

The Charleston *Courier*
4 February 1852, 2

Passengers.

Per steamer Gordon, from Savannah--Gen A J Gonzales, ...

Arrivals at the Charleston Hotel, Feb. 3.

Gen Gonzales, Cuba

Savannah Morning News

3 March 1852, 2

PASSENGERS.

Per steamer Calhoun, from Charleston -- Gen A Gonzalez

The Charleston *Courier*

27 March 1852, 2

Passengers.

Per steamer Metamora, from Savannah--Gen Gonzalez, D J Bailey and servant

Arrivals at the Charleston Hotel, March 24.

Gen A J Gonzales, Cuba

Hon D J Bailey & servt, Ga

Savannah Morning News

26 April 1852, 2

PASSENGERS.

Per steamer Metamora, fm Charleston -- Gen Gonzales, L J Masea

Savannah Georgian

26 June 1852, 2

[For the Savannah Georgian]

The Spanish Press in Cuba on the Democratic Nominee.

The *Diario de la Marina*, the organ of the Catalan and Christina clique in Cuba, has deemed the nomination by the Baltimore Convention of Gen. Franklin Pierce for the Presidency of the United States, of sufficient importance to elicit remarks designed to warp the judgement of its Cuban readers as regards the moral condition of our country and the character of her institutions, but only calculated to reveal its deep concern at the foreshadowed result.

“This mistrust,” remarks the *Diario*, alluding to the action of the Convention, “or rather this aversion for high capacities, is but a manifestation of Democratic jealousy, an innate passion with this sort of government, which commences to show itself with fearful rapidity.” “The qualification of a warrior is fast becoming an indispensable prerequisite, and the Presidency of the United States will have to be won on the battle field rather than in the Halls of Congress.” “Democracy, founded on the brutal union of man, ruling by means of a majority which is the symbol of strength, has an irresistible tendency towards enthroning the dominion of force, represented first by the spirit of conquest and afterwards by bloody domestic strife.”

To this condition of things does the *Diario* ignorant as yet of the nomination of Gen. Scott by the Whig Convention, attribute the success of both Harrison and Taylor. As to Jackson, it is pleased to recognize in him “other qualities besides those of a soldier.” “Nor was he,” says the Spaniard, “inexperienced in parliamentary contests.”

That the people of our country whose intelligence and education are proverbial throughout

the world, and whose intuitive practical good sense has caused the vessel of State to steer clear of the breakers from which the combined intellects of Thiers, Metternich and Talleyrand might have vainly sought to rescue her, should be jealous of their own, of a Buchanan the self made man, a Fillmore the clothier, a Webster the farmer's son, a Cass who crossed on foot the Alleghanies on his way to the West, and rowed his own boat on the Ohio, and a Douglas who prides himself on his old trade of Cabinet-maker; that they should grudge honors to men sprung from the people, who hail from the people and who from their "curule chairs" lofty as they may be, will again revert to the people, is an assertion only fit to be made to the masses of Spain, whose birthright is ignorance, whose patrimony is submission and whose legacy must be subjection. Cuba, closely linked as she is to us by the regenerating ties of commerce, by a common interest and similarity of institutions, in daily contact with our own civilization and within sight almost of our shores, will not heed such slanders.

As to the nomination by the Whigs for the *third time* of a mere *military* chieftain for the highest *civil* office in the gift of the nation, in case the *Diario* should be inclined, in its ignorance of our affairs, to charge it upon the mass of the people, we will beg leave to refer him to the politicians of the Whig party, to those who have artfully "done the deed." We will in the meantime say for them to the Castilian, that the availability of feathers, seems of all, the most available. *Our* nominee, we feel bound to inform him, is a statesman, and what is more, an open and an honest man; a *citizen* soldier, as we all are when the country needs our services; *a man for emergencies*, brave in war, wise in peace; not a Pompey, but a Cincinnatus; a *Young Hickory*, endowed like his *old* predecessor "with other qualities than those of the Hero," "more experienced" than he "in parliamentary contests," and last, though not least, quite competent to fulfil that call of destiny and our own platform, which points to the FULL EXPANSION OF THE ENERGIES AND CAPACITIES OF THIS GREAT AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE.

A.J.G.

EGP

Beaufort July 19th 1852

[To William Elliott, Sr.]

I have heard with great regret My Dear Son, of your having suffered from Asthma ever since your arrival in Buncombe.¹ It does seem hard, when you left Beaufort in such good health, to be so shortly after placed on the lot of invalids and hope that Wistar's Balsam may prove an efficacious remedy. Your Wife's letter to Bethea is just received. I went to see her this morning and read it to her, she is quite well and happy, far more so than when in Charleston last year. I am thankful to add that Phebe has recovered and is going about her business as usual.

I believe I have already mentioned that Mrs. Elliott & Bobbie, with Mrs Boone her two sons and a servant arrived here on the 12th instant. Phobe is changed in appearance, but talks more pleasantly than ever, having been for years associated with the best English Society. The boys are very intelligent, the Servant is a great curiosity and is *stared* at by all who pass bye. Phobe has gone to spend a few days with Emma at Bay Point. Mrs Elliott & Bobbie will join the family party there tomorrow, as Hatty Elliott and Isabelle Habersham are already there. Emma will return the next week to Beaufort, and after a few days Mrs B. will go to Pendleton, on a visit to Bishop Boone's Mother.

¹ In Flat Rock, North Carolina.

Tom Elliott and his family are all well. He seems to think brick making a great quantity being engaged for a Baptist Church on St. Helena, and a brick Barn at William Heywards near Pocotaligo.

The fair prospects of Cotton Crops have been lessened within the last week by too much rain, as scarcely a day passes without a shower. Ben told me yesterday that you still had 50 acres of fine cotton at Shell Point, the rest altho' drained somewhat injured by the moisture. Your Brother Stephen intended to have gone on Saturday to the Grove, and have written you an account, but was disappointed. I hope you will hear from him on that subject the next week. James Elliott brought his family to Beaufort the last week, that they might see something of his sister during her visit of only 3 weeks, I regret however to say that Hamet is sick with a cough, that Dr. Fuller advises her to go in the Steamer to Charleston to day and consult Dr. Geddings. James of course exchanged Pulpits yesterday with Mr. Walker, and the congregation here seldom, listened to two more delightful sermons, than he addressed to them on that occasion. You have doubtless heard that Cotesworth & Hesse have gone to Glen's Springs for change of air and that Caroline Seabrook expects to return to Charleston on the 27th instant, not essentially benefitted by the journey North.

Ralph and his party had a prosperous voyage in the Florida, and were only 64 hours between Savannah & the City of New York.

I send by the request of George a copy of his oration on the 5th of July, I have heard it commended, but as it has just come out, I have only seen, that part in which he alludes to his friend Middleton Stuart. I am told it effected his Son's very much, I am sure my heart bore testimony to the justness of the Tribute to his memory.

The folks are going on here in a calm peaceable manner, no stirring politics not a word of Secession (always hateful to me) The Planters visit their crops, and expect high prices for Cotton, the young people occupy themselves in sailing and dancing parties, ~~too much~~ I think for this season of the year, it is wrong to be dancing until midnight, but the young & gay think otherwise.

I have only time now to close my letter, after sending my love to each and every member of your family.

I remain My Dear Son your truly affectionate
Mother

The Washington *Daily Union*
29 July 1852, 2

To the Editor of the Union:

Sir: I have noticed the translation into the columns of your paper of an editorial from the New York Courier and Enquirer, under the caption of "Important from Havana," in which the statement is made, that notwithstanding that paper's and the general impression formerly prevalent, that the Cuba revolution was a mere piratical foray, having no real origin among the residents of the island, it *now* has reason to doubt this view of the case. If anything was wanting to fill to overflowing the measure of indignities held to the lips of the Cuban exiles and their sympathizing friends throughout these States, it is produced in this bare faced and heartless avowal. For four years past the dungeons of the Morro and the cells of the "Presidios" of Africa have teemed with Cuba's noblest spirits, and the blood of patriots has freely flowed on her roads and scaffolds. Her exiles and fugitives from Spanish tyranny are broadcast upon foreign soil. Her more ardent sons, spurred by desperation, have four times attempted, with the individual aid of Americans, worthy of the noble name, to rescue her from thralldom. Four expeditions have, at immense sacrifice--even at the cost of the ornaments of Cuba's daughters--been contrived for Cuban freedom. Cuban jewelry and Cuban money have been

added to American funds for the redeeming work. A Cuban “Junta” has openly and avowedly been formed, at the seat of government, for the promotion of Cuba’s political interests, composed of men till then uncommitted towards the Spanish government, and who by this act brought upon their heads immediate sentence of death and confiscation of property. Their action has been the subject of a diplomatic correspondence between this government and the Spanish minister, which has been made public through the official journals. On the streets of Cardenas, and on the memorable fields of “Las Pozas” and “Cafetal de Frias,” the blood of Cubans has mingled with the American, to fructify our virgin soil, and bring forth the aspiring tree of liberty. The names of Henderson, Sigur, O’Hara, Pickett, Hawkins, Morgan, Wheat, Kewen, Smith, Crockett, Allen, Breckenridge, Wilson, Knight, Davis, McCormeck, and a host of others, from the chivalric West and Southwest, and of O’Sullivan, Garnett, and Ellis, from the Atlantic border, have been treasured up by the Cubans for their self-sacrificing devotion to their cause, with those of the Sanchez, Agueros, Iznagas, Macias, Hernandez, Cruz, Tolon, and Villaverdes, of our own land; while the memories of Pragay, Crittenden, Logan, McCann, and scores of equally gallant and generous souls, are embalmed in their grateful hearts with those of Lopez, Gotay, Agüero, Oberto, Betancourt, Armenteros, and Agramonte, who cheerfully gave up their precious lives upon the altar of their redemption. The record of these events does not contain a single transaction, upon the land or upon the seas, unworthy of those proud votaries of Cuban regeneration. Papers have been printed at Puerto Principe at the same risks as the one now is at Havana which the Courier is pleased to quote. A whole population has, to a man--nay, to a *woman*--as Matanzas too well knows, abstained from public festivities on the occasion of the Queen’s birthday; and for this offence were our people hurried to trans-Atlantic galleys. Over six thousand additional troops have been poured into the island, and almost the whole naval force of Spain now preys, together with an army of [...]0,000 soldiers, upon the toil of the Cuban laborer. A *gendarmerie* worthy of the days of Fouche has been established to pry into the movements and the thoughts of the mistrusted Cubans. Natives and Americans are equally harassed and banished when suspected of being suspicious; and not trusting to this Atlas of force and oppression which weighs upon our aspirations, the colossal moral and physical power of England and France, and the republican batteries of a Decatur, a Lawrence, and a Perry, are begged in aid, *and obtained*, to scour the Gulf, and to dispirit and overawe our unarmed population. Your very steamers, announcing on their periodical arrival to these shores that “all is quiet in Cuba”--do they not also proclaim with the same blast to the world, that this quietude may be expected to cease, and that if *order reigns at Warsaw*, another day may bring another sight?

And yet this overwhelming mass of facts has heretofore furnished no evidence to the conscientious Courier and its kindred prints, from which to pluck a belief that the acts of the patriots and their noble-hearted American friends were *not piratical forays*, and that there really existed in Cuba a revolutionary movement. But *one* merchant comes from Havana in the Cherokee, and makes a statement to the Courier and shows it a paper, and, *presto*, the veil is rent; light succeeds to darkness, and credit to defamation. With such a recantation avaunt! We do not want it; we can do best without it. Persevere in the task so cruelly commenced by your time-serving Chief. The ides of November are near at hand. When they be over you will unsay your present tale, and will fall back upon your callous instincts. I shall before that time, if my health is spared, give to the people a brief history of our transactions, and in the name of Cuba, an humble exile, but with the word of truth, appeal to *their* justice.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALEZ,
Chief of the staff of Narciso Lopez.

EGP

Edings bay. Aug. 18th 1852

Dear Madam,

I wrote to your daughter Anne upon my return home here, from Washington last month, but I have not heard from her since we parted at the Charleston Hotel. I was prevented from writing during the short time I remained there, a little over two weeks,-- where I met so many friends, & passed such a delightful time, (the rides, & drives are so beautiful every thing looking so fresh, & green, the early part of June, that it was my wish to have remained much longer, -- but was recalled by the illness of Gen. Wayne, from exposure to the hot sun, in the rice fields -- he is now, quite restored, & in fine health; he does not wish to leave his pleasant Summer home, to go north, or any where else, therefore we will now remain here, until the first week in Nov. then go to the city, & stay there until it was safe to return to Wilton about 1st Dec.-- I expect to attend the Fair 15th Nov. when the talented & highly gifted Senator Soule from Louisiana is to give us a fine address on that day, & on the 17th Nov. the Regatta will come off.-- I hope your family will be there.

We heard from some Gentlemen here, that they had seen in a news paper, the death of the distinguished patriot of Cuba, Gen. Gonzalez, died in Sav. Geo.-- about ten days after we heard this, I received a letter from him dated Washington, a short time after his arrival in that City -- that it would afford him so much pleasure to come & visit us here according to our request in Oct. but at that time, he is to attend his friend's wedding as groomsman, (Geo. Cuyler.) in Richmond Virginia.⁶⁰ The only time he could spare from his business in Washington; early in the winter, he will hope to visit his friends in Sav. & S.C. (for a short time.) he speaks most kindly of all your family;-- no doubt, he would be glad to hear from your son, direct to him Washington D.C. box 210. his letters will be sent to him at Warrenton Springs Virginia where he will stay until time for him to return to Washington.

Gen. W. and self, desire to be kindly remembered to all your family. -- Yours affectionately
M. W. Wayne⁶¹

write soon, & direct to me, Care Ed. Barnwell Junior, Charleston, S.C.

*Manifesto on Cuban Affairs Addressed to the People of the United States.*⁶²

by

Ambrosio Jose Gonzales

September 1st, 1852

New Orleans: Printed at the Daily Delta, 1853.

Written at Warrenton Springs, Virginia.

Of all the foreign questions which for some years past, have fallen under the observation of

⁶⁰ George A. Cuyler, age 31, married Bessie B. Steenbergen at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia, on 28 October 1852.

⁶¹ The former Mary Johnston Campbell, of Richmond, Va. Wife of Gen. James Moore Wayne (1790-1867) of Savannah, made associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1835. (Scafidel, Letters of William Elliott, II, 594) "Venerable cousin" of the Elliotts (William Elliott to Caroline Elliott, 10-23-1858 EGP)

⁶² Also published in the *Richmond Enquirer* 8 October 1852, 4 and the New York Herald.

the American people, there is some so little understood, and so deserving of special consideration as that involving the independence of Cuba--an island whose close proximity, controlling position, domestic institutions and commercial wants, bring home to the safety, the peace, the welfare and development of America, all incidents likely to bear upon her future destinies. It is, therefore, meet that her claims receive a proper attention.--that the acts of her sons and their American coadjutors, being properly appreciated, misrepresentation be silenced, and public opinion be righted where it has been misled. With this view I have undertaken to give a synopsis of the causes which in Cuba have led to dissatisfaction and open rebellion; to advert to the character of the Cuban movements in this country, and of the persons connected with them, as far as the despotism, which still weighs upon that island, may render it prudent; and to unfold, in self vindication, the double dealing arts of our retractors. This step I would have taken months ago, but for negotiations then pending with Spain, involving the liberty of American citizens. Thus, a duty to my country, and to the integrity of Cubans, and of distinguished Americans, assailed by the sycophants of power, must be my excuse for placing my name before the people.

The Thirteen colonies of North America rebelled against Great Britain for encroachments upon the granted rights of their citizens, and made a duty on tea and paper impost the occasion for general rising. Owing their position upon a mighty continent, and on the borders of a vast wilderness, they effected their emancipation, with the timely add of monarchical European governments. Cuba, knowing no rights, and groaning under oppressions a thousand times more galling, has sought the individual aid of a neighboring republican people, heirs to the liberties won by the colonies, and to the destiny they were called to fulfil. Her claim to this aid is based upon the following grievances:-- With a population of 550,000 whites, and 600,000 blacks--about that of Virginia--she pays in taxes and imposts the sum of twenty odd millions of dollars, or nearly forty dollars per head of her white population, irrespective of the innumerable predatory exactions of swarm of officials, high and low, sent from Spain to enrich themselves with the substance of our people. The English pay, on average, \$12 33, the Spaniards, \$9; the French, \$7 50; the American people, \$2 39. In order to support an army of twenty thousand regulars, four thousand drilled militia, an armed police or gendarmerie, and a naval force of four or five frigates, six steamers, one sloop, two or three brigs, and ten or twelve smaller vessels of war, with occasionally the Spanish ship of the line--all indispensable to enforce such a tyranny--and to bear the expenses of the Court of Spain and the interest on her English loan, the Cuban people are made to pay \$10 50 per barrel on American imported flour, from 50 to 200 per cent. duty on the original cost of rice, salt fish, corn, hogs for slaughter, and other necessaries of life. Bread is thus placed entirely beyond the reach of the poorer classes. By valuing some articles double or treble their original price,--salt fish, for instance, which has a nominal duty of thirty-three per cent., really pays, on importation, sixty-six per cent. So with flour, rice, corn &c. Indigenous fruits pay an export duty of from six to seven per cent. Planters pay and export duty on sugar of two and a half per cent., and all agricultural productions ten per cent. when gathered. Live stock pays the same duty exclusive of that of exportation. The poor man pays \$1 25 per bushel of salt, (about one hundred weight,) so indispensable in our warm climate. The Cuban pays from six to six and a half per cent. on the value of any slave, town or rural property which he may dispose of, besides the heavy charges of notaries, registration, stamp paper. &c., whereby it vanishes into the government hands after a few sales. Stamp paper, the use of which is enforced by authority, is sold by the government at prices ranging from fifty cents to eight dollars per sheet; and a man must swear to utter destitution to pay but six and quarter cents per sheet. If from these, among other unparalleled exactions, which check

a development and progress as essential to nations as to individuals, we turn our eyes to the oppressions which completely destroy the intellectual, moral and physical well-being of the people, what do we see? The government, instead of fostering education, discourages it at home and abroad. In Cuba, with her immense taxation, only one child in every eighteen is taught how to read and write, and for this pitiful result is she chiefly indebted to individual exertions. About the year 1826, a Spanish war frigate was sent to the United States by Ferdinand the Seventh, to take back to the Island such Cubans as were then receiving their education at the North. Orders were issued from Spain in 1849, prohibiting the education of our youths in the United States, and they have accordingly to plead ill-health in order to obtain a passport to this country. Cuba has not the shadow of political representation. In 1836, her three deputies were refused their seats in the Spanish Cortes by the peninsular members, called to that Congress by the very law which prescribed the election of our representatives. She is now held as a conquered province, not as the land bequeathed to us by our fathers, who toiled in its settlement, and gave it to usefulness and civilization. The Cuban is, moreover, deprived of all liberty of conscience, of speech, or of the press. The life, the property, the honor itself, of the inhabitants is at the mercy of the Captain-General, who, by a royal decree, dated May 28, 1825, and still in force, is invested with--

“All the powers which, by royal ordinances, are granted to the governors of besieged cities. In consequence thereof,” adds the royal mandate, “his Majesty confers upon your Excellency the most ample and unbounded power, not only separate from the Island persons, whatever their condition rank, class, or occupation, whose permanency therein your Excellency may deem obnoxious, or whose conduct public, or private, may alarm you, replacing them with servants faithful to his Majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of your Excellency, but also to suspend the execution of any ordinance whatsoever, or general provision, concerning any branch of the administration, as your Excellency may think most conducive to the interest of the royal service.”

