daily in the public papers, there is no earthly power that will prevent the people of the United States from going over to that island, running all over its length and breadth, and driving out from the little Island of Cuba these barbarous robbers, and imitators of the worst men who ever lived in the world.

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"But Cuba lies right at our shore. A few hours will carry us across to Havana, the capital of that beautiful island, which is rich in production, which contains the best sugar lands in the world, a country capable of holding five million people and giving them active and prosperous employment—people of a gentle and kindly race, not disposed to warfare, unless it be to resent intrusion and tyranny.

"Sir, whatever may be the result of the adoption of this measure, I desire to take my share of responsibility in connection with it, and with a confidence in the judgment of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, I believe it will be wise if we can assist, and all the other nations of America concur, in securing to the people of Cuba the same liberties we now enjoy."

Mr. Gallinger, of New Hampshire, graphically described the wrongs which Spain inflicted on Cuba, and ended his remarks with the following phrases:

"I shall vote for the strongest resolution that is now before the Senate or that may be presented to this body, and that vote will be cast with a feeling of pride, and in the hope that it may do something toward securing for the people of Cuba, the God-given blessings of freedom, self-government, and national independence. I am grateful that as a Senator from one of the original

thirteen states, I am permitted to-day to voice the sentiments of the patriotic descendants of Stark and Webster, in behalf of human liberty and human rights. I esteem it a glorious privilege to be permitted to leave the legacy to my children and children's children, of having united my voice and given my vote in an effort to release a liberty-loving people from the ignoble bondage of oppression and cruelty. It will be a mighty gain to education, to religion and to civilization, when the Republic of Cuba takes its place among the nations of the world."

Senator Frye, of Maine, in his short speech, expressed the indignation of the American people at the unwarranted seizure in the United States ports, of vessels carrying supplies to the Cubans. These were his burning words:

"I am weary and heartsick to see this splendid Republic of ours, its foundation stones the equal rights of man, doing day after day and month after month police duty for the most wicked despotism there is to-day on this earth. When I read two or three days ago, that a vessel carrying arms, ammunition, supplies, and a few men to aid the Cuban insurgents, had been successfully seized by the United States of America, I recognized the fact of the supremacy of law; but I was mortified and humiliated beyond expression, and I should have been delighted if I could have read in the very next item that Almighty God, without destroying innocent human life, had sent a commotion of nature, a grand tidal wave, or a spout of water, and had sent skyward the seizing vessel, and had sent the succoring ship Cubaward; I should have rejoiced beyond measure.

"Sir, I never can forget what I felt when I read in the press years and years ago, that a poor black man escaping from slavery, had been seized by a United States marshal, aided by a regiment of United States soldiers, in the streets of Boston, right in front of the Cradle of Liberty, and had been manacled and sent back into slavery. I recognized that the law had been vindicated; but there was not a humane or a Christian man or woman in the entire North, who would not have thanked God, who would not have rejoiced without limit, if He, in His divine providence, had right at that time, paralyzed the strong arm of the law, and the poor slave had gone free.

"Sir, I say I am tired and wearied with doing police duty for this despotism of Spain, and I look upon these resolutions and the action of Congress now, as the first step in calling a halt.

"My creed in these regards has no thirty-nine articles. It is a very brief one. These insurgents in this beautiful, but ill-fated and cruelly misgoverned island, have my profoundest sympathies. I cannot forget, as the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) just said, that where we had one just cause to rebel against the Mother Country, these men have scores as just for their rebellion; and I shall do or say or vote anything, consistent with the honor and the integrity of the Republic, which shall, in my opinion, promote the success of the Cuban patriots, who are to-day so bravely struggling to wrest liberty from the iron grasp of a cruel and relentless despotism."

Mr. Caffery, of Louisiana, was the only one who defended Spain. Mr. Allen, of Nebraska, who presented this resolution:

"Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to issue a proclamation, recognizing the Republic of Cuba as it exists under the constitution and form of government proclaimed at Jimaguayu, under President Cisneros, in the month of May, A. D., 1895, as a free and independent nation, and according the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of said Republic, all the rights and privileges accorded to the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Government of Spain," closed the debate, refuting the feeble arguments of his colleague, his opinions are embodied in these words:

"I am decidedly in favor of the adoption of a resolution, that will not only recognize the belligerent rights of the Cubans, but which will recognize their complete independence, and will invite the President of the United States, as the recognized head of the executive department of our Government, to issue a proclamation to this effect, and to admit to our diplomatic circles a representative of the Republic of Cuba upon terms of exact quality with the representative of the Government of Spain. If I had it within my power, I would go further than this. I would say to Spain, "Your treatment of the Cubans for the last fifty years has been brutal and inhuman; you have shocked the moral sense of the civilized world, you have put yourself in an attitude to invite the universal execration of all good people, and all civilized nations; you have stifled the cries of the Cubans for liberty, and have drenched every acre of their soil with the blood of innocent men, women and children, and now, in the spirit of our free institutions, the people of the United

States, being the chief guardians and advocates of popular liberty upon this hemisphere, will require you to relax your hold upon these people, and give to them that freedom and right of self-government, that is inalienable to all people."

Mr. Pasco, of Florida, wanted the resolutions made joint, so as to enlist the President in this action :

"The reason against adopting a 'joint' resolution," said Mr. Sherman, "is that the president would be compelled to act within ten days, while a 'concurrent' resolution will express the wish of Congress, and allow the President to act when circumstances warrant."

Mr. Cameron offered an amendment for extending the friendly offices of the United States to Spain, for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

"I am authorized by the Committee on Foreign Relations to accept that amendment," said Mr. Sherman. Mr. Sherman moved to lay on the table the resolution of Mr. White, of California. The motion to table prevailed, yeas, 57, nays, 12. This afforded the first test of the Senate, against a limited sympathetic resolution.