This authority, superseding the law itself, has no parallel in any country. In Cuba, three persons cannot collect together, without being instantly dispersed. Cubans cannot assemble to discuss their interest, nor even to petition for relief. The Common Council of Matanzas was severely dealt with in 1845, for having remonstrated with the Supreme Court in regard to excesses committed by the soldiery against peaceable citizens of that place. A conspiracy was forged by Gen. O'Donnell during his administration of the island, and hundreds of innocent colored people were butchered or tortured to death, at Guines, Cardenas and Matanzas, that the Governor and his satellites might receive from Spain their rewards in titles and crosses. The slave trade is carried on for the special benefit of the Queen Mother, the Captain-General, and a powerful Spanish clique at Havana. Count Alcoy made in less than a year \$200,000 in importation fees of 3000 slaves, at \$51 per head. Through this horrid traffic, declared piracy by existing treaties, and secretly connived at by the cabinet of Madrid, it is estimated that over half a million of human beings have been imported into Cuba since 1826, when Mr. John Quincy Adams, the philanthropic President of the United States, effectually broke up, at the Congress of Panama, a concerted plan between Cuba and the republics of Columbia and Mexico, for the liberation of the former then, as now, not only a mart for African captives, but the point d'appui for European despotism in America--furnishing the arsenal, the conclave, and the treasury, from which expeditions have been started, intrigues have been plotted, and money supplied to attack and invade Hispano-American republics, prop up the lingering monarchical party therein, and insidiously undermine American influence, and prejudice American interests. as in the case in Mexico at this very day. While slaves and Asiatics are thus introduced, white colonization is

discountenanced, that the threat of a colored population may be held to the Cubans, while 24, 000 bayonets are pointed at their breast. The Cubans have not even the idea of a trial by jury. Cases are tried before the Judge of royal appointment, the venal favorites of the Spanish Court, who are speedily removed to make room for more hungry aspirants. The Captain-General himself, a mere soldier, presides, by law, over the Supreme Court of Justice. All offices, with the exception of a few of the lowest order, are in the hands of Spaniards. The law and the medical profession being overstocked, and the former under the pervading influence of a corrupt system, Cubans of high intelligence and education, every avenue of distinction and emolument being closed to them, are constrained to discharge the duty of overseers to planters, machinists, &c., in order to earn a livelihood. Enlightenment is invariably with the Cuban a sufficient cause for suspicion, annoyance, and persecution. He is forbidden to carry arms. A fruit-knife is not allowed him. Even walking-canes, which from their size, cannot pass through a ring in the hands of sentinels at the gates of Havana, are seized and broken. The penalty for carrying weapons of any description is six years hard labor in the chain gangs of the penal colonies of Africa. The Cuban cannot have company at home without a permit, for which he must pay two dollars and a half, and he must be provided with a license, at the same cost, if he is to absent himself from town or from his home in the country. Neither can he change his domicile without notifying the police, obtaining a permit, and paying for the same. He cannot lodge any person, whether foreigner or native, stranger, friend, or relative, in his house, without previous notice to the police. He cannot be out after ten o'clock at night, unless he carries a lantern testifying that he is abroad. Mayors of cities are not elected by the people, but by the aldermen of the common councils, and under the dictations of the Spanish Governors. These aldermen serve for life, and their offices are either inherited, or purchased from the crown at public auction, for prices varying according to the perquisites thereof. Thus, it happens that even they who should be the immediate guardians of the people, often become speculators, who, far from extending them protection, extort the full interest of the capital invested in the purchase of their offices. A permanent military tribunal, (comision militar,) tries all criminal offences beyond the limits of the city, and all disloyalty to the Spanish Government. It is summary in its proceedings, and its unheard-of tyranny has been well exemplified in the case of John S. Thrasher. No affidavit is required in Cuba, but a suspicion or a secret denunciation, to tear a man from the bosom of his family, at any hour of the day or night, throw him into a dungeon there to linger for weeks or months, if it so please the authorities, and then set him free with the bare acknowledgment of his innocence, or send him to transatlantic exile, if though innocent he still remains suspicious.

Such is our government. A hideous compound of base rapacity, wanton insult, and dire oppression. And to this government, worse than the tyrannic rule of Austria, are we to be subjected, because Cuba is, forsooth, a fertile spot, a desirable position that England covets monarchs protect for Spain, and her sons cannot disenthral by unassisted efforts! And this is to be the Lombardy and the Constantinople of this continent, the arena for despotic princes despotic princes or ambitious cabinets to contend upon, unless the sturdy arm of America check at once this evil tendency of events.

None, I hope, will deny that our people have done much of what was possible for them to do, under the adverse circumstances in which they are placed, to attain the blessings of liberty. Men may talk of the revolutionary heroes of America, and ask why we have not commanded the success which they obtained. They should first compare their situation with ours. They, from the beginning, were free, enlightened, and linked by the spirit of association. We have ever been enslaved, bred in ignorance, and kept apart by the Machiavellian policy of disunion. They held a vast continent, and

were surrounded by the wilderness. We inhabit an island, without the possibility of retreat for ourselves, or of access for our friends, without manifold dangers and excessive costs. They had a militia, were used to arms, and held them in their hands. We have no military force deserving of the name, are unacquainted with the use of firearms, and cannot neither carry or possess them. They, with three millions of inhabitants, had scarcely any English troops among them. We, with but half a million, have quartered in our midst twenty-four thousand bayonets. They met, discussed, and resolved, printed and spoke and went about freely and unshackled. We cannot do one of these things. Our movements are watched, our thoughts are scanned, our very servants are hired by the oppressor to denounce us. They had on their side the fleets and armies of France, the chivalry of Europe, the financial aid of Spain, and the moral countenance of all nations. We have against us not only Spain, but that very France and England, and the menace of the blacks, the squadrons of the United States, and the denunciation of the republican government as pirates and freebooters, to draw from our feet our only plank of support, with the world against us; the moral aid of this free country. We have had, it is true, and this is for the future our rainbow of promise, the encouragement, the aid, and the gallant devotion of very many of the generous citizens of this republic; but of what avail they could be against the leaning of their own government towards European policy, events have clearly shown.

Since 1825, revolutionary clubs have existed in Cuba under the name of Soles de Bolivar, and other designations. Conspiracies have succeeded each other, and arrests, imprisonments, banishments, and executions have invariably followed in their wake. The act of the Spanish Cortes, in 1836, denying the right of the Cuban Deputies to seats therein, gave the first impulse to the ear of revolution. Narciso Lopez, the hero of our infant history, a Venezuelan by birth, a Cuban by adoption and affection, then the Governor of Madrid, a Major-General in the Spanish army, and a Senator in the Spanish Cortes for the province of Seville, resolved from that very day to throw his military experience, his lofty gallantry, republican principles, untiring energies, and iron will into the scale of Cuban freedom. He accordingly resigned his high position, and came to Cuba in the Company of his friend, Don Geronimo Valdes, appointed to the Captain-Generalcy of that Island. As long as that functionary was in power Gen. Lopez abstained, out of considerations of friendship, from revolutionary steps. He held, during his administration, the post of Civil and Military Governor of the central province of Cuba, and was also President of the Supreme Military Tribunal (comision militar.) On the removal of Valdes, Gen. Lopez, no longer in office, applied himself to the work he had been preparing in his mind. The revolution of 1818, which brought about the emancipation of the blacks in the French Antilles, opened the eyes of the more indolent and supine of the Cuban planters to the dangers which beset them on all sides from the abolition policy of England and France; they joined the more patriotic ones of their own class, and with the mass of Cubans who dreamed of liberty for liberty's sake, formed the revolutionary party of which Gen. Lopez naturally became the leader. The services of a man of his qualities, of his military position, and popularity with the army, was, in the face of a military despotism, an important acquisition to the cause. The American army had, at this juncture, conquered Mexico. From Scott and Taylor to the merest private, laurels had been won which the Cubans would fondly have interwoven with the leaves of their palms. A host of braves awaited under the orders to disband and return to their homes. The opportunity presented itself of obtaining the aid of 5000 Americans to the impending Cuban revolution, when no longer in the service of their country. Among the Generals under the orders of Scott, W. J. Worth seemed to combine the qualities of head and heart--as he possessed the gallantry and the chivalry of the Bayard of the American army--requisite for the acceptance of this noble trust and its successful execution.

He was, consequently, approached, at Jalapa, by Cuban delegates. The impression made upon me in conversations with those most directly connected with this subject is, that he accepted their propositions, contingent upon his resignation of his rank in the army. But, be this as it may, the troops were not disbanded in Mexico, as had been anticipated, and nothing could have been done while they were in the pay of the United States. About this time Gen. Lopez's conspiracy was discovered, and he, together with some distinguished Cubans, had to seek refuge in the United States, against the extreme penalties of the Spanish laws. The frustration of all our plans, through the sleepless vigilance of the Spanish authorities, the paucity of our resources at home, the unbounded means of our oppressors, and the emigration of Gen. Lopez, the head and front of the movement, to the United States, made it evident that the revolution could not be then successfully commenced in Cuba. In fact, in a certain manner, it was already in the United States, where most of the intelligence, the courage, and the determination then were, which constituted its very embodiment. It was, therefore, necessary to bring it back to Cuba, like Minerva, steel-clad and panoplied, there to run through its subsequent stages. This is the key to our whole movement, and this it is that they should bear in mind who undertake to sit as judges of our actions. The undersigned was, under these circumstances, sent to the United States as a commissioner to Generals Lopez and Worth, as well as to some Cuban patriots residing in this country. Gen. Worth accepted the eventual command of an American army, which was to act in support of a small force, headed, in advance, by Gen. Lopez. For the raising of these expeditions, \$3,000,000 were to be contributed by Cuba. A member of Gen. Worth's military family, a gentleman of high standing and social position, was requested by me to go to Cuba, and see for himself into the state of affairs. He returned, satisfied with the ability of the persons connected with the movement to carry out their promises, and was furnished by them with such plans of cities and fortifications as Gen. Worth was desirous to possess. These facts at once set forth the character of the undertaking, and show it to have been in the hands of men of wealth, position, and responsibility; for how could otherwise a man of Gen. Worth's high honor and renown--how could the lamented Duncan and other equally distinguished officers of the American army--have given it their countenance, and even engaged in preparations for it, had it not received the approbation of their judgment, the encouragement of their Americanism, and the sanction of their integrity? The election of Gen. Taylor to the Presidency of the U. States was a severe blow to the hopes of my countrymen, as they conceived that his party would oppose any change in their political condition. The death in Texas of the generous soldier who hesitated not to imperil his life and military reputation in the effort to achieve the complement of American liberty, cast an additional gloom over their political aspirations. Those who had risked themselves, mainly from dread of the emancipation of slavery, seeing that matters were not immediately menacing, drew back, and, together with the few who still hoped for concessions from Spain, declined further action; always ready, however, to profit by the sacrifices of the more consistent ones, in case their movement should prove successful. Under the of this reaction the means could not well be had for an expedition on a large scale; but on the other hand, the revolutionary spirit had visibly progressed among the masses, and from all accounts received from the island, a smaller force than Worth required was deemed adequate for the enterprise. Gen. Lopez, always unswerving and indefatigable when the liberty of Cuba was at stake, applied himself, in 1849, conjointly with his friends in the States, to the raising of 1200 men, intended as a nucleus for our population to rally around. A portion of it was collected on Round Island, in the Gulf of Mexico, the remainder was to sail from New York.

The transports for this force were the steamship Fanny, purchased in New Orleans, the

propeller Sea Gull, purchased, and the steamship New Orleans, chartered in New York for the purpose. This is the first and largest expedition raised in this country for the liberation of Cuba, and it is as worthy of remark, as it is meet to keep in mind, that of the \$80, 000 with which, according to Gen. Lopez' estimate, it was gotten up, not one solitary cent was produced or contributed by the Americans. The whole was Cuban money, raised entirely by voluntary donations among the patriots in the United States, and in the fatherland. Here is, then, the incontrovertible fact that the nucleus of the Cuban revolution--the leadership, most of the courage, the intelligence, the spirit, the energy, the will, and the means, which constituted its very essence--though originating in Cuba and through Cuban in its nature and its object, was then in the United States, and was from the United States to be reinstated upon its native soil. This state of things cannot be attributable to Cubans or Americans, but to the despotism which ejected all those elements, and compelled them to prosper upon foreign though friendly soil. That its character commended it to respect and protection of high places is deducible from the fact that although the proclamation of Gen. Taylor was issued on the 7th of August, 1849, the Sea Gull, laden with arms and ammunition, and with her complement of Cubans, was permitted to remain untouched and unmolested in the harbor of New York until the earlier part of September; that, when broken up, because of the too long delay in its sailing, not one of the Cubans was arrested, and no one, Cuban or American, was tried for participating in it,--that vessels, arms and ammunition were all returned to us,--that the Washington Republic, the government organ, published long articles, portraying the evils under which our country groaned, concluding with a significant declaration to the effect that a people who could endure such a tyranny were deserving of it. The fact that Commander Randolph was ordered to blockade Round Island, and starve the unarmed citizens encamped upon it, and that the governor and a high justice of the sovereign state of Mississippi, were, on the following year, dragged from their chairs of office by the same administration, to be tried in Louisiana, on suspicion of sympathizing with Cuban liberty, only proves that some show was required in the matter, and that of all men, politicians are the most apt to profit by the risk of others, and to turn upon them the "stop thief" of lower derelictors, when success is no longer to be expected. But the antagonistic press was not satisfied with the aspect of a movement which presented no object for attack. They demanded of the leaders to show themselves, that they might become the target for their slander and vituperation. This greatly contributed to the formation of a public junta, the nature and object of which are sufficiently explained in the following announcement:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

"The undersigned beg to avail themselves of your widely-distributed columns, to announce to all who may be concerned in such an announcement, that, by appointment from Gen. Narciso Lopez, well known in the United States as well as in Cuba, as the head of the late projected revolution for the liberation of that Island from the oppressions and degradation of its present day condition--they have accepted and undertaken, in concert with Gen. Lopez, the duties and responsibilities of a 'patriotic junta for the promotion of the political interest of Cuba.' Without infringing on the laws of this country by the present announcement, or contemplating hereafter any action which they will not stand prepared to justify before all tribunals, human and divine, they feel that it is alike due to their cause and their country to stand forth openly to meet the responsibilities which attach to their undisguised hopes, aspirations and course; at the same time that they are enable to serve as a centre for correspondence, with a view to concert with the thousands of noble spirits who, in all sections of this Union, sign to behold the slavery and sufferings of Cuba, and long to

contribute and aid honorably and legitimately in their power, for her relief.

“This honorable trust, associating the undersigned for the purposes indicated, with the illustrious patriot and chief who will preside over the junta, they have accepted as a duty no to be declined, profoundly distrustful indeed of their own ability or worthiness, but supported by the conscious rectitude of their motives, and by an unhesitating confidence in the favor of Heaven and in the generous sympathies of the noble and free American people.

Copies of the present announcement are at the same time sent to the editors of La Verdad, El Correo de los dos Mundos, Sun, and Tribune, of New York; the Union and Republic, of Washington; the Courier and Mercury, of Charleston; the Chronicle, of Louisville; the Delta and Picayune, of New Orleans; and the editors of all other papers are respectfully requested to copy it. One of the names attached is left in blank, because the gentleman indicated is at distance from the city, and it is not deemed proper to make it public before the reception of notice of his acceptance.

“The Junta Promovedora de los Intereses Politicos de Cuba will shortly establish itself at the City of Washington, to which the city may be addressed, directly to General Lopez, (post paid) all correspondence of its friends, box 51, post office.

“With great respect, your obedient servants,

“AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALEZ,

“JOSE SANCHEZ IZNAGA,

“JUAN MANUEL MACIAS,

“CIRILO VILLAVERDE.”

Spain could not allow this step to pass unnoticed or unpunished. It brought upon its authors the following proceedings of the authorities of Cuba, published in the Charleston Mercury:

SENTENCE OF THE PERMANENT MILITARY COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF
WAR FOR THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

HAVANA, August 19, 1850.

In consequence of the decree of Don Fulgencio de Salsa. President of the Military Executive Committee of the Island, dated 27th December, 1849, authorizing Captain Xavier Mendoza, Fiscal for said tribunal for proceedings ordered by His Excellency the Captain-General, against several individuals who had emigrated to the United States, and created at New York a Club under the title of “Junta for Promoting the Political Interest of Cuba,” with the object of diffusing in this island and in Porto Rico their insidious intentions and avowed purpose of subverting public tranquillity, have been occupied, and are engaged in conspiring against the legitimate government of Her Majesty, and the following persons appear accused as members and active agents of said criminal association, namely: Ambrosio J. Gonzalez, J. Maria Sanchez Iznaga, Cirilo Villaverde, Juan Manuel Macias, Pedro Aguero, Victoriano Arrieta, Gaspar Betancourt y Cisneros, and Cristoval Madan, on review of the proceedings against the accused, and a narration thereof in the Council assembled under this date, and the accused not appearing, were judged by default.

On hearing the report and opinion of the aforesaid Fiscal, and the verbal illustrations of Don Manuel Gonzalez Del Valle, the Assessor of the Tribunal, the Council, taking into consideration the charges and proofs, has condemned and hereby condemns by a unanimous vote the following individuals to suffer punishment of death by garote, viz: Ambrosio J. Gonzalez, Jose M. Sanchez Iznaga, Cirilo Villaverde, Juan Manuel Macias, Pedro Aguero; and the following shall suffer transmarine imprisonment for ten years, with a perpetual prohibition of returning to the island and to Porto Rico, namely: Victoriano Arrieta, Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros, and Cristoval Madan, with

payment of costs, and also the damages sustained by individuals and the State from the invasion of Cardenas.

COUNT ALCOY.

After the formation of the Junta, applicants for enlistment were received from almost every State in the Union, including California. I subjoin the answer invariably given to all, showing, conclusively, that while engaged in "promoting the political interest of Cuba," a proper regard for the laws of the country was foremost in the minds of Gen. Lopez and his associates.

SIR--Your favor of ---- has been duly received. I am instructed to return most cordial thanks for your offer, and to add that, while Gen. Lopez has no immediate occasion to take advantage of it, should any political movement in Cuba, such as may at any time occur, demand our presence upon that island, your co-operation, in the capacity of a free American emigrant, will be most cheerfully invoked. Your name has been registered accordingly, and the earliest possible intimation will be given to you in the event of a contingency affording the Junta an opportunity of availing itself of your friendly disposition. I am, &c.,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALEZ.

The establishment of a political association at the seat of Government was, in the meantime, made the subject of a correspondence between the Spanish Minister at Washington and the Secretary of State, which was published in the Washington Republic. The movement was then a political one, to the positive knowledge not merely of the men who had a hand in it, but those who, on the death of Gen. Taylor, succeeded them in power. We shall see, presently, how it was gratuitously divested of this character by the Chief Magistrate of the Union, and how the power of Europe was invited against it, as against the deed of enemies to the human race.

In consequence of intelligence received from Cuba, General Lopez and myself left Washington for New Orleans, in the Spring of 1850, with the intention of raising an expedition from the West and South-west. The General remained in Mississippi, while I proceeded to New Orleans, where through the exertions of my friends, the Hon. John Henderson, L. J. Sigur, and others, I succeeded in forming that which is known as the Cardenas expedition. The private means of the Cubans having been exhausted by the previous effort, necessity compelled us to resort to American generosity. About forty thousand dollars were furnished for the cause by Gen. Henderson, mostly the earnings of a life of usefulness and integrity. Bonds had been struck in New York, in the expectation of raising, among its wealthy merchants, the means for an expedition; but the class, I am sorry to say, who have lately presented a princely dagger to the black Emperor of Hayti, could not be persuaded to risk a dollar in behalf of Cuban freedom. They were given in New Orleans to our friends, who received them, I have the positive conviction, more as a testimonial of their services to the cause than with a view to sudden wealth.

The contributors to the Washington Monument cannot be said to have no admiration of the character, nor reverence for the memory of the Father of his Country, because, perchance, they receive from its committee an engraving testifying to their patriotic donation. Gen. Henderson, from the West, where he was born, rowed his passage to New Orleans in a flat-boat, and by dint of his industry and perseverance, rose to eminence at the bar, and to the honorable distinction of Senator in Congress, from his adopted State of Mississippi. Of such materials speculators cannot be made. They are more likely to be found, with less principle to palliate their actions, among the revilers of our movements. The results of the Cardenas expedition is known to the public. Among its consequences was the trial of General Henderson, by three successive juries. They were, on the first, equally divided; on the last they stood one for conviction and eleven for acquittal--a proof that

extreme care had been taken to guard against any violation of the neutrality laws of 1818. In April of the following year, 1851, the third expedition, that of the *Cleopatra*, was gotten up in Georgia by the undersigned, J. L. O'Sullivan, Esq., of New York, having had charge of the purchase of the transportation, and the superintendence in that city of other elements. All the efforts of the government to convict this gentleman proved fruitless. The result of his trial again made it obvious that the law had not been respected, if the wishes of the administration had not. As to myself, although I have surrendered voluntarily to the authorities of Georgia, and given bonds to the government, I am as yet untried--a sufficient vindication that the pains taken by me, in guarding against any infringement upon the statute, made in the interest of Spain still more hopeless at the South. The means for this expedition were chiefly derived from Cuba, whose patriotic daughters, the women of Havana and Porto Principe, without distinction of class or station, generously added the offering of their jewels to the contributions to their brothers and husbands. About \$12,000 of Cuban bonds were taken in Georgia, by the gentlemen of the highest respectability and political position, among whom I will only mention the editor and proprietor of the leading whig organ of the State, because of the republication in that sheet of an abusive article from the *National Intelligencer*, against those whom it designated as speculators in Cuban bonds. After the discomfiture of the expedition of April, 1851, by the seizure of the *Cleopatra* in New York, I found it necessary to recruit my health, impaired by the incessant labor and anxious solicitude of the preceding months, for, under the circumstances, I was unequal to the duties of an active summer campaign, Gen. Lopez encouraged me to do so, with the understanding that I should support, with a force of from 1500 to 2000 men, the expedition which in the expectation of a rising in the island, he was preparing in New Orleans. "Curese V. con esmero," said he, in his last letter to me; "para que vaya a apoyar a su amigo de corazon."

After leaving in obedience to his instructions, all the elements which I had collected in April, in the hands of one of our friends, for their furtherance to the Island, as Gen. Lopez might direct, I set out for the Virginia Springs, the warrant issued for my arrest, not allowing me to visit those of Georgia. While in the mountains, the intelligence reached me of the rising of the patriots of Porto Principe and Trinidad, the exaggerated accounts of which, published in the papers of the United States, conjointly, with the deception of Spanish agents, unquestionably precipitated the departure of the General in the steamship *Pampero*. I at once returned secretly to Georgia, where, owing to the derangements in the engine of said steamer, already returned from the island, I was sorry to find men, arms and ammunition, which, in my calculation, were then on their way to Cuba. Without interfering with the movement already in the hands of others, I at once proceeded to raise the promised reinforcement. The disastrous news of the fate of the General, and his brave Cuban and American associates reached me in Charleston, while in the successful prosecution of this labor.

I have thus entered into details somewhat personal to me, from the necessity of answering the malignant insinuations of some of the friends of Spain in this country, who wondered, and perhaps regretted, that I and other Cubans were not included in the massacre of August, and September 1st. I will add for the information of these gentleman, that I was severely wounded at Cardenas, thereby claiming thereby claiming to honor of being the first Cuban who has ever bled in battle in the assertion of his country's rights. With the details of the *Pampero* expedition I am comparatively unacquainted. I am, however, convinced that the means therefor were generously furnished, mostly, if not entirely, by L. J. Sigur, Esq., of New Orleans, formerly editor of the *Daily Delta*, who asked nothing for a contribution which deprived him of his all, but a promise of General Lopez simply to refund it to him.

Against such men the fangs of slander must file themselves. With the Pampero expedition ends the last of four efforts, made in three successive years, for the disenthralment of Cuba. If not immediately successful, they have produced one of the results anticipated by those who have, in its attainment, sacrificed position, home, and friends, and incurred the obliquy [*sic*] of the malignant and misinformed, to wit: The replanting of the Cuban revolution upon its native soil, where it is now rapidly advancing to a successful issue. Having run through its preparatory stage, it is to Cuba that its future ones should be looked for.

The defence of the acts of Gen. Lopez and his Cuban and American friends, would remain incomplete were I silent. 1st--On the abusive comments upon the sale of Cuban bonds: and 2nd--On the denunciation contained in Mr. Fillmore's proclamation of April, 1851. On the subject of the bonds, the National Intelligencer--an English hot-house for the exotic weed of monarchy, without whose fostering care and covert protection they could neither withstand, in republican American, the incongeniality of climate, nor resist the sturdy tramp of freemen--the paper ever to be found on the side of any interest antagonistic to the American--has been especially severe. It has called these bonds a fraud, and their purchasers speculators, while it has characterized the movement they were issued for as a "desperate enterprise." The reader may have notice with what comparatively small means four costly expeditions have been raised, precluding the possibility of gain by the projectors. Had they speculated by it, they would have felt inclined to establish a paper at Washington, in defence of some well-paying government, rather than risk their lives against it. Had such been the case, they would have commenced by issuing the bonds, and not by spending their own money, as they actually did, in the first and largest expedition. Then, if the enterprise was desperate, there certainly was more generosity than speculation in those Americans who furnished the means for it. If the chances for failure were as ten to one, as represented, then the bonds were really worth ten cents on the dollar, and no more. But, in the belief of the Intelligencer, there was no chance whatever. Then, even ten per cent. was a disinterested donation.

Supposing the chances to have been fair of establishing a republican government in Cuba--and this supposition could not be made without assuming, independently of circumstances favorable to the issue, that the great majority of her people were willing to throw off the yoke of Spain--then it was exceedingly proper to invite a neighboring republican people, even as they invited a distant monarchical one, to lend them their aid; any pecuniary sacrifice of those who risked their capital in what might possibly become "desperate," should have been amply remunerated by the country, which in the event of success, would not only have acquired the invaluable blessings of liberty, but have saved millions by the change. Money has at all times been raised in a like manner for similar or analogous purposes. Hungary issued bonds; so did Italy, and every country and people who has stood in need of it. Bonds were issued in Texas, and sold at one time as low as five cents on the dollar. This debt--strange coincidence--has been assumed by this republic. So may, probably, be at some future day, the Cuban loan. There was once a certain fund raised by certain rebels, called continental money. How much was it worth? Were not those who raised it the most moral people upon the face of the globe? Money has recently been contributed in the United States for the Irish, the Hungarians, and the Germans, to far greater extent and with far greater publicity than it has been for Cuba; and yet, neither the leaders in the Irish movement, Kossuth, nor Kinkel, have been held to bail, insulted and persecuted as the Cubans and their friends have been. Whence this difference? The reader will readily perceive it in that which exists between an Irish and a German vote of millions and a Cuban vote of not as much as hundreds. It is also to be found in the want of equilibrium which has existed in the late

cabinets between Northern and Southern political influence.

I enter reluctantly into the examination into the unfortunate document, the proclamation of Mr. Fillmore in regard to the Cleopatra expedition.

An American in feeling and education, a naturalized citizen of this republic, in the folds of whose sisterly embrace I long to see my native Island, I am unwilling to show disrespect to the chief magistrate of my adopted country. But the honor of the Cuban exiles is as dear to them as Mr. Fillmore's can be to him. I have revered Mr. Fillmore for his resistance to political fanaticism; but in as much as in our own case he has deviated from his wonted course to pander to the feeling pervading the masses which were to greet him in Western N. York on the occasion of the great Erie Railroad celebration, I am justified in saying, that he who, if a common citizen, would have been subject to a suit for libel before a court of justice for his denunciation of our expeditions as "adventurers for plunder and robbery, which must meet with the condemnation of the civilized world," has, as President of these United States, elevated a vulgar aspersion to the magnitude of a national infliction, the shafts of which, outranging their intended mark, have sadly told against a neighboring people, and the true interests of this republic, as guarded by the policy of President Monroe, by virtually calling upon the intermeddling powers of England and France to lend their moral and physical aid in dispiriting and overawing our oppressed population, and exerting a European police in the waters of America.

It is set down, moreover, in this State paper, that these expeditions "are instigated by foreigners, who dare make our shores the scene of their guilty and hostile preparations against a friendly power, and seek, by falsehood and misrepresentation, to seduce our citizens, especially the young and inconsiderate, into their wicked schemes." Now, it happens that of the four members of the "Junta" three are Americans by education and naturalization, and the fourth is also, probably, by this time, a citizen of the United states. It is no more their fault that they have been compelled, by Spanish despotism, to seek aid in republican America, than it was Franklin's to have sought it in monarchical France. In prejudging our movement as "guilty," the Executive undertook to say what was not its province, but that of the judicial tribunals of the land to decide, after weighing the evidence; and they, at the North, the South, and the West, have uniformly given their verdict against his assertion. That "falsehood and misrepresentation" were used, is falsehood by the record. No assertion was ever made by the Cubans, connected with this movement, the truth of which they do not, at this moment stand ready to prove.

It is the New York Express, an Administration paper,--the editor of which is a friend of the Spanish Minister--that published the famous letter from Santabuco, in the mountains of Cuba, representing the patriots as 2500 strong. It was this paper that published another letter from one of the Bahama Islands, giving false information with regard to certain American vessels seen on their way to reinforce Gen. Lopez. It was with the Tribune, Ledger, and other Administration papers most arduous in publishing those false or exaggerated accounts from the Island, which contributed, with the perfidious statements of Spanish emissaries, to precipitate the departure of the too confiding Lopez, and caused him to land to where he could be most speedily annihilated. If "falsehood and misrepresentation" had been used, the men who enlisted for the first would not have joined in the second expedition; those who fought and bled at Cardenas would not, after going through so many perils and hardships, have volunteered to fight and bleed again at Las Pozas and Cafetal de Frias, and on their return from their captivity in Spain, would not have publicly expressed their willingness to embark anew, if necessary, in the service of the same cause. If "falsehood and misrepresentation" had

been used, and if full confidence in our integrity did not exist, neither Henderson or Sigur, who have been impoverished by their generosity, nor the persons who contributed in Georgia to the Cleopatra expedition, who have remained ever since the steadfast friends of ourselves and our cause, ready to serve it again with unabated interest. The American character is too enlightened in its nature and too just in its purpose, to be obscured by its misrepresentation, private or official, or to be turned, by political leaders, from its conception of right. Finally, if “falsehood and misrepresentation” had been used, would the authors of it have risked their lives or even surrounded them, as Lopez and scores of Cubans did, upon the same field and scaffold as their general associates? It is, indeed, impossible, to read this proclamation without being forcibly reminded of that all pervading political calumny, so justly appreciated by General Cass during his late speech in the Senate. If any of our agents in this country (and of this fact we are not aware) have appealed in any instance to the grosser senses of the people, in order to induce them to join our movements, such action has been wholly unauthorized. It is the weak point in secret expeditions that the leaders thereof have to rely entirely upon the moral character of those whom, in some instances, they necessarily employ upon a very short acquaintance--deprived, as they are of the means of coercion and repression, which an organized government commands. How much more excusable should any irregularity be, under such circumstances, than the frauds and the plunder but too often perpetrated upon the people by members of the latter?

The character of our transactions has been sufficiently established by the facts which I have mentioned in connection with Gen. Worth and the expedition of 1849, and by the very sentence of the Spanish Government, in which death is visited upon us, not for “robbery or plunder,” but for “creating at New York a club under the title ‘Junta for Promoting the Political Interest of Cuba,’ with the object of diffusing”--reads the sentence--“in this Island and Porto Rico for their insidious and avowed purpose of subverting tranquillity, and for being engaged and occupied in conspiring against the legitimate Government of her Majesty.” It has been established by the history of events of 1850 and 1851, pending which, both at Cardenas and Las Pozas, the persons and the property of the inhabitants were respected and protected, as became the friends of the people. Guards were placed at Cardenas at the doors of jewelers, to protect them from any irruption of the populace; and no reward would the officers accept for what they justly deemed the performance for their duty. Nothing was used, not even wine, that was not paid for. The negroes even, who coaled the Creole, were paid for their work. It was established by the magnanimous conduct of Gen. Lopez in setting free while still in sight of Cuba, Gov. Ceruti, a relation of Count Alcoy, and the officers of the Spanish garrisons of Cardenas, on the simple condition that they should protect the lives of such of our men as had imprudently remained at Cardenas, as well as providing, in the United States, for fourteen months, for the subsistence and welfare of the privates of the Spanish garrison who joined him at that place.

The contrast between General Lopez and his antagonists may be drawn from the fact that the four Americans taken at Cardenas were, notwithstanding the promise of the liberated governor, inhumanly put to death,--among them, a lad of fifteen. It was so well established in the last expedition that a Spaniard went from Vuelta Abajo to Havana, to beg the Captain-General for the lives of some of the captives, in consideration of the humane and generous treatment of his family. But were all these proofs wanting, and had not the expeditionists been for the most part men of standing and respectable families in the United States, and were not Americans well acquainted with the disaffection,--nay, the inveterate and implacable enmity to Spain which pervades the length and breadth of Cuba--common sense, no greater than falls to the lot of the dullest savage, would convince anyone that a force of four or five hundred men would not venture itself upon an island occupied by

a million of souls, and garrisoned by 20,000 regulars and 4000 drilled militia, with the object of “plunder and robbery”--nay, without the most positive conviction, ill-founded, if you like it, but sincere and evident as light, that they would be joined by the people they came among; and this very just presumption assumes the proportions of a certainty, when, as in the case of General Lopez, they send back their transports, and trust to Providence and a principle for life and success. It was reserved for Americans of the nineteenth century,--for the government of a people that is to regenerate the world,--to represent as criminal and abominable what ancient and modern history has recorded as praiseworthy. Thrasybulus immortalized himself by leading an expedition against the thirty tyrants of Athens, and Aratus and Pelopidas encircled their brows with kindred laurels. Gen. Pepe has in our own time attempted the overthrow of despotism in Italy,--Mina, in Mexico,--Miranda, in Columbia, with the connivance of Madison and the material aid of Great Britain.

So much for liberty!