Mr. Allen's resolution was also tabled, the votes being 52 yeas; 17 nays. The vote now came, on these resolutions recommended by the committee:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending

powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

The roll call proceeded amid breathless interest—the vice-president announced the result :

“Yeas—Republicans: Allison, Baker, Brown, Burrows, Cameron, Cannon, Carter, Chandler, Clark, Cullom, Davis, Dubois, Elkins, Frye, Gallinger, Gear, Hawley, Lodge, McBride, McMillan, Mantle, Mitchell, (Ore.), Nelson, Perkins, Pritchard, Proctor, Quay, Sherman, Shoup, Squire, Teller, Thurston, Warren and Wilson.

“Democrats: Bacon, Bates, Berry, Call, Cockrell, Daniel, Faulkner, Gibson, Gorman, Gray, Hill, Irby, Jones, (Ark.), Lindsay, Martin, Mills, Morgan, Pasco, Roach, Smith, Turpie, Vest, Walthall and White.

“Populists: Allen, Butler, Jones, (Nev.), Kyle, Puffer and Stewart.

“Nays—Republicans: Hale, Morrill and Wetmore.

“Democrats: Caffery, Chilton and George.

“Populists: None.

“Total—Yeas, 64; nays, 6.”

For one instant, there was a lull, and when the galleries realized that the Cuban Resolutions had been adopted, they burst into loud applause, which was with difficulty checked by the presiding officer. The people of Spain interpreted the passage of the resolutions as an insult, and popular demonstrations against the United States, were indulged in through the Peninsula. One of the most violent was at Barcelona, where ten



thousand persons, headed by members of the Chamber of Commerce, attacked the United States Consulate. Other outbreaks occurred of less importance and the press was most violent against this country; but Spain apologized for all. This intimidation did not deter the House of Representatives from passing the resolutions reported to that body by its committee; Messrs. Hitt, Smith, Cummings, McCreary, Adams, Sulzer, Thomas, Woodman, McCall and others, made short but eloquent speeches in support of the action recommended. Messrs. Boutelle, Turner, Tucker, and Draper were against them. The resolutions put to vote resulted in their passage by an overwhelming majority of 263, against 17. The announcement of the result was received with tremendous applause, by both House and galleries.

The resolutions now went to a Conference Committee of both bodies, which accepted the House Resolutions, these were brought before the Senate on the 10th of March.

The Spanish Minister in the meanwhile, against all propriety and diplomatic usage, entered the newspaper arena, to discuss the action of Congress, and to criticize the statements of several Senators; and afterward, Mme. de Lome, also, allowed herself to go into print. The writer answered the gentleman in a number of letters, to which he could not reply. This trick of Mr. Dupuy de Lome, diverted the attention from the Cuban Resolutions. His strictures were warmly answered by Senators Lodge, Teller, Chandler and Morgan.

The limited number of Spain's friends now determined on a policy of filibustering, possible only under

the rules of the Senate. Mr. Hale, of Maine, changing his opinions expressed as to the Allianca affair, when he declared :

"It is but a question of time when the United States must take possession of the Island of Cuba. It not only is a very desirable piece of property, but it naturally belongs to this country. It would be worth fully \$500,000,000 to the United States. It would never do for Spain to try to dispose of it to some other nation, for the United States would not permit such negotiations to be consummated. The United States should take early steps to acquire possession of Cuba, either by annexation or otherwise,"—now became the decided knight of fair Castile, and of her tyranny in America, and together with Senator Hoar, who before was willing to vote for Senator Cameron's resolution favoring independence ; and Senator Caffery, who repeated his previous attacks against the patriots, Senator Chilton, who opposed any action because "we have at home 'wrongs which need assistance,' we have at home 'rights which lack assistance,' we have at home 'a good that we may do.' That work now demands our whole time, our whole treasure, and our whole capacity," and Senator Palmer, made useless all the efforts of the stalwart champions of Cuba, Morgan, Gray, Sherman, Lodge, Call, Chandler, Stewart and Allen to get to a vote.

In this discussion, two powerful voices were raised in Cuba's behalf. Senator Hill with these ringing words :

"While the true policy of this government is that of peace—not peace at any price, but peace with honor—and while our general policy is that of non-inter-

vention in the affairs of other countries, yet let me repeat what has been so often stated here and elsewhere, that as one of the free States among nations—one of the greatest of Republics—it is impossible that our principles, our sentiments, and our example should not produce effect upon the opinions and hopes of society throughout the civilized world; and if other peoples, no matter in what quarter of the globe, whether near our own shores or in the distant waters of the Pacific, imbued with the same spirit of liberty, catching the inspiration of our success, desire to found a republic and throw off the shackles of a monarchy, if we can not consistently give them a helping hand, at least we should not retard them; we should not crush them; we should not frown upon them; we should not stand up so straight as to lean over backward against them in the exercise of a strict and cold neutrality; but on the contrary, we should encourage and cheer them in all the ways and methods permissible under the wise rules of international law. In short, such efforts on our part, as well as our sympathies, should be extended to every people struggling to be free from the burdens, oppressions, and wrongs of monarchical government.

“We can not ignore the fact that we set them their example. We are responsible for the lessons we have taught the world. We established the doctrine that the right of revolution for just cause, exists. Who so craven as now wants to abandon it?

\* \* \* \* \*

“The people of the United States have chosen their side in that great conflict which is constantly being

waged, sometimes quietly, secretly, and peacefully, sometimes openly, through revolution and bloodshed.

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"Cuba now wants to join the procession of republics, that it may receive with us the blessings of liberty and good government. God grant that she may succeed. But whether she succeeds or not, we shall at least have the proud consciousness that we have discharged our duty to it, to mankind, and to liberty.