On the other hand, Flores once attempted to subvert, with the aid of Spain and England, the self-given government of a republican country, and is at this moment on his second effort to establish therein one more congenial to those two powers. Barradas led against Tampico an expedition raised in Cuba by the Spanish Government, and paid for by exactions upon our own people. Louis Napoleon, the protector of Cuba to Spain, invaded by Strasburg, the France which he now rules, and from the shores of England conducted the paltry expedition which resulted in what goes by the name of the echauffource de Boulogne; and yet it does not appear that these men, who have conducted “hostile” expeditions against “friendly powers” for their ambitious ends, and not for the welfare of the people, have so far met with such a “condemnation of the civilized world,” as to be stigmatized as pirates and buccaneers. That Gen. Lopez was unsuccessful, should be no reproach either to himself or to the people of Cuba--it was merely the result of circumstances. Bolivar made several trials before he established liberty in Columbia, and Bruce made nine attempts for the independence of Scotland. The great Napoleon himself, who, from Elba landed three hundred men in France, and promptly seized the reins of government, was, with same intellect, and when at the head of half a million of the best troops the world has ever seen, defeated in Russia by the premature fall of the thermometer and the torch of an incendiary. Gen. Lopez’s movement upon Cardenas was a judicious one. He meant, by a coup de main, to surprise that place in the dead of night; take immediately the railroad to Matanzas, only thirty miles distant; seize that important city in the same manner; and with the aggregation of thousands of our people, who would have joined him there, fall back upon the interior and wait for the Spaniards, in case he should not have felt justified in marching against the capital. The government could not, at that time, dispose of more than two thousand men as a column of operations, without ungarrisoning the most important points and giving them to the people. But our boat was taken to the wrong wharf, and having run aground before reaching it, our landing, instead of being instantaneous, was delayed for more than an hour. The alarm was given, preparations were made for defence, and the town had to be taken by force and at great sacrifice of life. Intelligence was sent by couriers to Matanzas, and the main object of the enterprise, the surprise of the latter was rendered impossible. On leaving Cardenas the Creole grounded again in her shallow harbor. In order to lighten her, most of our ammunition and part of our provisions were thrown overboard, and even part of our force had to be landed on a key, when all other expedients had proved unavailing, which so discouraged our troops that they refused to land again, and compelled Gen. Lopez to take them into Key West. When the General started from New Orleans on his last attempt, he is believed to have done so with the intention of touching at Jacksonville, in eastern Florida, take the artillery, arms, and

ammunition which I had concentrated there for that purpose, and then land on the eastern province of Cuba. Had he by this movement placed himself far from the focus of Concha's resources, and in the midst of a district and population every way favorable to the desired result, he would not only have given the Spaniards blows which they could not well retrieve, but would have been enabled to sustain himself sufficiently long to allow thousands of men arming in several parts of the Union to go to his support. But, deceived by exaggerated reports from the island, by the misinformed correspondents of American newspapers, and, above all, by emissaries of the Spanish government, among whom are said to have been some infamous Cubans--the Arnolds of our time--he abandoned this wise course, and when at Key West, steered directly across to Vuelta Abajo. The anxious wish of the wily Concha was thus accomplished. He had, as he expected, Gen. Lopez at Bahia Honda--only thirty-eight miles from Havana, and a point upon which he could, at the shortest notice, pour by sea and by land, through the war and coasting steamers, and sailing vessels, and the San Antonio railroad, almost the whole garrison of Havana, in addition to the two thousand soldiers ordered to march upon him from Pinar del Rio, the capital of Vuelta Abajo. Even the ferry boats of the harbor, such is the favorable state of the weather at that season--were available as transports for the Spanish troops. The immense force employed against him may be deduced from the fact that out of a garrison of over seven thousand men stationed at Havana, only six hundred are said to have been present at the funeral of Gen. Enna. It was palpable that Gen. Lopez had been foully decoyed. Too great a confidence in others, the result of his generous nature, was alike fatal to him and to the success of his expedition. Never counting the enemies he had before him, he never suspected those whom he could not see. His own prowess, and that of the heroic band of Americans and Cubans who fought by him were unavailing. Surrounded on all sides, and completely intercepted from the Creoles, the victories of Las Pozas and Cafetal de Frias, by which he placed hors de combat a number of the enemy four times as great as his entire force--by thinning his ranks without the possibility of obtaining reinforcements from the country--could be productive of no good results. In those gallant struggles fell Gen. Pragay, the distinguished Hungarian, who commanded the left wing of the garrison of Comorn during its memorable sally upon the Austrians; Col. Downman, head of the American infantry under Gen. Lopez; Felipe Gotay, the Alvarado of the expedition, a Creole commanding an American company; Oberto, a Cuban captain of the Cuban company; Planos, aid to the commander-in-chief; and scores of courageous foreigners and natives, at the same time that Crittenden and his fifty victims to Spanish ferocity surrendered up their souls upon the brow of the hill of Atares, that their earthly remains might be mangled and desecrated by a Spanish rabble. The total want of information with regard to the movements of Gen. Lopez, convinced the Creoles in the country and at Havana, at the very time of his victories over the Spaniards, that the rumors of his utter destruction, circulated by the latter, were entitled to credit. The execution at Havana, of Crittenden and his party, but served to confirm them in this belief. In spite of these adverse circumstances, it is estimated that one hundred and sixty Cubans were shot on the roads, in their blind attempt to join the liberating forces wherever they might be met. The rage of the elements completed the disastrous [*sic*] issue. Out of ninety-five muskets left them, only four or five were serviceable after the gale, which at this juncture, swept over Vuelta Abajo. Gen. Lopez then urged the shattered remnant of his Spartan band to seek the elemency [*sic*] of the Captain-General, while he, sure of his fate, but determined to meet it, surrendered, not to a Cuban, thank God, as has been falsely represented, but to Castaneda, a native of Palma, one of the Canary Islands--a man whom he is said to have generously saved from the galleys, when president of the comision militar, and who repaid his kindness by hunting him down with bloodhounds. The last

words of this great and good man were prophetic, and expressive of his love of country: "My fate will not change thy destinies; adieu, dear Cuba." A monument to his memory, testifying to future generations of the nobleness of his deeds will, with the certainty of Divine justice, be erected, ere many years elapse, upon the scene of his heroic martyrdom.

In the foregoing brief review and examination of Cuban affairs, the following points would appear to be clearly established:

1. That Cuba suffers unparalleled oppression.
2. That she has an undeniable right to revolt.
3. That her people have done towards effecting it much of what they possibly could do.
4. That our movements originated in Cuba.
5. That it was the fault of Spanish despotism that the nucleus of our revolution was ejected from the island, and compelled to prosper in the United States.
6. That the first and largest expedition was raised entirely with Cuban money.
7. That it received the countenance of very high officials.
8. That Cuba had a right to aid from the people of the United States.
9. That such aid has been sought by the representatives of a respectable political party.
10. That it was granted by Americans of the highest honor and principle.
11. That our movements are proven, on Spanish official authority known to the government, to have been purely political.
12. That the assertions contained in Mr. Fillmore's proclamation are, for this reason, worse than gratuitous.
13. That the judicial tribunals of the land have, in every instance, given their verdict to this effect.
14. That the measures pursued for the raising of means are the same as those adopted by all other people under the same circumstances.
15. That movements similar to ours have received the sanction of history.
16. That it was merely the result of circumstance that Gen. Lopez was not supported by the Cubans.
17. That the Cuban revolution has been, by our efforts, replanted upon its native soil, where it now progresses.
18. That consequently, we have a claim to the support of public opinion, and to the aid of the American people, and the moral countenance of their government in any future struggle with the tyranny of Spain.

How this aid is to be granted by either, it would be presumptuous for me to dictate. The people have the strict construction of the statute for their chart. Their government has for its guide the policy of President Monroe, the true interests of America, and its duties to humanity, in whose behalf it has become the most potent and visible agent of the Almighty. In the hands, then, of a free and generous people, and to the wisdom of a prospective liberal American administration, as to the instrument of a just and retributive Providence, we should be willing to commend the cause of our own dear land.

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALEZ.

Warrenton Springs, Va., Sep. 1, 1852.

The Washington *Daily Union*
24 September 1852, 2

Cuba.

General Ambrosio Jose Gonzales, the chief director, since the death of General Lopez, of the Cuban movement in this country, has addressed a long manifesto to the people of the United States, in which he sets forth the unparalleled oppressions under which Cuba has suffered, and establishes that the movement against the Spanish authority originated in that island; that the first expedition was raised entirely with means furnished by Cubans; that the objects of the movement are purely political, and have the sanction of men of acknowledged honor. And many other things are stated which appeal strongly to the sympathies of the American people.

Even without the information furnished by General Gonzales's manifesto, it cannot be denied that the Spanish rule in Cuba is an outrage on the sentiments of the civilized world. Not a day passes but that some barbarous exercise of despotic power is witnessed; and as each arrival brings the particulars to our shores, and spreads their sickening details before the people, it is but natural that our republican sympathies should be aroused in behalf of the victims of tyranny. Cuba is a portion of the Western World; it is almost within sight of our coast; and the spectacle of her people trodden under the heel of a European monarchy produces on the public mind of America a far different feeling from that which would be excited by similar oppression in the Old World.

It cannot be doubted that the idea of Cuban emancipation originated amongst the inhabitants of Cuba, and that the Cuban movement has been kept alive by natives of the island who have fled to this country to avoid the spies of Spanish authorities whose system of espionage was felt like a mephitic vapor, so that they might take counsel for their country's deliverance, without suffering by the garrote before they could strike a blow. Those journals whose conservatism would preserve tyranny, and whose hatred to progress arrays them against every effort at revolutionary advancement, have acted as the allies of Spain, and denounced those who would liberate Cuba as pirates and buccaneers. Lawlessness should always be discountenanced and discouraged; but when a deliberate design to magnify offenses is manifested, there is no room for doubt that the motives which prompt such a course have some other origin than a law-abiding spirit. It has from the beginning been perfectly clear that the object of the Cuban movement was to effect political results, and that the conduct of those who were led to malign those motives, and to denounce those who entertained them as plunderers and robbers, was dictated by a strong and controlling sympathy with the Spanish authority.

The two expeditions under Gen. Lopez were ill-timed and mismanaged. They were made in defiance of our laws, and the government should have taken active measures to prevent them. They were undertaken for the purpose of destroying the authority of Spain; and any member of them taken within the Spanish dominions and fairly proved such, was, according to all law, at the mercy of Spain, no matter to what country he belonged. We doubt not that in many instances the inexperience of youth was imposed on; but still those expeditions were not piratical in their character, and those who were engaged in them were not enemies of the human race and the rightful prey to any nation which might seize them. Mr. Fillmore betrayed the monarchial sympathies of the whig party by his proclamation denouncing in advance the last expedition, which caused the murder of our citizens at Havana without the trial guaranteed to them by treaty stipulations. That proclamation was equivalent to direct and positive instructions to Mr. Owen to act as he did act; and the great mistake which ruined him was his failure to disobey and repudiate instructions which were so openly at war with justice and humanity. The administration testified to its own wrong; for it became alarmed at the outrage which it had committed, and struck down Mr. Owen for obeying its own commands. But this

is not the only instance in which the administration has disclosed the sympathy which the whig party feels for arbitrary power. The President had no authority to make the military paramount to the civil authority. He could rightfully do no more than employ the military in aid of the civil authority, to execute the laws of the United States within the jurisdiction of the United States. It was a usurpation of power to use our navy to defend and protect the coast of Cuba, yet the administration exhibited more energy in that undertaking than it has done at any time during the three years it has been in authority. The permission to England and France to establish a police in our waters was a further betrayal of monarchical sympathies; and it was at the same time an abandonment of the rights and honor of the nation, which was very naturally followed by the mortifying spectacle exhibited when the Spanish minister at London apologized to the English government, but not to the United States, for a cold-blooded massacre in which American citizens were the chief sufferers.

Recent events prove that the revolutionary spirit has not been crushed in Cuba. Several weeks ago the captain general was called upon to exert his despotic authority in order to restrain the people; and a number of arrests, with increased precautions, prove that the Spanish officials know that their rule is odious to the Cubans. The last arrival brings the further information that the captain general has found it necessary to issue a proclamation acknowledging the existence of a dangerous conspiracy against the government. Officers of the army, members of the police, eminent lawyers and physicians, wealthy planters, and others belonging to the most influential classes of society, have been arrested. This proves that the spirit of revolution has taken hold upon those whose interests are bound up with the public welfare; and yet if there should be an armed outbreak, the federal journals would either deny its existence or attempt to stigmatize it as a felonious undertaking, having no higher motive than piracy and plunder. If such an outbreak should occur, we trust that our citizens will profit by experience, and understand fully the attitude in which they will be placed, before they become involved in it. The fate of the unfortunate men who were abandoned to the revenge of despotic power a year ago should not utter its warning in vain.

New York Herald

29 September 1852, 4

The Cuban Movement

To the Editor of the New York Herald:

Sir—When I forwarded to you, for publication, my Manifesto to the American people, on Cuban affairs, I accompanied that document with the names of several individuals, under the caption of: “List of persons to whom the Herald, containing the manifesto, is requested to be sent.” My object was simply and purely to have these gentlemen read the said document for their own information; and I requested you to forward it to them, because of my inability to do it from these Springs. It is, therefore, with deep mortification, that I have seen that list published in the Herald of day before yesterday, with the statement, made by you, that the names which it contains are those of persons connected with the Cuban movement. Anxious, as I am, to correct such an assumption, on your part, I hasten to state, for the satisfaction of gentlemen who will be astonished to see their names paraded before the public, the origin of this step; and to add that, although I consider them, as Americans, opposed to tyranny, I am, no more than any other individual, warranted in stating that they are engaged in co-operating with the Cubans, in their revolutionary movements. They are a few American citizens, to whose enlightened consideration and personal sympathy I desired to submit a defence of the Cubans. With the gentleman from Edisto, I am personally acquainted. Were it possible to give to the public the names of the friends of Cuba, in this country, believe me, sir, the columns of your

paper, extensive as they are, would be unable to contain them. I avail myself of this opportunity to state that no expedition, such as that which resulted so fatally to General Lopez, a year ago, is now in contemplation. If it be, it has not my approval, much less my cooperation.

I remain, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant
Ambrosio Jose Gonzales
Warrenton Springs, Va, Sept. 24

Charleston, S.C., Sept. 24, 1852

To James Gordon Bennett, Esq.

My Dear Sir— In your paper dated 22d September 1852 under the head of “The Revolutionary Movement in Cuba,” I have, with surprise, seen my name published as one of the sympathizers in that movement, who, as you say, are “supposed to be thoroughly enlisted in the cause of Cuban emancipation.” You will favor me by publishing this communication, by way of correcting that error, as I am politically opposed to the whole doctrine of intervention in the affairs of other countries, and am personally, as well as politically, in favor of the old but wise policy of every one’s attending to their own affairs and letting their neighbors alone in the management of theirs. And I have not the honor of the acquaintance of General Gonzales, nor have had any conversation with him on the subject. I presume there must be some mistake, or that I am not the person alluded to; but as I am the only one of that name, late of Edisto Island, and now of Charleston. I deem it but justice to myself and my political views upon that subject, so much discussed in this country during the last twelve months, that I should not be misrepresented. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

William Whaley

Savannah Morning News

11 October 1852, 1

[Correspondence of the Savannah Morning News]

Letter from Gen. Gonzales.⁶³

Washington, D.C., October 5, 1852.

To the Editor of the Morning News:

DEAR SIR: I have seen, on my return to this city, your editorial remarks of the 27th September, in relation to the unwarrantable publication by the editor of the New York Herald, of a list of a few friends and acquaintances of mine, to whom I have requested him to forward my manifesto to the American people on Cuban affairs, as that of active though hypocritical sympathizers with the Cuban movement. You exonerated me from all blame in connexion with this disreputable transaction, and, in the absence of evidence against me, stood by me in your conviction that I am an honorable man. For this, sir, please accept the expression of my unbounded gratitude. I cannot conceive of any instance in which it would be as due to you. A fair fame is at all times to be desired, but when that is linked to any extent with the expectations of the land of our birth, the trust is still more sacred, and any attempt at its pollution cannot be too strongly nor too diligently repelled.

If you examine the files of the Spanish papers of Havana, the *Faro Industrial*, the *Prensa* and *Noticioso*, (now the *Diario de la Marina*,) you will find my name honorably mentioned in a social

⁶³ This letter was reprinted in *The Union* (Washington, D.C.) 16 October 1852, 3, with the following introduction: “At the request of the author we publish the subjoined communication, without wishing to be understood as in any way endorsing it.”

light, (for politics are out of the question among the Cubans,) as far back as 1843, when I scarcely was else but a youth. You will find in the *Prensa* a long editorial obituary of myself, written under the current impression of my decease at Matanzas in the spring of 1845, which allowed me to form a correct idea of the opinion which Cubans and Spaniards entertained of my character and social bearing. If you consult my compatriots in this country or in the fatherland, the preceptors of my youth in New York, or the citizens of any place where I have resided since--at the call of my country, I returned to the United States in 1848--they will tell you that Ambrosio Jose Gonzales has not yet done a derogatory act, much less a dishonorable one. You know, sir, that he who has refused to write letters, from this city, to American newspapers, because of their anonymous character, when he could thereby have bettered considerably his pecuniary situation, would not be apt to lower himself to "procure" lists for the Herald, and spurious ones at that, to the detriment not only of his own personal reputation, but to that of the cause for which he has so cheerfully sacrificed position, home, and friends. I have lived for two years in your noble State; I hail from her as from my home this side of the gulf stream. I have received from her sons in days of quietude, as well as of political excitement and persecution, the most generous hospitality, the most vigilant protection. I owe her for this a debt of gratitude which I would be unsuited to repay were I to stand upon other than the ground of honor. To a great extent, I must say the same of South Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Entertaining these feelings, you will, I hope, not find it amiss that for the information of valued friends in Georgia, as well as in those several States, I should add through your columns to the assertions contained in my letter to the Herald of September 24th, penned under the spur of the moment, that my manifesto was forwarded to New York on the 10th of that month; that it was accompanied by a long letter in which I asked Mr. Bennett to forward it to gentlemen whose names were set down in an enclosed piece of paper, under the caption of--"List of persons to whom the Herald containing the manifesto is requested to be sent;" and that I gave him as my motive for this request my absence from Washington, and my inability to do it from the Warrenton Springs. I had no indication of his having received it until I saw it intimated in an editorial in the Herald of the 16th that the leading Creoles were "preparing manifestoes, and collecting lists of sympathizers in this country." I suspected that the intention of the editor was not to issue it at all, and I consequently wrote to him the effect that if the said document was not published before the first of October, he must return it to me; to which he answered, through Mr. Hudson, that he had it in type, and would publish it before that day. Why its publication was delayed so long is open to conjecture; but the fact should not be passed over in silence, that I was on that same list for *two copies* of the Herald, which were accordingly sent to me, although my name and the number of copies were, of course, omitted in the published one of pretended sympathizers.