"Let us discharge our duty as we understand it, and as we see it at this time. Let the future take care of itself. What position we may safely, wisely, and consistently take in this crisis, I have already indicated. Let us go no further at this time. Let us not anticipate events, but leave future conditions and situations to be solved when they arise. In conclusion, permit me to quote the appropriate words of Daniel Webster in his great speech in the House of Representatives in 1823, in behalf of the virtual recognition of Grecian independence, when he said:

"What part it becomes this country to take, on a question of this sort, so far as it is called upon to take any part, can not be doubtful. Our side of this question is settled for us, even without our own volition. Our history, our situation, our character, necessarily decide our position, and our course, before we have even time to ask whether we have an option. Our place is on the side of free institutions." And Senator Mills who exclaimed:

"How proud we must be as American citizens, to stand guard over that atrocious villain, who is again in Cuba in his work of death and desolation, but who

would not be there to-day, if the United States would draw her sword, as it is her duty to do. If we will not permit England, France, or Germany to extricate these wretched and persecuted people from the clutches of Spain, our honor demands that we shall do it ourselves. With what lofty pride our American mothers, wives, and daughters, must look upon the enrapturing scene of a Spanish bullfighter at the head of a horde of armed brigands, demanding of a helpless, innocent girl to decide between her life and her honor! How their eyes must burn with unwonted brightness, and their cheeks suffuse and glow with gratified pride, when they look on Weyler, with the Stars and Stripes above his head and falling in rich folds around his shoulders, and the royal bird of Jove fanning his cheeks with the feathers of his outstretched wings, while he bids an innocent girl to choose between his, and the embraces of his brutal minions. How proud must all our men be, sons of the sires who hung that standard in the storms of a hundred battles, who saw it ride in triumph on lands and lakes and oceans, and never once did the smell of the stain of dishonor rests within its folds, now see it guarding the wretch who slaughters unarmed men, violates unprotected women, and gives their homes to the flames, and their flesh to the eagles. Oh Columbia, gem of the ocean, your children have boasted of their civilization, their freedom, their prowess. How is the mighty fallen, the strong staff broken, and the beautiful rod! Columbia, the mighty God who called thee out of the deep, placed in your hands, the burning brand to enlighten the world, and lead its downtrodden humanity to higher and better altitudes. You were never intended for a jailer. Your fair waist was never designed

to be encircled by the belt of a Spanish bullfighter, nor your fair hands to carry the keys of Spanish dungeons, where victims of despotism were loaded with chains, because, taught by your precepts and example, they aspired to climb to the mountain tops where you stood."

After three weeks of dilatory tactics on the part of the opponents of any measure of sympathy whatever, the friends of Cuba grasped the situation created; they then became convinced that the aim of Spain was to prevent the passage of any resolution. Mr. Dupuy de Lome was publicly telegraphing: That a reaction had occurred in the House and among the people of the United States, and that the matter would be dropped.

But the joy of Weyler, and the Minister, was of short duration; the resolutions went again into conference, and the House Committee finally accepted the Senate Resolutions.

They were reported on the 3d of April. Mr. Hitt, in an able speech, explained the reasons that had determined the Conference Committee to change its first stand, and paid a glowing tribute to the heroism and virtues of the Cuban soldiers, closing his applauded oration thus:

"We are under no obligations to favor Spain and oppression, as against Cuba and freedom. The truth is, that in such matters as these, there are no friendships. Friendship is no sentiment, any more than would be aversions and hates, on which to base a national policy or a national movement. The prime consideration in a question like this, is justice—fairness to all. Enlightened self-interest as to our own people, and all that concerns them, should guide us in the discharge of our duty. It is our duty now, to say we believe that these people

struggling as did our fathers, should be recognized as men carrying on war, as belligerents. When this utterance has gone from the representatives of the people to the White House, I have faith to believe that the Executive will heed the voice of this nation, expressed by such vast majorities in House and Senate, and by every sign that indicates the wish of the American people.

The cause of Spain is manifestly waning from week to week. The rainy season will soon come on, and then the stars in their courses will fight for Cuban freedom. An end will come to Weyler boasts and savageries. Our action here will speedily be followed by results great and practical, and the sufferings of those unfortunate people, their tortures in prison pens, and lonely marshes, and mountain retreats, will come to an end. They will see the sun rise—the morning of a new and brighter day—and we shall all be glad to say, that we hailed the coming of free Cuba.”

A lively tilt between Mr. Boutelle, a champion of Spain, and Mr. Smith, a most devoted one of Cuba, in which the latter got the honors, was the feature of the debate.

Messrs. Skinner, Knox, Adams, Cockrell, Woodman, Newlands, Stewart, of New Jersey; Walsh, Dockery, Baker, Avery, Pickler, Milliken, Mahon, Buck, Broderick, all spoke in favor of Cuba; Messrs. Gillet, Ellett, Turner and Tucker against the resolutions. In no words pronounced in either House, was the justice of Cuba's cause more vividly depicted than in these grand phrases of Mr. Quigg, of New York:

“They come to us with a petition for fair play. They do not seek to involve us in their quarrel. They

ask no favor. They ask simply—and this is the significance of our resolutions—that we shall hold the scales even, between them and their enemy. If we refuse this reasonable request; if we deny to them the position that their cause justifies, and their valor has won; if we declare them to be wanton rebels, nay, plundering disturbers of the public peace, I say we shall be false to our history, false to the genius of our people, and false to the mission that it is ours to serve in the development of mankind.

“Gentlemen say, do nothing. But we can not do nothing. We are not on earth to do nothing. And by doing nothing what they mean is, to do something that is very bad indeed. By doing nothing, they mean that we shall take the part of Spain, as against this struggling colony, our neighbor and our friend. By doing nothing, they mean that we shall take the part of despotism, as against liberty. To do nothing is to accept the Spanish view—that the insurgents are not entitled to belligerent rights, that their armies are brigands, their ships pirates, and their flag not an emblem of national life, but of anarchy and of crime.

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“There are only one or two other points that I desire to notice. It has been said that the Cuban forces fight in disorder. So did the farmer lads at Bunker Hill. They say the Cuban Government frequently moves. So did the Continental Congress. They say that the Cuban armies are little bands of guerrillas. So were Marion's men. So was Sumter's brigade. So, indeed, were all the armies of the Revolution, the total number of whom are not half the force that is now



engaged for Cuba free? I say to the gentlemen, that it is not for us, the sons of the ragged and forlorn miserales who froze at Valley Forge, and starved in the swamps of the Carolinas, but out of whose glorious aspiration and noble daring free government was born, to sneer at the distresses through which the men of Cuba, brave with the same hope, fierce with the same passion, are fighting their hard way to freedom!

"Cuba ought to be free, Mr. Speaker; Cuba must be free. Aye, and by the favor of a just God, to whom serfdom is hateful, and all is good that tends to the advancement and improvement of His creatures, Cuba shall be free!"

On Monday, April 6th, notwithstanding all of Mr. Dupuy de Lome's prophecies, the Cuban patriots achieved the greatest moral victory of their struggle. By 246 yeas, against 27 nays, the House of Representatives concurred with the Senate in declaring that the Cubans were entitled to belligerency, and that the good offices of the United States should be interposed for the independence of the island.

The people of the American nation publicly condemned Spanish oppression, and proclaimed that the cause of Cuba was the cause of liberty, of humanity and of civilization!

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN

AFTER the passage in April, 1896, of the resolutions favoring Cuba, in Congress, it seemed according to the President's message that "it was intimated by this Government (the United States), to the Government of Spain, some months ago, that if a satisfactory measure of home rule were tendered the Cuban insurgents, and would be accepted by them upon a guaranty of its execution, the United States would endeavor to find a way not objectionable to Spain, of furnishing such guaranty. While no definite response to this intimation has yet been received (December, 1896), from the Spanish Government, it is believed to be not altogether unwelcome, while, as already suggested, no reason is perceived why it should not be approved by the insurgents."

Spain with her accustomed tactics gained time until February, 1897, always promising certain reforms but never admitting that she would grant real home-rule. Canovas, the Spanish Prime Minister, said that "Cuba can never be given '*Canadian*' self-government;" and as to the guaranty proposed, he haughtily answered: "Spain cannot undertake to be guided in her domestic affairs by any other Government, nor can she allow any foreign agitation to influence her in dealing with her rebellious colonies. Spain is not Turkey."

The Cubans could not and would not accept any-

thing but their absolute independence. Article XI. of their constitution reads: "The treaty of peace with Spain which must necessarily have for its basis the absolute independence of the Island of Cuba, must be ratified by the Government council and by an assembly of representatives, convened expressly for that purpose." No Cuban in the civil or military department of the Republic would accept any compromise, neither did they esteem it other than impracticable for the United States to enter into any kind of a protectorate.

Speaking in the name of Cuba, the legation at Washington said:

"The Cubans will not give up their arms until they have obtained their salvation. The President himself questions 'the reasonableness of unconditional surrender on the part of insurgent Cubans before their autonomy is conceded.' It has cost many lives and many sacrifices to arm the Cuban patriots, and it is indeed foolish to suppose that when they are so near the goal of their ambition, they would give up the means with which they have reached the point where Spain is willing to compromise and acknowledge that she is impotent to subdue them in the field of battle.

"The Cubans know that when Spain is willing to give Cuba 'genuine autonomy' it is because Cuba is lost, and she wants, by some trick or pressure, to make the Cubans pay the enormous Spanish debt. The Cubans are not so simple as to accept half a loaf when they can have the whole. It would be suicidal for them to accept a debt of hundreds of millions of dollars when they can commence their life as a nation free from all burdens, without obligations which would choke, if not kill entirely, for many years the prosperity of their island.

It is better that they should starve and die in foreign countries, giving their last mite to buy arms and ammunition, that they should fill the African penal colonies with physicians, lawyers, and planters; it is wiser that they should pay their tribute of blood in the plains and mountains of their native land, than they should be forever crushed by financial difficulties, than see the product of their labor and industry go to pay interest on the very money which has served to keep them in bondage. And, above all, the Cubans are determined to fall like men, rather than shamefully and with cowardice renounce by entering into and accepting an agreement, which would mean the abandonment forever of the high ideal of complete emancipation.

"To all such projects the Cubans will respond now and always with their motto 'Independence or Death.'"

Months passed without any result, and the administration of Mr. Cleveland gave place to that of his successor, without having done anything for struggling Cuba, leaving the solution of the problem to the new administration.

#### DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF 1896, REVIEWED.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, consisting of Messrs. Sherman, Lodge and Hoar, visited President Cleveland in June, 1896. After this interview the Cuban agitation in Congress subsided.

The arrival of General Fitzhugh Lee in Havana to take the place of Mr. Ramon O. Williams as United States Consul, was thought to be the beginning of an entirely different policy toward Spain; but unless it was that more energy in the defence of American citizens imprisoned in Cuba was shown; no change was

apparent. General Lee returned to Washington in November, 1896, and it was said that if the Government had followed his suggestions, an energetic intervention would have been the result.

Mr. Hannis Taylor, United States Minister at Madrid, had various conferences in July, 1896, and later, at San Sebastian, with the Spanish Premier, whose only aim was to postpone any categorical answer, so that the American government would continue its expectant attitude, while Spain was trying to sound European Governments as to their support in case of any action by the United States. A memorandum drawn to that effect was written by the Duke of Tetuan, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Relations, and was ready to be sent, when Mr. Taylor discovered its existence; it was then withdrawn.

President Cleveland issued about that time, another proclamation in regard to the violation of the neutrality laws, which was satisfactory to Mr. Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish Minister at Washington. From that time, the Cuban patriots were the victims of a most aggressive persecution by the United States authorities; on mere warrants sworn by detectives under Spanish pay, or by the Spanish authorities, Cubans were thrown into jail at night and obliged to give cash bail for their release; their vessels were libelled; and all obstacles put in the way of patriots who endeavored to strictly comply with the law. Yet, no jury convicted a single Cuban.

All the conventions which met in the summer of 1896 to nominate presidential candidates, expressed their sympathy for Cuba, following the resolutions passed in almost all the state legislatures and party conventions. The Republican Platform had the following plank:

"From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence to restore peace and give independence to the island."

On these American principles, Hon. William McKinley was elected President of the United States in November, 1896.

On the eve of the opening of Congress, on the 6th of December, and the publication of the President's annual message, the writer, as chargé d'affaires of the Cuban Republic, published the following:

"December 6, 1896.—The Cuban Legation in this country will strive, during the session of Congress which begins to-morrow, to continue and bring to a decisive end the labors which it initiated last year. A concurrent resolution, substantially declaring the belligerency of the Cuban patriots and recommending that the good offices of the United States should be directed toward obtaining the independence of Cuba, was passed then, and in three test votes—two in the House and one in the Senate—the unanimous sentiment of the American people was expressed in no unmistakable terms.