One of the gentlemen mentioned, the Hon. John Henderson, of Mississippi, has openly and honorably, not in defiance of the laws, but without infringing upon them, favored the cause of Cuban freedom, and is not ashamed of it, nor should he be. Perhaps no more than two or three on that list have served it secretly, while the rest were either friendly, indifferent, or hostile to it. The friendly I wished to confirm in their good will, the indifferent I desired to rouse from their apathy, and the hostile I was anxious to win over by arguments and a statement of facts. To the heart, and, in the absence of that in some, at least to the mind of all, I conceived that I was paying a compliment. The lesson that I have received, you may rest assured, shall not be readily forgotten.

The proceeding of the Herald has elicited corrections from Mr. Henry Gourdin, of Charleston, and Mr. R. R. Cuyler, of your city. It was natural for these gentlemen to wish to guard their

commercial interests, and to define their political position; but if they had known me better, they would have waited for my correction, as it proved that although I wrote from the interior of Virginia to New York, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, and the mail from the Springs was detained until the 26th, my letter was inserted in the New York Herald three days in advance of theirs. The name of Mr. Henry Gourdin was erroneously placed by me on the list for that of Mr. Robert, his younger brother, with whom I have become slightly acquainted in society, and regret, from his amiable and gentlemanly character, that I was not more so. Mr. Henry Gourdin has designated the Cuban movement, in his letter to the Herald, as one of the “hobbies of the day.” If it is a “hobby,” he may rest assured it will either become a “charger” upon which the Cubans will ride into the “Plaza de Armas” of Havana, or it will prove a “racer” which may peaceably take the gentleman into her port with a good load of rice, free of the tonnage duties and port restrictions and exactions to which the steamship Isabel, of which I understand he is part owner, is now subjected.

To my friend Mr. R. R. Cuyler, of Savannah, I would say that all good citizens, whether whigs or democrats, are equally obedient with him to the laws of the land, and equally dislike the intermeddling of this government with the affairs of others. But that is not the issue. The issue is whether non-intervention by this government in the affairs of others, being the creed of all, this republican government shall *intervene* in favor of Spain, as Mr. Fillmore has done, by sending the squadrons of the United States out of the three marine leagues of her jurisdiction--or, in other words, the operation of our laws--to exercise in behalf of Spain a police on the coast of Cuba. Whether--non-intervention being the right policy--Mr. Fillmore was justifiable in virtually inviting other nations to *intervene with him* in the affairs of Cuba; or whether it was more in accordance with it to compel them *not to intervene*, as he should not himself, in those affairs. Whether, it being his duty to protect the citizens of the United States by the simple and unobjectionable warning of a proclamation, it was his duty to turn them over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the Spaniards, the French, and the British, by stigmatizing them a priori as pirates and buccaneers. Whether the object of the act of 1818, being to maintain the neutrality of this government, and not to suppress or confine the spirit of liberty, they shall be so illiberally construed that our citizens shall be hampered and persecuted in the exercise of their right of emigration, which in nowise commits their government. Whether there are courts of justice in the land to vindicate the laws, and to try and condemn such as may, on the weighing *therein* of the evidence, prove to be guilty, or whether it is the province of the Executive to pre-establish that guilt by means of a proclamation. Whether Cuba, being so close to our shores that the salute of the artillery of the Morro Castle, in celebration of the birth of the Princess Royal, was reverberated by the republican echoes of Key West, an American territory--her position such as to cut in twain the coasting trade of the United States, and completely to command her gulf and Pacific commerce by the several isthmuses, and her domestic institutions such as to make it vital for the South that she become American--whether, under these circumstances, and on the eve of a portentous civil and political commotion on the island, we shall call her affairs the affairs of others, and not our own, and coolly smoke a cigar while we leave it entirely to the “valor of her sons” to battle, without arms or resources of any kind, against fearful odds, and the aid of France and England, or whether we shall attend to that primary law, the law of self-preservation, and shape our policy to that end. Whether American vessels regularly cleared, and under the protection of the vaunted stars and stripes, shall be seized by Spanish men-of-war upon the neutral territory of Contoy, in Mexico, to be confiscated and sold in Spain--American steamships to be fired upon by the British at San Juan, and by the Spaniards on the coast of Cuba--American vessels to be subjected, against the letter of

existing treaties, by the authorities of Cuba, to exactions and indignities from which the vessels of all other nations are exempted; Mr. Rice, an American consul, to be imprisoned at Acapulco; Dr. King, an American consul, to be imprisoned and persecuted in Greece; American fishermen to be interrupted without warning by a British naval force in what they have for thirty-four years considered a legal vocation; and all these insults and indignities taken by this government in the most complacent Pickwickian sense; or whether we shall ever have something of Jackson's spirit infused into the administration of our national affairs. These are the true issues, and the talk about "farewell addresses and non-intervention" is, in this case at least, but a specious dodge. Cuba is not Hungary, by five thousand miles, and the child of Washington has come to man's estate. The people will show in November next their knowledge of that much of geography.

And now, Mr. Editor, may I not request, through you, the papers of Charleston, New Orleans, and Mississippi, who have discussed these matters, to publish this communication, not merely as an act of justice to me, but to subserve the best interests of their readers in a social, commercial, and political point of view.

I remain, sir, very sincerely, your obedient friend and servant,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES

Morning Courier and New York Enquirer

13 October 1852, 2

CUBAN MEETING

An important meeting of Cuban exiles and sympathizers was held on Monday night at 6 o'clock at No. 600 Broadway. Some three hundred Cubans were present, besides many Americans and other friends of the Filibustero cause.

Before the commencement of the proceedings, a very handsome Cuban flag was displayed, and greeted by the assemblage with most enthusiastic applause. It was announced that the flag was a present to the *Junta* from Mr. Francis Mills, of No. 115 Chambers street. Mr. Mills was warmly cheered for his sympathy, and a vote of thanks was immediately given to him for his present.

The meeting having been called to order, Senor D. Jose Elias Hernandez was called to the Chair, and Sr. D. Manuel R. Silva and Sr. D. Miguel Maria Aguero appointed Secretaries.

Upon taking the Chair Sr. Hernandez addressed the meeting as follows:

We are none of us ignorant, Senores, of the importance of this act, nor of its consequences. For the first time we have met together to exercise one of the rights most cherished by free people--the election of representatives. How sensitive we feel, Senores, the necessity of exercising this right for the first time--imperfectly indeed--at so great a distance from our beloved country! But as some day we shall have the pleasure to use this legitimate right in our Cuba,--it is requisite that we should demonstrate to the world, that tough we are yet but young in politics, we possess all the necessary elements to arrive at perfection, and that we are not unworthy to be numbered amongst free men.

To the end that we may fulfil the purpose for which we have assembled, we must discuss the principal points regarding the election of our representative, and afterwards proceed to make that election with the justice, moderation, and tact which are the characteristics of the Cubans; without unanimity, union, our meeting will only result disastrously; we should allow nothing to disturb our tranquility whatever be the motive; for truly, Senors, I had rather die in this hall, than that of our dissensions should be made public and serve as food for our enemies who would derive great advantage therefrom. Let us proceed, Senors, like true brethren--children of Cuba--proscribed and persecuted for the most holy cause, with but few resources of life, and *all* with but one only thought--

the independence of that country so dear to us.--Although we may differ as to the mode of accomplishing this result, we should not therefor prejudice each other in any sense of the word, either physical or moral. To our disgrace it is, that we have not yet any political organization; and if we ourselves, by our internal quarrels, shall take away or diminish the small *prestige* of our future success, what wonder if to-morrow we should not be able to fulfil our duties to our dear afflicted country, which demands,--now more than ever, a prompt and efficient aid from all of her sons? Can we find fault with a man whose hands we have cut off, because he does not do that for which nature gave him means? For this Senores, I conjure you in the name of our common country, which cries for help from her executioners, and in the most momentous crisis, you should proceed to this business without being hampered by personal views, but with a firm and determined straightforward purpose which is always necessary in times of great danger, having our sight fixed only on Cuba, and fulfilling each our part like countrymen, patriots, and brothers, working united like one man, that we may establish on a firm basis, without further delays,--the Junta which is to be charged with the affairs of our revolution; after which let us surround it, and assist it by our feeble forces, giving it the *prestige* which it needs, and without which it will not be able to discharge its great functions.

The address of Senor Hernandez was received with many demonstrations of applause.

The minutes of a previous meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary read a report of a nominating Convention appointed to select a candidate for representative of the resident Cubans of New York, in the Junta of five members--the other four members having been previously elected by the Revolutionary Clubs of the Island of Cuba. The Convention, placed in nomination Sr. Don Jose Elias Hernandez and Sr. Don Sanchez Iznaga, the former having received six votes, and the latter tree.

A discussion followed upon the order of election, and it was decided:--

1st. That minors under 21 years of age should not be allowed to vote, unless they had borne arms, and shed blood in favor of the independence of Cuba.

2d. Those should be permitted to vote, who, although not Cubans, had rendered service to the Cuban cause.

3d. That each voter should vote in person, and not by proxy. (It having been moved that those who were absent should be allowed to vote by letter or by proxy, the motion was lost--yeas, 46; nays, 68.)

4th. That a majority should decide the election.

Upon the announcement that proxy votes would not be admitted, some few persons left the room.

The election for a member to represent the Cubans resident in New York, in the Supreme Revolutionary Junta, was then proceeded with, in all due solemnity, and resulted on the first ballot as follows:--

Whole number of votes 88

Necessary to a choice 45

Jose Elias Hernandez 51

Jose Sanches Ysnaga 23

Ambrosio Gonzales 13

Antonio Gonzales 1

There were a number of persons present, entitled to vote, who declined to exercise their privilege. Sr. Dn. Jose Elias Hernandez having received a large majority of votes, was declared duly

elected. Three tremendous cheers were given for the Representative elect, three for the Junta, and three for the Cuban flag.

Senor Melian then addressed the meeting in the following terms:--

A high and republican thought opens my lips! In the name of many Cubans established in New York, and in my own name I am about to say two words to our worthy representative--but now elected a member of the Revolutionary Liberative Junta of Cuba, in the United States. They are suitable words, and in them I shall endeavor at the same time to express the unanimous sentiments of my enslaved brethren. Many years ago, when Columbia thought of commencing her great struggle for liberty, a celebrated writer said to Bolivar, "young man your country is ripe for the harvest, but you have not a man worthy to gather the grain." Liberty in Cuba is not ripe yet, and though it were so, there is not a man worthy of gathering the grain!

Here we have some of my ideas entertained at another period, concerning my native country. *Now*, I do not think thus, my opinion is otherwise, because fortunately, Cuba is now not the same that she once was. To darkness light has succeeded. Two demi-gods have strengthened the holy seed of that lily which grows in all climates. Liberty has progressed [sic] in Cuba. We have men also now, worthy to garner the golden grains. The Revolution will ripen its fruit--all that we have to do is to guide the revolution without one being opposed to it. When the rivers overflow their banks, they follow the new course appointed to them by God. The people desire revolution, and as Aime Martin says, "The voice of the people is the voice of God." All day and all night there is not a single moment, in which our slavery of so many centuries does not call for revolution; the reeking blood of Narciso Lopez, that of Joaquim [sic] Agüero y Agüero, and that of all the other braves,--first among whom were the fifty heroes who were mutilated by the Spaniards in the presence of Christians, and in the nineteenth century! Our women--angels of love and of martyrdom--vilely trod under foot; our brethren sentenced to the vile garrote--incapacitated by mental distress, madness, and death, moral and physical, in consequence of insults and grief; plunged into prisons; buried alive in dungeons; subjected to tortures; compelled to eat the hard bread of exile, and deprived of everything--even a funeral service! Oh! we cannot suffer more. The Revolution; the revolution, for it is better for us to die than to live so humiliated. Let us work united, and ours shall be, if not the triumph, at least the honor. Liberty and America were united like two lovers in a heavenly kiss, and at the base of this union the nut of power was broken. Let us persevere, let us persevere in this holy cause, and ours will be Heaven: *Cuba will be ours!*

Representatives of the Cubans resident in the land of Washington, and also members of the Revolutionary Liberating Junta of Cuba, in the United States! fulfil your holy mission as Franklin and Lafayette fulfilled theirs. In your hands are the destinies of the Country. You could hardly realize a more beautiful dream. The fate also of half a million of Cubans is vested in you. Illustrious members! Do not confound the most sublime idealism; do not confound the country, before God, with the most abject materialism; do not descend to the mire of transactions with the tyrants,--to the most disgraceful mire of the Oligarchs and Dictators; save unhappy Cuba, and be placed side by side with the father of Liberty, and then--only then, shall you go down to posterity doubly consecrated by the baptismal font, for our coming generations, bringing there children to be made Christians, will give them, for appellations, your immortal names!

On the conclusion and throughout this Address, the meeting cheered enthusiastically. Speeches were subsequently made by Senores Armas, Perez, Villaverde, Tolon, Goicouria, M. J. Arango, Valiente and Luna, J. L. O'Sullivan and others, and the exercises of the meeting were kept

up with the greatest enthusiasm until after midnight. At nearly one o'clock, the delegates folded the Cuban flag about the newly elected representative, Hernandez, and forming into procession escorted him to his residence in St. Mark's Place, the whole concourse breaking out every moment in cheers. They remained for some time before his house, and left him at last with hearty cheers for the Independence of Cuba. The Junta subsequently supped together and formally initiated the new representative.

The Public Cuban Revolutionary-Liberating Junta in the United States, as it is styled, now consists of the following gentlemen, every one of whom has been condemned to death or imprisonment by the Spanish Government, viz.:--Senores Goicouria, Valiente, Betancourt, Arango and Hernandez.

New York Herald

27 October 1852, 1

Personal Intelligence

Arrivals at the Irving--Gen. A. J. Gonzales, Cuba; Theodore Cox, Georgia; Hon. S. R. Mallory, Florida...

Savannah Morning News

Wednesday, 3 November 1852, 2

MARRIED

On Thursday evening (28 October), at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va., by the Rev. Alexander Jones, GEORGE A. CUYLER, to BESSIE B. STEENBERGEN.

New York Herald

21 November 1852, 4

Passengers Sailed.

SAVANNAH--Steamship Florida--...G W Cuyler and lady, Miss Cuyler...R J Arnold and lady...Gen A J Gonzales...

Savannah Morning News

24 November 1852, 1

PASSENGERS

Per steamship Florida from New York -- G W Cuyler and lady, Miss Cuyler, R J Arnold and lady, J B Steel, A J Gonzales

Arrivals at the Hotels.

PULASKI HOUSE....WILTBERGER & SON, Proprietors.

TUESDAY, NOV. 23.

G W Cuyler, lady & daughr

Gen A J Gonzales...Cuba

New Orleans Picayune

3 December 1852, 2

Arrivals at the Principal Hotels--Dec. 2

ST LOUIS HOTEL

Gen. A J Gonzales, Cuba

Jeff Davis, Miss.

New Orleans Picayune

8 December 1852, 2

Arrivals at the Principal Hotels--Dec. 7
ST LOUIS HOTEL
Gen. A J Gonzales, Cuba

JQP

New Orleans, January 25th 1853

Confidential

Dear Sir:

In the following letter written to a friend in Mississippi are contained the same requests and the motive therefor which I would address to you, in hope that you may comply with them both directly and through your friend Col. Jeff Davis, Col. Claiborne, Mr. La Sere and any other person likely to have an influence with Genl. Pierce.

I would add to yourself that since Christmas I have been in daily expectation of seeing you in this city, and as I have been disappointed in it trust to these lines to give you some idea of my situation, my fears and my hopes. The accompanying letter will throw some light upon the former. Having been a man of action and not of words, not caring to deal in Cuban matters, as others have done, simply by means of a correspondence with the island, the means sent therefrom have gone into other channels. I have, therefore, been left to work actively in the cause and to submit myself, which is a very hard thing to do simultaneously in revolutionary movements, indeed I now find it impossible to combine, and must by the force of circumstance, change my course. My fears are, besides, in fact such is my belief, that the late discussing among the democrats have weakened us considerably and that no sufficient means could now be raised either here or in Cuba for any demonstration likely to ensure success. A great majority of the people here & there believe now more strongly than before in the possibility or practicability of acquiring the island by purchase. It may take two years to undeceive them and until then no funds, such as are now required, will be forthcoming.

My hopes are that I may be mistaken in this view of things that money may be procured or that some unexpected favorable incident may turn up by which we may be allowed the so much desired privilege of arresting our own independence by force of arms. In either contingency wherever I may be and whatever my occupation I shall unite with you more cheerfully than with any other person in striking for the redemption of my country, serving under your orders upon the same principle that Genl. Lopez acted in our joint proposition to you of 1850. Any consideration which I may acquire in the meantime, will but render it more in my power to aid you in such a work.

I believe I am not mistaken in stating that I could raise under favorable circumstances in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida & East Tennessee a force of from 2 to 3,000 men, to operate in concert with another from the Southwest, composed of and officered by better people, many of them my personal friends, and with greater economy, secrecy and dispatch than any other man in those parts could do. I go, besides, as a Cuban that I am, for the Cuban element being properly represented in any movement civil or military affecting the destinies of my country, not only as a matter of just & natural pride but of sound and correct policy. I had intended to make this same offer to you, as Genl. Henderson is well aware, before my faith was shaken as to the possibility of obtaining funds for an efficient movement. I still make it now for the eventuality of such contingency, as you have had ever since I first knew you my unlimited confidence as a man, a soldier and a republican.

With high esteem & respect, I remain, Sir

Your obt. friend & servt.