"Since then the Cubans have become every day

stronger. Notwithstanding two hundred thousand men sent by Spain, the Cubans occupy the interior, have captured important towns, and even seaports. Thousands of arms and several pieces of artillery have been sent, enabling the army of liberation to operate from Point Maysi to Cape San Antonio.

"We can claim that Cuba is free to-day. We can assert that Spain is trying, unsuccessfully, to reconquer Cuba. She is attempting to exterminate a people, not to subdue a revolution. Our civil government, supreme in three-fourths of the island; our complete military organization, our humanity to the vanquished foe, are proofs of the existence of a responsible, determined, rising nationality where there was yesterday an oppressed colony.

"This nationality cannot be crushed, even by the landing of new European armies on a territory over which the Monroe Doctrine is perfectly applicable. With as much reason as when the French troops were made to withdraw from Mexico, can the United States urge the evacuation of Cuba by Spanish armies, or request that Spain shall fight her battle with the troops she has already on this side of the ocean.

"Cuba is not struggling for herself alone; she is fighting for the salvation of the continent. Should the Cubans be defeated after a long and barbarous war, Spain would have to keep in the island an immense standing army to prevent any future uprising. This quarter of a million of men—this large navy—would be a menace to Spain's old colonies. The Monroe Doctrine did not prevent Cuba from being Spain's centre of operations against Latin-America. The United States could not allow at her very door such an eternal threat

to her republican institutions. The recognition of the independence of the Republic of Cuba and her belligerent rights is, therefore, a political necessity for the security of the continent.

"The United States, in the name of justice and Americanism, has seen fit to settle the boundary between a British colony and a sister Republic. With more justice, and in a matter entailing the highest of American principles—liberty—the United States can end this war of invasion and subjugation carried on by the Spanish Monarchy against what was her exploited colony of Cuba. The United States have precedents and reasons for such action. The interests of her citizens are involved, the American people insist that it shall be done, the facts warrant it, humanity clamors for it.

"As to the Cubans, we shall continue to affirm our independence with our armies in the field; we shall send to our brethren, without violating any laws and patiently overcoming unjustifiable obstacles put in our way, the elements of war; we shall present the truth to the press and opinion of the country—press and opinion which cannot be bought by gold nor influenced by power; we shall point to the indifference of the republican world, our devastated fields, our ruined industries, our massacred non-combatants, the hundreds of victims of African penal colonies, the thousands of families destitute, banished, dying of hunger and cold; we shall appeal not for mercy, but for fair play.

"This Cuban Legation, representing an unconquerable, gallant, and brave people, will do its best to contribute to the rapid termination of the cruel war, will work unceasingly to see the independence of the Re-



public and its belligerent rights proclaimed by America, and will enlist in its noble aim the sympathy of every true and liberty-loving American heart."

#### CUBA IN THE MESSAGE AND IN CONGRESS.

We have already noticed some paragraphs of the President's message published the same day of General Maceo's death; we have only to touch briefly upon some of its more salient points. On the whole, the utterance of the Executive was unfavorable to Spain. The only exception taken by the Cubans to the facts stated in this lengthy document was the following:

"It is reported, indeed, on reliable authority that, at the demand of the Commander-in-Chief of the insurgent army, the putative Cuban government has now given up all attempt to exercise its functions, leaving that government confessedly (what there is the best reason for supposing it always to have been in fact) a government merely on paper."

General Bartolomé Massó, the Vice President of the Cuban Republic, in a letter addressed to the writer, under date of the 31st of December, wrote:

"My attention has been called to Mr. Cleveland's statement that we have given up the idea of civil government, and as to this point I have also received some letters, from friends in Washington, who believe there are dissensions among us.

"Both Mr. Cleveland and the others are badly informed, the Government Council is in the full exercise of all its prerogatives, and to it all other powers are subordinate, as our constitution prescribes. Without weakness, it makes itself respected, and slight differences that occur are soon overcome, as we are all inspired by the highest patriotic aims."

The truth of the matter was, that the Cuban Civil Government had since September 13th, 1895, exercised all its functions in its different departments, collected

taxes, established post offices throughout the country and organized a system of prefectures. It was the nucleus of a more effective administration, yet an organization adequate and sufficient in a state of war—not an institution on paper.

Mr. Cleveland thus expounded the principal argument for American intervention :

"The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the Government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. It lies so near to us as to be hardly separated from our territory. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and Government of Spain. It is reasonably estimated that at least from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 of American capital are invested in plantations and in railroad, mining, and other business enterprises on the island. The volume of trade between the United States and Cuba, which in 1889 amounted to about \$64,000,000, rose in 1893 to about \$103,000,000, and in 1894, the year before the present insurrection broke out, amounted to nearly \$98,000,000."

The President in conclusion made these significant remarks :

"When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence and when a hopeless struggle for its reestablishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge. Deferring the choice of ways and methods until the time for action arrives, we should make them depend upon the precise conditions then existing ; and they should not be determined upon without giving careful heed to every consideration involving our honor and interest or the inter-

national duty we owe to Spain. Until we face the contingencies suggested, or the situation is by other incidents imperatively changed, we should continue in the line of conduct heretofore pursued, thus in all circumstances exhibiting our obedience to the requirements of public law and our regard for the duty enjoined upon us by the position we occupy in the family of nations.

"A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a careless disregard of present duty or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind the Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests, as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by considerations of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country, intimately related to us, saved from complete devastation, will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace."

In the Senate, on December 9th, these resolutions were presented :

By Senator Cameron :

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the independence of the Republic of Cuba be, and the same is hereby, acknowledged by the United States of America.*

*"Resolved, That the United States should use its friendly offices with the Government of Spain to bring to a close the war between Spain and Cuba."*

By Senator Mills :

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby directed to take possession of the Island of Cuba with the military and naval forces of the United States and hold the same until the people of Cuba can organize a government deriving its powers from the consent of the governed and arm and equip such military and naval forces as may be necessary to secure them against foreign invasion."*

By Senator Call :

*" Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America recognizes the Republic of Cuba as a free and independent Government and accords to the people of Cuba all the rights of a sovereign and independent government in the ports and within the jurisdiction of the United States."*

On the 10th Senator Cullom introduced another joint resolution :

*" Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the extinction of Spanish title and the termination of Spanish control of the islands at the gateway of the Gulf of Mexico are necessary to the welfare of those islands and to the people of the United States."*

In its support he delivered a very eloquent speech in which he went over the history of Spain and its domination in this Continent.

Here are some of his sentiments :

"The United States must to-morrow, if not to-day, give vitality to her sympathy for the oppressed and the weak. I desire to urge and to claim a policy and the adoption of a doctrine for our nation in advance of that which has heretofore been sanctioned. The United States, by virtue of our history, of our origin, our growth, and recognizing our proud and proper place in the honorable annals of the world, is the chosen country to put a new chapter into the code of international statutes and to declare a new and advanced watchword for the civilized world. If we fail to keep up with the march of sentiment and to mold into effective law such salutary principles as we solemnly believe are just and right, and such as are demanded by the progress of the world, we shall neglect a high duty and privilege and omit a sublime opportunity.

"This great continental question, therefore, when stripped of all its complications, becomes, in plain and simple language, Shall Cuba be free? This country will never consent to the transformation of Cuba into a slave pen for the holding in servitude of the captured patriots and insurgents who are fighting for the dearest rights of men. We

will not permit that island, a land which has the brightest possibilities for a people of intelligence and enterprise, to be made the abiding place of death and destruction. She lies too near our land of freedom to remain the military prison of the most cruel and unrelenting policy on earth."

Senator Call advocating his resolution also made a strong appeal and ended his peroration with these words:

"Mr. President, there seems to me to be no two sides to the question of the duty of the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Island of Cuba and its Government, and to accord to them all the rights that belong to an independent nation, in the ports and jurisdiction of the United States. It is not a question for us to consider whether or not that will lead to war. I do not believe it will. It is a recognized right of nations to do this. There is no right on the part of Spain, and no legitimate cause of offense. Really, it is to her interest that the Government of the United States should take this action, and that in some form the war should be terminated without further ruin and further destruction of property, and without further excitement of the people of the United States, by the continued imprisonment of American citizens, without sufficient cause."

On December 15th, Senator Morgan speaking on a resolution introduced by him the day before in regard to the correspondence in the "Competitor" Case, made one of his earnest pleas for Cuba.

He said in the course of his oration:

"Spain must see, as Europe sees, that the despotic severity of Bourbon rule, as it has been manifested in all her history, can not be maintained by sheer force against the native Cubans, whose eyes are constantly fixed upon the flag that represents the personal and political liberties of our great Republic, and whose dearest hopes are excited in their free and welcome association with our prosperous and happy people. We can not become the propagandists or the defenders of absolutism in government; neither can we withhold our

sympathies from those who seek the liberties we enjoy and suffer in the support of the right of the Cuban people to throw off the galling yoke of bondage to a foreign people 3,000 miles distant from them, who hold them as feudatories of the Spanish Crown.

"If, for just cause, Spain has been compelled to abdicate her sovereignty in all the twelve great States in Spanish America, there is no reason why we should deny to Cuba the right of home rule and sovereign independence, for reasons more just and causes more imperative, than any other Spanish-American State has ever claimed as the ground of revolt.

"No State in Spanish America was ever forced to endure such oppressions, in peace or war, as the President in his message has justly charged to Spanish rule in Cuba.

"Will the United States, in order to protect her own people in Cuba, or to promote or protect their commerce with that island, engage with Spain to hold those people to their allegiance or submission to the Spanish Government? If the Cubans refuse to accept our friendly intervention, and reject the olive branch that the President is seemingly ready to extend to them, what will we do about it?

"We can not be hereafter more indifferent to their fate than we have proven ourselves to be, in the executive department of our Government. We can not be more active and vigilant than we have been in shutting them off from the assistance of our people. Our ears cannot be more deaf than they have been to the pleadings of humanity in their behalf. We can let them alone, declare and maintain our neutrality in the war, and that is all they ask at our hands. But we can never interfere with arms for the overthrow of the Cubans or their Republic, or to compel their surrender to Spain."

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported on December 21, without a dissenting voice the resolution of Senator Cameron modified to read:

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the independence of the Republic of Cuba be, and the same is hereby, acknowledged by the United States of America.*

*"Be it further resolved. That the United States will use its friendly offices with the Government of Spain to bring to a close the war between Spain and the Republic of Cuba."*

The exhaustive report accompanying it, was considered to be one of the ablest political documents of the last quarter of a century. It reviewed all the cases of insurgent peoples claiming independence by right of revolt, and treating of Cuba, said :

" Into this American system, thus created by Monroe in 1822-23, and embracing then, besides the United States, only Buenos Ayres, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, various other communities have since claimed, and in most cases have received admission, until it now includes all South America, except the Guianas; all Central America, except the British colony of Honduras, and the two black Republics of Spanish Santo Domingo and Haiti in the Antilles.

" No serious question was again raised with any European power in regard to the insurrection or independence of their American possessions, until in 1869, a rebellion broke out in Cuba, and the insurgents, after organizing a government and declaring their independence, claimed recognition from the United States.

" The Government of the United States had always regarded Cuba as within the sphere of its most active and serious interest. As early as 1825, when the newly recognized States of Colombia and Mexico were supposed to be preparing an expedition to revolutionize Cuba and Puerto Rico, the United States Government interposed its friendly offices with those Governments to request their forbearance. The actual condition of Spain seemed to make her retention of Cuba impossible, in which case the United States would have been obliged, for her own safety, to prevent the island from falling into the hands of a stronger power in Europe. That this emergency did not occur may have been partly due to the energy with which Monroe announced ' our right and our power to prevent it,' and his determination to use all the means within his competency ' to guard against and defend it.'