[Unsigned by A. J. Gonzales]

Genl. John A. Quitman

Letter

“Dear Sir:

In the existing state of uncertainty in regard to Cuban policy attendant upon the late dissensions among leading members of the democratic party, I find it advisable to suspend plans of action which could not, in my opinion, be carried out successfully under present circumstances. Having no personal means of subsistence, deprived as I am of support from Cuba by exile and a sentence of death for my efforts to promote the now great end of the Democracy, I am compelled to fall back upon the country which adopted me more than three years ago and upon the incoming Executive for whose triumph in the late campaign I have worked as earnestly and diligently wherever my little influence could be made to tell, as the promptings of my democratic faith and the welfare of my country as dependent upon the success of its doctrines could suggest to me. To the distinguished leaders in that party, therefore, must I now address myself, especially to those who have known me the longest and have honored me with their friendship, for recommendations to Genl. Pierce and his presumptive advisers likely to place me in an independent and influential position which will prove at the same time of advantage to the party and to the cause in behalf of which any consideration added to myself must ultimately accrue. The diplomatic career has always been that of my predilection. I am, I believe, as conversant perhaps more so at the present moment, with the English and French as with the Spanish language. I know & speak the Italian translate the Portuguese and know something of the German besides having received a classical education & studied law in my native country. I would take the liberty to submit that an appointment conferred on me would be pleasing to both branches of the democratic party, the progressive and the conservative, besides a large number of pro-Cuba men not affiliated with any party but would be more especially so to my numerous friends in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida & Louisiana and would place me in a condition of greater usefulness to the party in any coming contests. It would be agreeable to the Cubans who would see practically applied to me of their compatriots the beneficial effects of those institutions which throw open the avenues to distinction to all citizens whether native or naturalized, at the same time that it would be highly flattering to the annexationist party in that island which stands at the moment so much in need of encouragement, while, if any thing, it would have a significance to Spain which to some extent would tell to advantage in her future course concerning Cuba. My own influence with my countrymen being enhanced by any distinction conferred upon me by this government would be wilded [*sic*] in future in behalf of that same party possessed both of my sympathies and my gratitude. My character, I trust, is sufficiently well established in the country to require any remark of my own. Genl. Pierce will, I believe, know me well upon that score. I will serve the administration, in whatever post may be assigned to me, as the idea entertained of my usefulness and capacity may induce, with fidelity and honor and to the best of my ability -- an American that I am in education, having entered college in this country at the early age of nine years, having been naturalized and having resided in it almost one third of my lifetime. An American not only *de facto* but *de jure*, if what a man carries in his heart can confer that right-- a mere forerunner in that movement of integration which is to add one million more to our actual population & make of Cubans & Americans one and a single people. I am only waiting for your answer to this letter to leave for Washington, where I shall rely upon the sympathies & support of very many of your distinguished fellow-democrats from different sections of the Union. I would not wish you to view this step of mine as tending merely to personal advancement. It is, as I have said, to afford me the means of an

honorable subsistence, at the same time that by a flank movement, a front one being now out of the question, it will enable me better to promote at some remote day, in the manner the most desirable for both countries, the almost single object of my life.”

Please address, care of J. O. Nixon, New Orleans.⁶⁴

CCP

Montgomery, Ala, Feb. 11th 1853.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed copy of a letter addressed by me to Gen. Foote contains the same requests & the motives therefor, which I would submit to you. You were among the first witnesses in this country of my efforts for the liberation of mine and one of the very first who showed and practiced sympathy in her behalf. May I not ask you then, if you think that the remarks contained in the accompanying lines are worthy of your consideration, to aid me with your influence with Genl. Pierce in the attainment of the object therein disclosed? If so, you will oblige me greatly.

I proceed to-day to Washington where I shall be happy to receive as early an answer from you as convenience will allow.

I am, Sir, very respectfully
your obt. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzales

Hon. Caleb Cushing

Boston, Mass.

[To Henry S. Foote]

Dear Sir:

In the existing state of uncertainty in regard to Cuban policy attendant upon the late dissensions among leading members of the Democratic party, I find it advisable to suspend plans of action which could not in my opinion be carried out successfully under present circumstances. Having no personal means of subsistence deprived as I am of support from Cuba by exile & a sentence of death for my efforts to promote the now great end of the democracy I am compelled to fall back upon the country which adopted me more than three years ago and the [...] Executive for whose triumph in the late campaign I have worked, wherever my little influence could be made to sell, as earnestly and diligently as the promptings of my democratic faith and the welfare of my native country as dependent upon the success of democratic doctrines could suggest to me. To the distinguished leaders, therefore, in that party must I now address myself, especially to those who have known me the longest & have honored me with their friendship for recommendations to Genl. Pierce & his presumptive advisers likely to place me in an independent and influential position which will prove at the same time of advantage to the party and to the cause in behalf of which any consideration added to me must ultimately accrue. The diplomatic career has always been that of my predilection. I am, I believe, as conversant, perhaps more so at the present moment with the French and English, as with the Spanish language. I know & speak the Italian, translate the Portuguese & know something of the German which I could readily acquire, besides having received a classical education and

⁶⁴ J. O. Nixon, firm Thompson and Nixon, clothing and gentlemen's furnishing, 19 Camp. Residence, 33 Prytania. *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory for 1851* (New Orleans: The Daily Delta, 1851), 143, 186.

graduated in law in my native country.

I would take the liberty to submit that an appointment conferred on me would be pleasing to both branches of the democratic party the progressive and the conservative, as well as to a large number of pro-Cuba men not affiliated with any party, but would be more especially so to my numerous friends in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana & Mississippi placing me thereby in a condition of greater usefulness to the party in any future contests. It would be extremely agreeable to the Cubans who would see in one of their compatriots the beneficial effects of their institutions which throw open the avenues to distinction to all citizens whether native or naturalized at the same time that it would be highly flattering to the annexationist party in that island which stands at this moment so much in need of encouragement, while, if anything, it would have a significance to Spain which, to some extent, might tell to advantage upon her future course concerning Cuba. My own influence with my countrymen being enhanced by any distinction conferred upon me by this government, would be wielded in future in behalf of that same party possessed both of my sympathies and my gratitude. My character, I trust, is sufficiently known in the country to require any remark of my own. Genl. Pierce, I believe, will know me well upon that score. I will serve the administration in whatever post may be assigned to me as the idea entertained of my usefulness & capacity may induce, with honor & fidelity and to the best of my ability -- as an American that I am in education, having entered college in this country at the early age of nine years, having been naturalized and having resided in it almost one third of my lifetime -- an American, therefore, not only *de facto* but *de jure* if what a man carries in his heart can confer that right -- a mere forerunner in that movement of integration which is to add one million to our actual population and make of Cubans & Americans one & a single people. I am only waiting for your answer to this letter to leave for Washington where I shall rely upon the sympathy and support of very many of your distinguished fellow-democrats from different sections of the Union. I would not wish you to view this step of mine as tending merely to personal advancement. It is, as I have said, to afford me the means of an honorable subsistence, at the same time that by a flank movement, a front one being for the present out of the question, it will enable me better to promote at some remoter day & in the manner the most desirable for both countries the almost simple object of my life."

(Reasons for appointment)

- 1° Sympathy for a sufferer in the cause of American annexation.
- 2° The qualifications, as knowledge of languages, of the world, address at.
- 3° The policy of propitiating the Cuban people and encouraging [*sic*] the annexationist party.
- 4° That of demonstrating to the world the equality of all citizens irrespective of birth.
- 5° If sent to Spanish America, knowledge of language character & manners -- identity of political pursuit -- policy of showing them, now that Europe seeks to prejudice them against the US, the course pursued towards adopted citizens in opening to them.
- 6° The avenues to distinction on the same footing as the rest.
- 6° The higher the post the greater the prestige given to me in the eyes of the Cubans; the greater my usefulness when the time for action comes.
- 7° It will propitiate the poor Cuban element throughout the country.
- 8° It will enable me to render greater services at the South in future political contests.
- 9° On the acquisition of the island something will by this means be done towards bringing her into the democratic ranks.
- 10° In case of war I would be available at once for any ~~measures~~ governmental measures.

11° Significance to Spain & the European powers.

12° Relief to them from their dread of expeditions and proof that the government does not seek to encourage them.

Washington *Republic*
19 February 1853, 3
ARRIVALS AT THE HOTELS
IRVING HOTEL
Gen A J Gonzalez, Cuba

CCP

Remarks submitted to Genl. Cushing by Genl. A. J. Gonzalez.

Establishing as a basis of political action that public opinion throughout the country calls upon the administration of Genl. Pierce for the acquisition of Cuba, by negotiation, if possible, and by force, if necessary; taking in consideration that the complexion of his Cabinet is the most favorable to such a result, which is by itself a pledge of policy, it follows as a corollary 1° that sympathy for the sufferers in the late Cuban movement looking to that object, is a moral obligation. 2ly. that some steps are indicated with regard to some of them as requisite for the desired end.

Of these, the most important is: that if there be a Cuban, or more Cubans, better known than the rest, of good moral character & democratic principles, thoroughly acquainted with the language and identified by education association & naturalization with the institutions of the country, such Cuban or Cubans *should be built up*. At home, the effects of this policy would be to propitiate the pro-Cuban element as well as the naturalized population; increasing, in proportion to their influence, the usefulness of said Cubans in future party contests. Abroad it would show our institutions in their true light of equality & generosity. A new era would dawn in which the U.S., while showing by the very act that it encouraged not private expeditions, for were that the case the leaders would not be diverted, would take the stand called for by the country and by events of openly putting forth its own political thought. The effect upon the people of Cuba would be great indeed and Spain would see in the fact a significant indication of the national feeling which could not but favorably affect her future course. It is evident to anyone carrying his vision beyond the narrow circle of some political prejudices, that, if the island had to be annexed either by peaceable or forcible means a Cuban combining the capacity of such with that of an American, the impersonation, as it were, of the idea of Cuban annexation, is the one thing needful. If the island be acquired by purchase, the influence which by his position, implying trust from this government, he will exercise over his countrymen will be needed for harmony and for the interests of the democratic party in the subsequent formation of political lines. The experience he will have acquired in public affairs will add considerably to his usefulness. This is the more desirable that the Cubans have no opportunity whatever for administrative or political training. If the island is, by the operation of causes of possible occurrence, to be wrested from Spain, then his services will be far more needed--especially if, as in the present instance, he has through his past efforts taken a prominent stand in military matters.

It is these considerations which move me to apply for a position not of gain, but of honor and trust, so that though leaving the field of political agitation, I may be enabled in the sequel to render better services than circumstances will now allow, to my respective countries. If I were given some inferior post, the prestige which I have acquired among my countrymen through long years of privation & labor would be totally lost. I would merge into obscurity and in fact would have to

reproach myself with not having kept my name constantly before them *Cuban people*; whereas, if the government assigns me to as creditable position as my small capacity will warrant, it will not only afford me an opportunity of acquiring knowledge & experience but it will use a lever not to be overlooked at home or abroad in the actual condition of affairs. It is very generally believed that the pro-Cuban element has powerfully contributed to Genl. Pierce's ~~success~~ election. In Savh. & N.O., where I am best known, and where the movements have been made against the rule of Spain in Cuba, the democratic majorities were unprecedented. ~~I accompany one among several articles.~~ Many Whig friends voted for Pierce and others did not vote at all. I accompany one among several articles published by me as early as June last in favor of Mr. Pierce.

The objection which some conservatives might raise that offence would be given to Spain by my appointment, has not the slightest force. Has not the time arrived for some independent attitude by this government in its foreign relations? Does Spain consult the U.S. as to her appointments abroad? If I have forsworn all allegiance to the Queen of Spain am I not entitled to be fully considered as an American?; has Spain anything more to do with me? Has not Austria returned Mr. Hulsemann to Washington in the face and precisely because, of the occurrences of the past? Has not Spain sent back to N. Orleans the obnoxious Mr. Laborde? Are not gentlemen sent abroad and employed at home who have expressed themselves in public meetings and in the halls of Congress against Spanish iniquities and in favor of our revolution and subsequent annexation? Is not the fact of a Cuban leader, the supposed military chief since the death of Genl. Lopez, being sent abroad, the most conclusive proof which the government can give, incidentally of course, that no attack on Spain is meditated by individuals or ~~countenanced~~ promoted by it?

Barring the mission to Mexico, from which i would be elbowed by persons commanding more political influence, there is no post in which I could render better service than in the Chargeship to Venezuela, for the following reasons: the Venezuelans are more closely connected with the Cubans than any of the Spanish Republics. The number of them on the island is quite considerable. They are thoroughly united with our people in feeling; most of them by the ties of blood and having the remnant of their families in Venezuela they keep ~~our people~~ us in frequent intercourse with South America. Genl. Lopez, as is well known, was a native of that Republic where his family still resides. Mr. Muñoz, his nephew, a gentleman of high character & intelligence, has been for many years Venezuelan Consul at Havana and was ejected by the colonial government without assigning any reason, but evidently of his relationship to him for this sole cause. He now lives in Caracas. It is but natural from all these circumstances that I should be popular among the Venezuelans, and their intercourse with Cuba would make my appointment have a constant moral bearing upon the island. In addition to this, my political position, as regards Spain, is similar to theirs and the knowledge of their language & manners and a common origin should make me acceptable and influential. It strikes me that in such a country a representative, too, would be required who should combine with the above qualifications, youth and the innocuousness to the climate requisite for the study & examination of its internal resources ~~of the country~~ as available for American commerce and enterprise. Then there are Spanish influences to counteract; for when several years ago a project was formed by Louis Philip & Queen Christina to establish a monarchy in Mexico with the aid of Paredes, a Spanish officer was provided with funds from the Havana treasury & commissioned to Mexico for the purpose, while a brother of the Duke of Rianzares, Christina's husband, was sent as Chargé to Venezuela to move there in concert with him. The latter, I believe, is still at his post. Whatever may be said of these schemes the fact goes to show that a barrier has been, and, we may say, constantly is, meditated by

European Cabinets against American progress and influence, especially in the more contiguous republics of Mexico and Venezuela, which requires vigilance & demands counteraction.

(The foregoing remarks are respectfully submitted to Genl. Cushing for what they may be worth by A. J. Gonzales, in no other spirit than that of making, as far as it lies in his power, those willing to befriend him to meet objections, if any be made to his appointment.)

March 3, 1853.

CCP

Washington March 22d 1853

Dear Sir:

It is a hard thing to see you and hence I write. Senators Mallory & Soulé took last evening my papers to Genl. Pierce and had a very satisfactory conversation with him on the subject of my appointment. The President expressed himself in very kind terms as to his disposition to care for me. The matter now rests chiefly with the Secretary of State. Will you exert your powerful influence in order to secure for me the chageship to Venezuela upon which I have set my heart. I believe I am competent to fulfill the duties of that station and in the opinion of others I happen to be better qualified for a mission to that place than those who would apply for it. The Administration could hardly give me a position inferior to that of chargé without impairing my prestige and condemning me to political obscurity to the obvious detriment of the interests of the party both with reference to Cuba & the United States. Any preference for me, I am quite sure, will be compensated by my exertions to repay it in usefulness and by the popularity of my appointment wherever I am known.

Relying upon your kind feelings towards me, I remain, Sir,

very respectfully,

your obt. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzales

Genl. Caleb Cushing

Present.

WLM, Vol. 32.

Washington 24 Mar 1853

My Dear Sir,

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance and friendship Genl. Ambrosio Jose Gonzalez of Cuba.

He has presented me letters from Slidell, & other distinguished persons of La. who represent him to be not only a Gentleman of great intelligence and individualism, but one who is entitled to the Strong Sympathies of our friends. I therefore recommend him to your confidence.

Genl. Gonzalez is applicant to the President for an office which belongs to your Department. The character and value of the office he will explain to you in person, which I trust may be agreeable to you.

With [...] yours very truly

A. G. Penn⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Alexander Gordon Penn (1799-1866). Born in Virginia, raised in Kentucky. Moved to Louisiana in 1821 and engaged in planting. State representative. Post Master of New Orleans December 19, 1843 to April 18, 1849. Elected as a Democrat to Congress, December 30, 1850 to March 3, 1853. Returned to planting in Louisiana.

Hon. W. L. Marcy
Secty. of State
Washington

Washington May 15th 1853

Dear Sir:

I apprehend that among the grounds of opposition which may possibly be taken to my appointment by those desirous of preference over me will be, firstly: my being a catholic and, therefore, not likely to avail myself in behalf of our resident countrymen, of the religious freedom established in Venezuela. Secondly: the fear of my promoting revolutionary movements in Cuba, while in Venezuela. Thirdly: that a general outcry will be raised against it by the opposition press.

To the first, I will say that I am not a catholic, but a Protestant, as the enclosed resolutions of the wardens & vestry of the Church I attended in Savh. will show & as all my friends there know it to be the fact. To the 2d., that no man presenting &, I trust, deserving the recommendations which I have laid before the President could act, whatever his birth & political antecedents, while in the tenure of office & a depository of the confidence of *his* government, but as any other good citizen would. To the third: that the sequel will show that with the exception of the Intelligencer, the Tribune & other whigs of that ilk the Whig press will not be blind to the policy and reasonableness of my appointment, should the Administration see fit to make it.

I request of you, as a particular favor, to lay these lines before the cabinet.

Relying upon your kind support, I remain

very sincerely

your obt. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzales

Hon. Caleb Cushing
Attorney General of the U.S.

CCP

Washington, May 27th 1853

Dear Sir:

I crave again your indulgence, for the last time upon this subject. In my application to the President I forbore to give Georgia as my residence for fear of injuring the chances of any of the candidates from that State, but I hear of no other application from it for diplomatic appointments besides that of Mr. H. Jackson and therefore would say that although I left that State in July last to reside in Washington, I was here but two weeks, then left for the Warrenton Springs, where I wrote my Manifesto and but a few days after my return started for New York with the sole object of speaking in Tammany Hall in favor of Genl. Pierce. Of this fact Mr. A. G. Penn & the Editors of the Union are well aware. The speech which I then wrote I preserve still, and though present at the meeting where Mr. Mallory also was & spoke, I did not deliver it, as Mr. Theodore Sedgewick whom I consulted upon the matter thought that at so late a day (in the latter part of October) it were better not to bring the Cuban question into the contest there. After the election I left New York directly for New Orleans where I have remained until the Inauguration. It is in Georgia, therefore, that I am entitled to vote, it is there that I would have voted had I not been in New York as above said and it is to that State that I shall return, in case I am not sent abroad, to make it again my political as well as my social residence, the climate of Washington being injurious to my health. That I have

considered Georgia as my home ever since I left it, you will see by a passage which I have interlined in an enclosed printed letter. Some of the articles published during the canvass I also enclose that you may see that every thing in my power and at different places of the country was done by me in favor of Genl. Pierce's election, and as I have reason to believe, with some success. My Manifesto, as you may see on examination, had that in view and its publication was, moreover, purposely delayed by me the better to influence it. I do not present this as a claim upon the President, for at the time I had not the slightest anticipation of asking any favors at his hands. I desired his election because I believed it conducive to the good of both my native & adopted countries. I adduce these facts merely as an answer to those invidious & malignant persons, who, on the plea that I have done nothing for the party pretend that I shall not be the recipient of its favors. I would scorn to ask a *reward* of the President; neither have I ever mentioned to him aught that I have done for him. I have bared my application upon the ground taken by himself in his Inaugural to wit: "the interest to the public service" & the securing of "the obvious elements of success" and with reference not so much to the past as to *the future* to which statesmen are expected more particularly to look, and would not have urged it upon him through your kindness & that of other friends were I not exiled, destitute of means and dependent, at this moment, for an honorable subsistence upon the generosity of the American government.

I remain, Sir, very sincerely your obt. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzalez

Genl. Caleb Cushing

Attorney Gral. of the U.S.

P.S. I enclose an extract of a letter from Savannah showing that any number of signatures could have been added to my recommendations from that city. If I had had the time, and any experience in this disagreeable matter, and if I had thought that that was indispensable to my success, I would have presented to the President recommendations from the Governor of Georgia down to the woodmen of the State, (Union & Southern Rights men); for there is not a section of it where I am not personally & favorably known, with the exception of the extreme Southwest, where I have never been.

[To Ambrosio José Gonzales]

We now send you the within recommendation signed by some of the prominent men of our city, which we hope will be of service to you. We could have got any number of signatures to it but as you desired it "at the earliest possible day" and by the "U.S. Mail" we thought that the Mayor of the city at the head and a few of the prominent men were sufficient, & sincerely trust it will. We are as ever your friend

A. B. Luce

J. Lama

Savannah, Geo.

CCP

Washington D.C. June 30th 1853

Dear Sir:

I have ascertained to-day that there are 8 live-oak agencies, with a salary of \$1,000 each: four in Florida, two in Alabama, one in Louisiana and one in Mississippi. The two latter have been recently consolidated into one and bestowed upon my friend Col. Claiborne of Louisiana. If those of Middle & West Florida were likewise united or rather re-united, for there were formerly but *two* in that State;

which, on account of their contiguity and of their being in the same State could be done with greater advantage to the public service than with those of Louisiana & Mississippi, I would accept them; as their united salaries would afford me a decent support. Not so otherwise. This office & that of Diplomatic clerk of the State Department would be the only ones that I could accept from the Administration. The latter, I learn is not apt to be vacated. The present incumbents of the four agencies of Florida are whigs & expect to be removed. That of Southern Florida who has the guardianship of the Gulf Coast has been so already although his successor has not been designated. The incumbents of those I desire are Mr. Isaac Townsend in Middle Florida & Mr. Daniel McLean in West Florida. I have been informed at the Department that formerly it was the policy of the government to make the appointment to such agencies altogether from new residents of the State because being entrusted with the protection of the Government timber they were presumed to discharge their duty more fearlessly & indepently than those having strong ties in those localities. I am extensively known in Florida and owing to past occurrences & to my having a common language & origin with a large portion of her people my location there would prove of interest to the party and to Genl. Pierce's Administration. The salubrity of its climate is for me a matter of consideration. The friendship existing between Mr. Mallory and myself could be brought by you to the notice of Mr. Dobbin.⁶⁶

I have furnished you with all the facts in the case and must leave the rest to the offices of those who may wish me well.

I remain, Sir,

very respectfully

your obt. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzalez

Hon: Caleb Cushing

Attorney Genl. of the United States

EGP

Flat Rock July 2nd [1853]

I am quite nervous dear Emmie at the idea of writing a letter to be sent so far away from home⁶⁷ as if the perusal of it would occupy too much of your time & feel inclined a la Huger to say "we are all well, God bless you adios" for in truth there is not much more to be said-- we have been up three weeks, but not having received our mourning⁶⁸ have been obliged to remain at home. The hotels are well filled & the road seems quite gay, every pew in the church taken. Mr. Reid has just moved into his shanty & the & the Barings have gone to hous [*sic*] keeping in their cottage of two rooms, I met the young couple buying spiders & pepper boxes at the village. The Dents remain at the hotel until a cottage is built for them. William Johnstone & his bride are up & a slower couple I never did see. Mary is to have Alice Bee & Jane Fraser in addition. She is very kind in coming to see us her

⁶⁶ James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy under Pierce.

⁶⁷ The Hon. William Elliott and his daughters Emily and Annie left New York on 11 June 1853 and traveled to London, Paris, Germany and Switzerland, returning to the U.S. from Liverpool on 19 October 1853..

⁶⁸ Ralph Elliott, the Hon. William Elliott's brother, died on 5 June 1853.

children are well behaved & the baby is really a darling. Beaumont has been much improved. The Pinckneys are well with the exception of Mary who has had fever & is still feeble. Maria is still with Grandma who is afraid to let her remain all summer but will keep her until the middle of this month, Grandma is calm & cheerful now they say. Tom writes us that his daughter Phoebe has been sick & he intends to bring her up & leave her with us for the rest of the summer. The Dan Hugers are in Ashville living in great discomfort no cook, no nurse, no equipage. Cousin Dan keeping house, they are pretty well disgusted I understand & would like to come down & settle near us do ask Papa from me, if he will let them have a building lot on his tract, *where* & at what price & do not forget to write at once & let me know. I cannot persuade them to come down on a visit yet, but hope to soon. Mrs Joe is well, Arthur Hugers youngest child has lost the use of ~~the~~ one limbs & old Mrs King is devoted to it, they do not wish him to know as they fear he would return. Mary Man is coming to stay with me at least I have her promise. She is kind in writing to me & very anxious about you. *Dr. Huger* & Sallie sail today for Liverpool. I hope they will meet you. *Dr Ben Emmie*, not William. Nat Fraser has been refused by Annie Heyward & Ms Roper is engaged to Mr R. MacBeth. Mary Macduffy is to spend her summer with Mrs Singleton. Ralphie came home to us very thin but he is improving already in appearance. William is trying cold baths *at present* & intends *trying* Miss Macduffy later in the season I suspect. Hattie is a very early riser she drives to Marys & takes her music lessons before breakfast. She is deeply interested in hearing of your arrival at Liverpool, for she has to read the *ship service* as she calls it, every day until she does. Mama is well & energetic. I miss you dreadfully Emmy, I can't sleep in the day as I used to, the climate has lost that effect upon me-- & the house is so quiet.

So my dear child you must enjoy yourself as much as possible & not let any little contre temps you may meet with annoy you too much. Have you seen Madame Alfonso yet? **What a charming letter that is of Gonsy's**-- The box from New York has just arrived thanks for your remembrance of us. Milla & Chloe left Oak Lawn on the 25th & reached this on the 1st only four days Clement says he is suffering from drought notwithstanding which his Rice & cotton look very well-- the old corn fine & will yield well. The people all well. Will writes that he has a good crop with the exception of some marsh cotton which dried & he planted the land in Peas. Tom & Pa have had more rain than their neighbors Shell Point Ben exports his cotton as sill holding out *good* on St. Helena the draught is very great can crops last & half of the cotton crops not up seed in the ground still. You must excuse this uninteresting epistle dear Em. Give Papa & Annie a dossen Kisses for me, I trust papa is quite well & that you did not suffer on the voyage, we ought to hear from you next week certainly. Mama & all the rest send a quantity of love to you all & with much from self I am darling ever

Your attached Sister [Callie]

July 2nd 1853

CCP

Washington, D.C. July 6th 1853.

Dear Sir:

I enclose a "bit" of news from Mexico. Please tell me, after reading it, if all that a Chargé to Venezuela has "now" to do is to *attend to "claims."* Yes, the claims of republican progress & national freedom upon this continent, never to be hoped for but with the "solidarity" of the two races that possess it, as well as the claims of commerce & unrestricted intercourse with South America, in preference, if needs be, to those of a few enterprising individuals whose pockets may have been

depleted by some mischance or miscalculation.

To the intrigues referred to in the above mentioned extract I called your attention, as I also did that of Messrs Mallory & Soulé, several months ago, when Santa-Anna was still in Carthage & nobody thought of what has come to light since then. The plan proposed by Spain & Mexico was anticipated by me & I wished to oppose it by a counter-plan in favor of the U.S. embracing the same Republics & having Cuba, morally & physically as a “point d’ epee” & a connecting link, and I had flattered myself with the hope, I would say the moral certainty, of being able to obtain, in any contingency affecting the interests or the safety of the United States, ten thousand men from the Main, “the best allies that we could wish (whether we look for values, military skill or innocuousness to the climate) in any struggle upon the Gulf or the Caribbean sea” to use the very words of my letter of application to Genl. Pierce. I saw the changes that were coming upon Venezuela & I knew what Genl. Paez, the friend of Lopez, was willing personally to do for Cuba but a few months since & for these & twenty other reasons I was convinced as I am now that there is not in the whole country a man combining, from chance more than from his personal merit, the peculiar qualifications which I possess for this special trust. This would not have prevented me from serving the Administration in any other way. Just the reverse. It would have been the “building up” I have alluded to before; but the building up in time, not “after the fair.” But I have no means or but of very feeble ones to make my voice heard & my ambition, which is a noble one & for noble purposes, is perhaps to be viewed with distrust, and then I am not “backed by the people” as if the people could know these things or as if there was any necessary connection between a “caucus” and a diplomatic note or a “Congress of Panamá.”

That I may have enemies, not personal but political, whose action may not be seen but felt, I have no doubt. That among my own there may be or are jealous & insidious persons who will resort to underhanded & insidious means to thwart my purposes & clip the wings of my ascent, it is reasonably to be expected, & that the great majority of Americans are blind to my motives & my means of usefulness it is not to be wondered at. But I have too much faith in your talents your statesmanship & your sense of justice not to be confident that at some day, perhaps not very distant, you will say to me: “Usted tenia razon.” [You were right]

I remain, Sir, with great respect,
your obedient servant
Ambrosio José Gonzalez

Genl. Caleb Cushing
Attorney Gral. of the U.S.

Baltimore *Sun*
5 July 1853

LATE AND INTERESTING FROM MEXICO.--Advices from Mexico to the 18th ult. have been received. Santa Anna’s birth-day was celebrated with great pomp at the Capital. Lots for the conscription of the regular army are to be drawn on the 15th of July, and for the militia on the 25th of August. The standing army is to consist of 26,553 men, and the militia of 64,946. Indians are ravaging Coahuila. Senor Aguilar has taken charge of the portfolio of the Ministry of State. The telegraph has been completed to Jalapa and despatches received over it from the city of Mexico. The introduction of arms into Mexico has been prohibited. Don Federico Fulquez had been appointed Minister to New Granada, and it was said that he would also visit Venezuela and Ecuador in his official character. The Orden proposes that he shall be authorized to invite these and all the other

Hispano-American States to a general Congress like that which Bolivar called together at Panama in 1825. The Orden thinks this necessary because “An enemy a thousand times more terrible for her perfidious and ruinous policy and for her usurping and avaricious views than were all the European combinations in 1823 to sustain the rights of Spain, threatens to absorb the sovereignty of the continent and to destroy the Hispanic American race.”

It states that to such an alliance the old mother country would unite. The Universal also contends that Mexico will be aided by European nations in case of another war with the U. States. It is announced officially that the expedition of Raousset de Boulbon against Sonora has been broken up.

CCP

Bristol, R.I. October 20th 1853

Dear Sir:

As the late action of the Cuban Junta in New York in connection with the Ingraham⁶⁹ demonstration & in furtherance of party dissensions may give rise to some misapprehension on the part of the President as to my actual position, I feel it owe to myself to state, not because of any importance attached to it, but merely on account of my relation to the Administration, that to such movements I have been & am an absolute stranger.

I have been at this place & at Newport for the benefit of my health since I last saw you in Washington.

I remain, Sir,
Your obt. Servt.
Ambrosio Jose Gonzales

Hon: Caleb Cushing,
Attorney Gral of the U.S.

CCP

New York Decr. 18th 1853

Hon: Caleb Cushing

Dear Sir:

Some portions of the President’s Message have led me to believe that the time has arrived for the carrying out of that policy to which I have permitted myself to draw your attention as early as February last. What has occurred in Europe and the U.S. since I last saw you in Washington would seem, perhaps, to remove any difficulties in the way of its initiation so far as I am concerned, and probably to make advisable and expedient that which then was simply deemed desirable. If such is the state of things, may I hope that you will not forego an opportunity as propitious to my hopes and wishes as it is to the views so justly entertained by you?

In the expectation of being able shortly to pay you my personal regards I remain, Sir, very respectfully

your most obt. servt.
Ambrosio Jose Gonzales

⁶⁹ Captain D. N. Ingraham of the sloop St. Louis

New York Decr. 18th. 1853.

Jefferson Davis

My Dear Sir:

if my thanks come late for your generous vindication of the motives which impelled Genl. Lopez and his associates, I beg you to believe that they are not the less sincere. From some passages in the President's Message I have culled the hope that something will be done for me in connection with that policy which he has so truly foreshadowed and to which I have heretofore taken the liberty to draw your attention.⁷¹

The moment seems to me to be a propitious one, both as regards our foreign and domestic politics for some action in my behalf. Had you not always been kindly disposed to me and towards the cause I advocate I might indulge in a long appeal to you. As such, however, is not the case, I will only adduce what Mr. Soulé⁷² requested me before his departure for Europe to say to you, to wit: that he had personally and strenuously recommended me to Gen: Dix for his secretary in case he should have been sent to France,⁷³ until the time should come for the attainment of that position for which he had already recommended me to the President. Whether this statement can now be of service to me for that post or for the still more desirable of Chargé to Venezuela I could not tell, but under any circumstances I confide in your generous nature and your well-known antecedents for the bestowal of all your sympathy and the exertion of your kindly offices.

With many excuses for trespassing upon your valuable time and in the expectation of paying you shortly my personal regards, I remain, Sir, very respectfully your most oby. servt.

Ambrosio José Gonzales

Washington Daily Evening Star

5 January 1854, 4

LIST OF ARRIVALS AT THE HOTELS

Willard's Hotel

Gen A J Gonzales, Cuba

CCP

Hon. Mr. Cushing

My Dear Sir:

I had an interview again yesterday with the President in behalf of our friend Gonzales,

⁷⁰. Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 5, 1853-1855*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985, 54.

⁷¹. President Pierce in his first annual message on December 5 had alluded to U.S. interests in acquiring territory that would be important to the country's security and commerce.

⁷². Pierre Soulé (1801-1870). French-born Democratic Senator from Louisiana (1847-1853) and U.S. Minister to Spain (1853-1855). Arrested after the capture of New Orleans in 1862, imprisoned in Fort Lafayette for a few months, and travelled to Havana upon his release. Later went to Charleston and served on Genl. Beauregard's staff in the defence of that city.

⁷³. General John A. Dix had been promised a Pierce cabinet post and later the position of minister to France, but did not receive either one.

who desires to go as Sec. of Legation Charge to Venezuela; & I stated

1" That Cuba is now, & has been for some time past on the verge of a change. No diversity of sentiment exists among the native or Creole population. The line of demarcation between them and the Continental Spaniards is now broadly & distinctly established. This is ever the incipient step of an oppressed people. True the several "arms" edicts of the Colonial Governments deprive them of weapons, as the though espionage turns brother against brother, and no definite plans for political change have yet been arranged. But the disease in Cuba is chronic. As the people unite & murmur at existing oppressions, the Govt. employs additional military force; this requires additional taxation & gives rise to increased dissatisfaction, union & murmuring. And thus it goes on.

2d Such change will take place *with* or *without* the consummate of the U.S.; and in either case, the U.S. will be instantly involved, or at least watchful and active; and in such a state of things the abilities, and qualifications of such men as Gonzales will become of the very first consequence, in fact indispensable.

3d Venzuela [*sic*] is near us. Its Chargeship not much sought as a political appointment; & to place him there would be to *hold him in hand* for such service in the contemplated emergency as his qualifications so well fit him for.

4' His appointment, Cuban as he is by birth, though an American in feeling, education, and by Naturalization,-- would be to the Cubans, cut off as they are from all information as to the dispositions of this Government;-- three cheers for the success of their efforts.

5 Gen Gonzales has not the united political influence of any state, tho' his papers from the leading men of *several*,-- are of the most satisfactory character. But he has all that Mr. Belmont had.

6 No objection to him can be raised on the score of his connection with Cuban expeditions: for since the first one, with which he was connected,--he has done all in his power to suppress such expeditions -- Mr. Pickett of this District, was with him in this first ~~one~~ expedition,-- & he has been made Consul at Vera Cruz.

His views upon Cuban matters,-- so far as I understand those of the gentlemen named, are just such as are entertained by Soule, Saunders, O'Sullivan, Borland & a host of others--, tho' upon this subject I am only authorized to speak for myself.

Then my Dear Sir, this note is written in great haste, as I may leave the city tomorrow, to ask for what the prospect is of Gonzales' obtaining the post in question, or some similar one; and my apology to you must be the interest which I know you have taken in him, your remark to me a few days since that you desired to talk with me about him; and that his position at this moment renders an effort in his behalf, on the part of his friends an act, not only of justice, but of kindness.

Believe me Dr Sir

Very truly

Yours

S. R. Mallory

Washn

19 Jany. /54

The Washington Daily Union

13 April 1854, 3

Cuban Independence.