" This right of intervention in matters relating to the external relations of Cuba, asserted and exercised seventy years ago, has been asserted and exercised at every crisis in which the island has been involved.

" When the Cuban insurgents in 1869 appealed to the United States for recognition, President Grant admitted the justice of the claim, and directed the minister of the United States at Madrid to interpose our good offices with the Spanish Government in order to

obtain by a friendly arrangement the Independence of the Island. The story of that intervention is familiar to every member of the Senate, and was made the basis of its resolution last session, requesting the President once more 'to interpose his friendly offices with the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.'

"The resolution then adopted by Congress was perfectly understood to carry with it all the consequences which necessarily would follow the rejection by Spain of friendly offices. On this point the situation needs no further comment. The action taken by Congress in the last session was taken 'on great consideration and on just principles,' on a right of intervention exercised twenty seven years ago, and after a patient delay unexampled in history.

"The interval of nine months which has elapsed since that action of Congress, has proved the necessity of carrying it out to completion. In the words of the President's Annual Message: 'The stability two years' duration has given to the insurrection; the feasibility of its indefinite prolongation in the nature of things, and as shown by past experience; the utter and imminent ruin of the island unless the present strife is speedily composed' are, in our opinion, conclusive evidence that 'the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that the sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, \* \* \* a hopeless struggle for its reestablishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict.'

"Although the President appears to have reached a different conclusion from ours, we believe this to be the actual situation of Cuba, and, being unable to see that further delay could lead to any other action than that which the President anticipates, we agree with the conclusion of the message, that, in such case, our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain are 'superseded by higher obligations which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge.' Following closely the action of President Monroe in 1818, Congress has already declared in effect its opinion that there can be no rational interference except on the basis of independence.

"In 1822, as now, but with more force, it was objected, as we have shown, that the revolted States had no governments to be recognized. Divisions, and even civil war, existed among the insurgents themselves. Among the Cubans no such difficulty is known to exist. In



September, 1895, as we know by official documents printed on the spot, the insurgent government was regularly organized, a constitution adopted, a president elected, and, in due course, the various branches of administration set in motion. Since then, so far as we are informed, this government has continued to perform its functions undisturbed. On the military side, as we officially know, they have organized, equipped, and maintained in the field, sufficient forces to baffle the exertions of 200,000 Spanish soldiers. On the civil side they have organized their system of administration in every province for, as we know officially, they 'roam at will over at least two-thirds of the inland country.' Diplomatically they have maintained a regularly accredited representative in the United States for the past year, who has never ceased to ask recognition and to offer all possible information. There is no reason to suppose that any portion of the Cuban people would be dissatisfied by our recognizing their representative in this country or that they disagree in the earnest wish for that recognition. The same thing could hardly be said of all the countries recognized by Monroe in 1822. Greece had no such stability when it was recognized by England, Russia and France. Belgium had nothing of the sort when she was recognized by all the powers in 1830. Of the States recognized by the treaty of Berlin in 1878, we need hardly say more than that they were the creatures of intervention.

"The only question that properly remains for Congress to consider is the mode which should be adopted for the step which Congress is pledged next to take.

"The Government of the United States entertains none but the friendliest feelings toward Spain. Its most anxious wish is to avoid even the appearance of an unfriendliness which is wholly foreign to its thought. For more than a hundred years, amidst divergent or clashing interests, and under frequent and severe strains, the two Governments have succeeded in avoiding collision, and there is no friendly office which Spain could ask, which the United States, within the limits of their established principles and policy, would not be glad to extend. In the present instance they are actuated by an earnest wish to avoid the danger of seeming to provoke a conflict.

"The practice of Europe in regard to intervention, as in the instances cited, has been almost invariably harsh and oppressive. The practice of the United States had been almost invariably mild and forbearing. Among the precedents which have been so numerously

cited there can be no doubt as to the choice. The most moderate is the best. Among these, the attitude taken by President Monroe in 1822 is the only attitude which can properly be regarded as obligatory for a similar situation to-day. The course pursued by the United States in the recognition of Colombia is the only course which Congress can consistently adopt."

Senator Mills and Morgan made a supplementary report.

The cause of Cuba looked bright indeed ; but some days before the presentation of the report, Secretary of State Olney made a public statement, declaring that any resolution passed by the Legislative branch would not have the force of law ; because in these matters the Executive was the proper department of the Government to make such recognitions. This raised a novel point as to the respective powers of Congress and the President, and the main question was obliged to await the debate on the constitutional point raised.

Up to February 10th no vote had been taken on the Cameron resolution in the Senate.

On the 21st Senator Hill presented the following resolution :

*"Resolved by the Senate, etc., That it is hereby declared that a state of public war exists in Cuba, and that the parties thereto are entitled to and are hereby accorded belligerent rights in accordance with the principals of international law, and the United States will preserve a strict neutrality between the belligerents."*

And Senator Chilton offered this amendment to the Cameron resolution :

"Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert.

"That it is hereby declared that a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America should maintain a strict

neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States."

Congress adjourned till the 5th of January, 1897.

The following quotation is from the long and vehement speech of Senator Mills in behalf of the Cubans, January 12th :

"Do we owe no duty to the poor, struggling people whom Spain is butchering every hour? We have said for one hundred years, and we say it to-day, and the President repeats it in this very message, that we will let no other power interfere in Cuba. We will not let them go and assume a protectorate over that island. We have so said ; we have shut them out from all houses of refuge ; we have condemned them to slavery and to the despotism of the assassin who occupies the throne of Spain. We have done it ; and we repeat it day by day, and yet shall we sit still in the Senate and in the House of Representatives and in the Executive chair of this nation and talk about our duty to Spain? We owe no duties to a despot, except the duties that we have covenanted in treaties that we have made with her, and which she has persistently refused to execute."

Senator Turpie on the 25th and 26th delivered a characteristic arraignment of Spain and a full review of the legal and political situation. He concluded his speech thus :

"Mr. President, I favor first a recognition of the independence of the Cuban Republic. I believe that would be the most patriotic, the most thoroughly American method of disposing of this question ; and if economy is to be considered, it is also the most facile and least expensive method of terminating this condition. I believe next in the declaration of belligerency, placing the combatants upon equal footing ; that it is due from the United States, having regard to its history, its rank and station among the family of nations, to acknowledge the great right of revolution and self-government in any people upon any island of this hemisphere, or in any part of the continent.

"I believe in recognition because recognition is reënforcement. It is reënforcement to the side and cause of freedom in this hemisphere. If the Cuban patriots succeed, we may then claim that we were friends of that republic, friends in need, friends in the hour and day of danger. If failure befall them, which may God avert, our action will lose nothing of grace or grandeur, and we shall have kept faith with that generous, quenchless spirit of liberty which has placed our own feet in so large room, and in the way of such a high career, that we can not forbear, we can not be silent; we must cry out, in the words of Lincoln, the great emancipator, 'I wish that all men everywhere might be free!'"

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### SPAIN'S SHAM REFORMS.

IN the beginning of February, 1897, such was the discontent in Spain on account of the prolongation of the war, the want of prospect of its speedy termination, the pressure brought upon the Spanish Government by the United States and Spain, the fear of the new Republican administration coming in without Spain having done anything, even in name, toward satisfying the complaints of the Cubans and thus making an effort to gain the good will of the foreign powers; that so-called reforms were proclaimed for Cuba; the Spanish Government having already granted some to Puerto Rico, two years after the Abarzuza plan had been adopted in the Cortes, and there being no war in Puerto Rico to prevent their establishment. If the reforms given to the latter were objected to by the Autonomists of the island, those which were intended to be implanted in Cuba were no less condemned as insufficient to bring about any weakening of the revolution.

Senator Rafael Labra, the leader of the West Indian Autonomists in Madrid, said: "The reforms are utterly meaningless as long as the limited suffrage places them at the mercy of the reactionary party in Cuba and Porto Rico. Its greatest defect is the failure to extend the electoral suffrage, which will prevent its being satisfactory to the Autonomists, and to all those in the colonies who are sure to understand that, as I have

already indicated, the carrying out of the reforms, depends wholly upon the reactionary party.

"The next defect is, the fact that the Governor-General, all his deputies and the chief officials of the islands, are not under the control of the local Assembly and Councils, but can even checkmate their action. Another defect is, allowing the Governor and other authorities to appeal not to the Imperial Parliament, but to the Minister of the Colonies, when they disagree with the insular Assembly.

"Again, the budget, tributary and tariff powers granted to the insular Assembly, with all the *conservative checks* and *clever drawbacks* included in the reforms, may yet lead to conflicts not easy to settle."

None of the prominent Spanish generals thought that the reforms would in any way exercise an influence in the termination of the war. Silvela, an independent chief of the Conservatives, considered them deficient. Martinez Campos did not believe them good enough to finish the war in Cuba. All the Madrid papers, except government organs, attacked them as inefficient, and their utter failure was predicted.

As far as the Cubans were concerned, their opinions were condensed in the words of their representative abroad the Hon. Tomas Estrada Palma:

"Had genuine autonomy instead of sham reforms been offered to the people of Cuba, before they rose in arms, the Cubans would surely have accepted it, and therefore bloodshed and total devastation of the island would have been averted. Were Cuba now to accept autonomy from Spain it would be a virtual surrender on the part of the Cubans. The insurrection is as strong as ever. The fact that Spain gives what she pleases

to call reforms, reveals that she begins to yield. When she sees that these reforms do not cause the patriots to surrender, she will make further concessions, but it will all be in vain. The patriots know that they are on the eve of triumph, and will not abandon the field until the independence of Cuba has been accomplished."

#### THE FUTURE.

We have briefly gone over the Revolution commenced by a handful of brave hearts against the secular power of Spain; we have seen the patriots daily grow in strength, not only in numbers, but in armament. Spain has changed her generals, has sent thousands of boys to unknown graves, has ruined herself, has turned from her policy of comparative intoleration, to that of extermination, and yet the Cubans have evaded the blockade of vessels of war, and have landed their veteran leaders, have bought and captured thousands of arms; have occupied almost all the island with the exception of the seaports; have beaten the regulars; have confined the Captain-General to his palace in the Capital, from where he does not dare to come out; have established a civil government; have made a humane war; have conquered the sympathy of the world by their courage, perseverance, union and dignity; have thwarted all the contemptible tricks of Spanish diplomacy; and have proven to the world that from one end of the island to the other, the spirit of rebellion against despotism and exploitation, is unconquerable, and that Cuba's heart beats with only one ideal, her absolute independence!

For that ideal, their homes are deserted, they wander in foreign countries, with their thoughts fixed in the brother who falls far away in the Eastern mountains, or

on the Central plains, by the bullet or sword ; in the son who runs away to enlist under the glorious flag of the solitary star ; in the aged father who is tortured to death in the dismal dungeons, and undismayed, they persist in their labor ; nothing can discourage them, no human power can make them yield—they will do their duty to their country and to America ! And such sufferings will not be in vain, for at no distant date this virgin, scarcely covered by the torn garments which her enemies have left upon her body, lacerated by the whip and marked by the iron of slavery, this kneeling virgin, which now implores with outstretched arms, with wringing hands of despair the free nations of this continent, as yet indifferent to her wails and agonies ; this virgin with hair dishevelled, with black eyes lustreless with the tears she had shed for her faithful children, cheeks pale with anxiety, lips moist still with the blood of the wounds that she would heal with her motherly kisses ; this virgin, Cuba, will be consoled by her Latin sisters, and that Columbia, so magnanimous, so generous, so hospitable, so responsive, so sympathetic, to the miseries and to the struggles of an oppressed people, aspiring to throw off the yoke, the United States will rise in the grandeur of her stately figure ; she, the personification of the Goddess of Liberty, with hair tinged with the sun's rays, with clear eyes of eagle look, with beautiful lips full of words of encouragement, with turgent bosom thrilled with indignation and pity, she, the true friend of the down trodden and unfortunate of the world, will see that justice be done ; she will extend the helping hand ; she will welcome Cuba into the family of American commonwealths, as the radiant, the heroic, the worthy Republic of Cuba !