To the Editor of the Union:

Sir: Today's *Intelligencer* contains an article from the "Charleston Evening News" in reference to an abolition sheet of very small dimensions and much smaller influence, published in New York, ostensibly by a couple or so of natives of Cuba. The "News" feels alarmed at the fact; and mistaking the origin, nature, and bearing of the "Mulato,"⁷⁴ warms the South against incautious sympathy in behalf of Cuba. Says the Charleston paper:

"It becomes a subject of careful inquiry by the southern States into the nature and extent of the connexion between these propagandists and the party with which they are said to be in association in the island of Cuba."

"We can scarcely imagine that this compound scheme (*universal* liberty with abolitionism) has rooted itself in the affections or guided the operations of any considerable body of supporters there."

The sentiment contained in the former phrase is just, and I shall gladly volunteer such information on the subject as will prove satisfactory to all the real friends of Cuba in all sections of the Union, and show thereby that the surmise contained in the latter is equally so from being founded on fact.

The "Verdad," established in New York as far back as 1847, and supported for *gratuitous* circulation by Cuban patriotism, was the first organ of the Cubans in the United States. It still exists, and no accusation has been brought against it for misrepresenting Cuban interests in regard to slavery. The "Cubano," the "Correo de Ambos Mundos," and the "Filibustero," in New York; the "Beacon" and the "Independiente," in New Orleans, have been co-laborers of *La Verdad* in the work of Cuban regeneration, and have abstained from meddling with the question of domestic slavery, which, Cuba being free, will, as naturally as in South Carolina, take good care of itself. The separation of Cuba from Spain has been the goal of the aspirations of all true patriots.

A few weeks ago a tri-monthly square of paper of the dimensions of such periodicals as were wont to throw into excitement the revolutionary fathers in their younger days, when the "postman," heralded by horn or trumpet, made his appearance once a fortnight, respectively, in the good cities of Boston and Baltimore, but devoid of any other resemblance to the former, and bearing the hybrid name of the "Mulato," as suggestive of British ends as of those *notions* which have turned some northern heads *a-Gidding*, has come to disturb the faith of our friends, and to furnish to the "Intelligencer" and the rest of our enemies cloth from which to manufacture any quantity of "I told you soes," and "there, for your patriots," and the like pious and sincere ejaculations of that venerable hot-house for European exotics; and that old and noble hero, General Narciso Lopez, is summoned from his tomb to answer to the charge of having "by possibility" surreptitiously called his southern honors (the martyr's palm) by that same journal which strives incessantly to vitiate public opinion by coupling his acts, stamped with the seal of the highest patriotism and the purest morality, with those of the band which is now foraging Lower California.

The "Mulato," Mr. Editor, is no Cuban paper. It was hooted on its appearance in New York as a political hat by the great majority of the resident Cubans at a meeting held for the purpose, in which appropriate resolutions were passed, which have been published in "*La Verdad*." It has no funds except for such expenses as the laundress' bill of a city gentleman could very well cover, much less for revolutionary purposes, and is not suspected of any co-operation save that of British or American abolitionism. It is of much less consequence to the fate of Cuba than the Boston

⁷⁴ The editor of *El Mulato* was Santiago Bombalier.

“Liberator” to the integrity of the States. It has served its little purpose--having been noticed by the “National Intelligencer”--and if it do not soon die its natural death, it cannot prolong its consequential period. It may still subserve another and a better one. It may be the means of pointing out to the statesmen of the land, true to the interests of the whole Union, and in conjunction with other unmistakable “signs of the times,” the necessity for immediate action in regard to Cuba. While we sleep, others wake. The hare lost the race with the slow but persevering tortoise--and so may we.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES.

Washington, D.C., April 11, 1854.

The Washington *Daily Union*
25 April 1854, 2

The reader will find in our paper to-day an interesting communication on the present condition of Cuba, by General Gonzales. He is a Cuban gentleman of intelligence and character, and his remarks are entitled to respectful consideration.

The Washington *Daily Union*
25 April 1854, 3

For the Union.

CUBA.--THE TURNING POINT.

The order of Captain-General Pezuela, inaugurating the system of African apprenticeship in Cuba, published in the Union of Sunday, has launched that devoted island into a [...] and fearful career; and if she be not drawn at once, by the eddy of the popular will of America, into the arms of the Union, her wreck is as certain as it is that to hers will follow that of the best interests of this confederacy. It is no longer requisite for us to connect the scattered and hitherto impalpable links of the long-abiding, now consummated, British project of emancipation. Lord Howden may write to Mr. Corbin, and deny all that circumstantial evidence has been proving. Spain may speak of friendship [...] the United States, while she vows that her possession will be African when it lapses from her grasp. England may uphold a cis-Atlantic balance of power as she assumes the mask of conciliation. The captain-general pra[...]ng of brotherly neighborhood, may connive at the slave trade, thus forging the steel that is to strike us in our vital part. Battalions of colored troops may be formed and drilled by him, the forerunners of others which are yet to come from the shop and from the cultivated field. All these portentous signs may startle us; but here is the fact itself, that *must determine*-forcible, and at last tangible and appreciable-five hundred slaves, Great Britain’s first instalment, *admitted* into the island through the willing [...]hes of French, and British, and Spanish cruisers during the month of March last, in the department of Trinidad, are now turned over for one year as apprentices, thereafter to be free, though scarcely less savage than in their state of nature, so that they may produce a thirst and longing for self-control in half a million slaves, and together with them and with the countless hordes which are crowding in their wake, furnish to England and her confederates, at their own time and season, the great lever that is to upturn from a Cuban fulcrum all that is dear and promising to American hearts.

One is at a loss which to notice most in this transaction whether the folly, the temerity, or the wickedness of Spain-the folly, because whatever harm she inflict, she [...]eeds commits suicide-her temerity, because, unless the American people renounce to be themselves, she must encounter in her path the sturdy arm of the republic--her wickedness, because, in a fit of senseless desperation, she is

anxious to heap upon her children of America-nay, upon her own at home-all the calamitous results of an atrocious step. But the one that we are to meet directly in this connexion is not Spain so much as England. In 1818 she obtained from her weak ally the right of supervision and control over the slaves clandestinely introduced since then. She has waved it, or let in moulder, for a time, to seize it when it would be fatal-that is, when Cuba becoming strong, and enamored of the Union, was ready to throw off the shackles imposed upon her by a decrepit, cruel, and avaricious mother. But if she possesses that, *we* have since 1824 the immortal declaration of President Monroe-"that henceforth no European power should be allowed to colonized America;" and if the infantile nation of but ten million men stood forth, proclaiming boldly to the world this eminently American principle, shall the great republic of 1854, teeming with wealth and strong in cumulated power, at whose behests the long-disputed rights of neutrals have just been "*de facto*" inserted in the book of nations-shall she consent to have under the sway of England, obedient to her whisper, at sixty miles from her southern border, on the path of her coasting trade, across the isthmian routes that command her Pacific and her eastern commerce, a colony-for what are they but colonist?- not of Germans, such as go to Ohio and Pennsylvania; not of Frenchmen, as they who inhabit Canada or occupied Louisiana; not of Spaniards, as peopled Cuba and Porto Rico; but of wild, untutored, and ferocious Africans-the rallying tribes for a Jamaica and St. Domingo?

This is the question, the great question, of this day. To a patriotic Congress and a patriotic administration, to those who have upheld with wisdom and with spirit the rights *abroad* of an American citizen, his *rights* at home will not be obscured-his rights to peace and safety, to progress, soaring commerce, and natural expansion. When these be secured by the admission to Cuba into this Union; the gratifying and novel spectacle will be produced of a State enclosed by water, yet eminently agricultural-blending in itself all the interest of a diversified confederacy; rich in mines, and with unrivalled staples; rich in the best harbors and finest timber in the world; blessed with a genial climate, an enviable position, and a controlling influence; the shield alike of northern and western interest and of southern institutions; sending her treasures to the furthestmost recesses of the Union, and drawing back to her the capital, the manufactures of New England; the wheat of Virginia, Ohio, and Genesee; the corn and bacon of the West, the rice of Georgia and South Carolina; the pine and tar of her more northern sister and of Florida; the lumber and the ships of Maine; the gold of California; the iron, the coal, and the machinery of the middle States; the labor, the agricultural skill of the southern ones; and the arts, the population, the enlightenment, the freedom of religion, and the press-the life, the happiness, the "constitution" of the whole. When that auspicious day shall dawn all will proclaim this political axiom: that "*Cuba has become the bond of the Union, as she was made by Nature the CLASP of America.*"

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES.

The Washington *Daily Union*
3 May 1854, p. 3.

For the Union.

CUBA--OUR DUTY TO OURSELVES.

When the discovery of America opened a world for the religious, the adventurous, and the commercial spirit of Europe, colonies from her leading nations were established throughout the whole extent of this hemisphere. Young and feeble, they needed, and they received for many years, the aid and the protection of their parent State. They formed, the while, a part or a dependence of the system they emanated from, until one of them, originating in a better spirit, formed of sturdier elements, and

intrusted from her infancy with the germ of civil and religious liberty, sprung up at once to the rank of nation, leading on the rest to that independence which she had herself achieved. From that day the tie was severed, and the Atlantic saw two systems--one, of a balance of power, the other of a community of interests--the former based upon a jealous antagonism, the latter founded upon a political brotherhood. On the one hand there was a motive, on the other there was a principle. That motive was rivalry; this principle, self-protection; the weak, in the one, were fractions, in the other they were units.

Our growth and our position remained for many years unheeded, for Europe was, as now, "balancing" herself. A respite afforded her, in 1824, an opportunity to interfere in American affairs, and that interference drew from President Monroe a declaration which startled Europe for its boldness, broke up her "Holy Alliance," and is still ringing in the ears of her ambitious statesmen. This declaration, or this "doctrine," as it is properly called, taught her that thenceforth America was closed to her insidious schemes. It was the "declaration of independence" of the whole continent, as Jefferson's was that of the thirteen colonies of America. It was the assertion of its right to the exclusive control of its own destiny. As such it was hailed by the Hispano-American republics; with most of them it has since become "an axiom." But at the basis of this declaration, or of this doctrine, as taught to Europe, lies the principle of self-protection I have alluded to--a principle born with the nationalities of America, which has been uttered louder with their progressive growth, and which has been, as it must be, applied to meet the eventual exigencies of all time.

That its application is again demanded by the precarious condition of Cuba is, to me, self-evident; and whether, when so applied, it be called the Monroe or the Pierce doctrine, is a matter foreign to our purpose. Mr. Monroe was called upon to meet a certain case--the schemes of Europe through white colonization. The present Executive may find himself constrained to oppose the much more evil ones through black apprenticeship. In that, the European system was rejected; in this, the African should be, with all its barbarism and concomitant results.

Spain has no right to augment, by other than their natural increase, the black population of her islands. If she import her blacks as slaves, she contravenes her treaties; if as apprentices, she recolonizes Cuba. If she connive at the slave trade to turn such as may be captured into apprentices, or if she admit apprentices to turn them into slaves, she then does both, and perpetrates two wrongs, for each of which she should be held responsible. She cannot be allowed to form a colony, and that the worst of colonies, within her colony; eventually to supersede it and to be turned against us; an "*imperium in imperio*" to become an "*imperium superpositum*." Our welfare, our peace, and our safety forbid the thought. Neither has she the right, should she be willing, to destroy herself, if, by such destruction, we are also ruined, no more than a private individual (as the Richmond Dispatch truly remarks) has the right to burn his house, next door to mine, and jeopard my own. In either case, the nation or the individual should be bound, and measures taken to secure immunity. And now we are brought to the great questions which passing events have evoked for disposal. Shall Spain be allowed to trade in slavery against the stipulations of the quadruple convention, and deluge her West India islands with ferocious Africans, while England, armed with the treaty of 1817, which gives her the right of supervision and control over all clandestine importations, hangs over us--Cubans and Americans--like Damocle's sword, the dread of their sudden liberation; which means ruin to our commerce, destruction to our interests, and the obliteration of our race in Cuba and Porto Rico? Shall she be allowed to steal into the island, under the guise of the apprenticeship-system, the same Trojan horse of her munificent ally--than all the Greeks more wily--so that in the night of our confidence the

mine may be sprung up by them which is to blast our present as well as our future? Shall the captain-general of Cuba be suspected, *for any length of time*, of having a decree for the eventual ruin of Cuba without its eliciting such *preventive* action as will palsy the hand that holds it in abeyance? The enlightened, the free, the powerful, and generous American people it now behooves to answer. If they say No! that No! may be heard through such a Declaration as must give to *our* continent the complement of its glory and independence.

A. J. GONZALES

The Washington *Daily Union*

7 May 1854, p. 3

CUBA.

To the Editor of the Union:

Sir: I beg the favor of some space in your national paper to meet two assertions in regard to Cuba and the Cubans-, the one made by the Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, the other by the Milledgeville "Union"-both, of course, republished in the Intelligencer of this day. The assertion of the correspondent of the Journal is that Mr. Calhoun was opposed to the acquisition of Cuba. It was made by the same writer in 1851, and it was answered by me in a letter to the New York Herald, in which I stated that Mr. Calhoun was warmly in favor of such acquisition, and adduced the facts that he was foremost among those who called on Gen. Lopez on his first visit to Washington; that he repeated his call before it was returned; that he expressed himself in the strongest terms in favor of that measure in all his interviews with him, Mr. Yznaga, of Cuba, and myself, being interpreters; and that, at one with which he afterward honored me in the recess-room of the Senate, he expressed himself, in the presence of several senators, to that effect; to which I will add that I have had, since, the assurance of persons, related to him by the closest ties of blood and friendship, that such were the sentiments he was known to entertain. Mr. Calhoun was not Janns-faced, and as, on the other hand, I do not mean to impugn the claims to credence of the correspondent of the Journal, I will explain, what in my judgement, may have given rise to some misapprehension of Mr. Calhoun's opinions.

At that time the Cuban question was first agitated by General Lopez and his associates, in 1848, the territorial one in regard to California was still in embryo. when it assumed greater proportions, Mr. Calhoun became, most likely, unwilling to divert the attention of the South from that pressing subject to one which admitted of delay; and hence his temporary opposition to measure, not upon principle, but upon grounds of mere expediency. He may also have deemed that the demand for another State would have weakened the prospects of the South for acquiring California. Having failed, however, in his purpose, no one who knew his statesmanship could reasonably suppose that were he now living, he would for a moment differ from his colleague upon the vital question to the country whether Cuba shall be African or American-for it has simply come to this. I have taken pains twice to correct the statement, of the Journal's correspondent, because it is not well that the great name of the South Carolina statesman should be used to cover the nudity of argument of the opponents of Cuban annexation. It may be that the sequel will bring to light the written views of Mr. Calhoun upon this matter. And now to the statement of the Milledgeville Union, copied of course by the Intelligencer, (the friend of Mexico in the last war,) that the Cubans are lily-livered because they did not join General Lopez and his companions, and for this reason not deserving of freedom. I would commence by saying that it is not my intention to discuss the chances of success of an expedition to

Cuba. My feeble voice would not incline one atom the scales of fate. It is my wish only to defend the character of a people desirous of becoming a member of this confederacy, and claiming not be behind that of any of the States or Territories which have been annexed to the Union.

A manifesto published by me in September of 1852 contains the following paragraphs, to which I beg to draw the attention of your readers:

“None, I hope, will deny that our people have done much of what was possible for them to do, under the adverse circumstances in which they are placed, to attain the blessings of liberty. Men may talk of the revolutionary heroes of America, and ask why we have not commanded the success which they obtained. They should first compare their situation with ours. They, from the beginning, were free, enlightened, and linked by the spirit of association. We have ever been enslaved, bred in ignorance, and kept apart by the Machiavelian policy of disunion. They held a vast continent, and were surrounded by the wilderness. We inhabit an island, without the possibility of retreat for ourselves, or of access for our friends, without manifold dangers and excessive cost. They had a militia, were used to arms, and held them in their hands. We have no military force deserving of the same, are unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, and can neither carry nor possess them. They, with three millions of inhabitants, had scarcely any English troops among them. We, with but half a million, have quartered in our midst twenty-four thousand bayonets. They met, discussed, and resolved, printed and spoke, and went about freely and unshackled. We cannot do one of these things. Our movements are watched, our thoughts are scanned, our very servants are hired by the oppressor to denounce us. They had on their side the fleets and armies of France, the chivalry of Europe, the financial aid of Spain, and the moral countenance of all nations. We have against us not only Spain, but that very France and England, and the means of the blacks, the squadrons of the United States, and the denunciation of the republican government as pirates and freebooters, to draw from our feet our only plank of support, with the world against us—the moral aid of this free country. We have had, it is true, and this is for the future our rainbow of promise, the encouragement, the aid, and the gallant devotion of very many of the generous citizens of this republic; but of what avail they could be against the leaning of their own government towards European policy, events have clearly shown.

“That General Lopez was unsuccessful should be no reapproach either to himself or to the people of Cuba—it was merely the result of circumstances. Bolivar made several trials before he established liberty in Columbia, Bruce made nine attempts for the independence of Scotland. The great Napoleon himself, who from Elba landed three hundred men in France, and promptly of government, was, with the same intellect, and when at the head of half a million of the best troops the world has ever seen, defeated in Russia by the premature fall of the thermometer and the torch of an incendiary.”

His attack upon Cardenas was a *coup de main* which failed on the account of the grounding of his boat. His movement upon Bahia Honda was most unfortunate, and can only be accounted for by keeping in view that he was foully decoyed by General Concha’s spies and emissaries. In Cardenas it was not desirable that the people should have joined him after it was found impossible to surprise Matanzas, the real object of the expedition; and at Bahia Honda, the Cubans, after the reverse of Crittenden, could hardly have been expected to do more than they did. It is asserted that one hundred and sixty men were shot on the roads in their blind effort to join him wherever he might be met.

It is a matter of history that the Cubans attempted to free themselves as early as 1823, with the countenance and promised assistance of Bolivar, and that the plan failed through the *intervention*, of England, France, and (*mirabile dictu*) the *United States*. The conspiracy bore the name of the

“Soles de Bolivar,” in honor of the “Liberator.” In 1826, some Cuban refugees made a similar attempt from Caracas, which ended in the capture and execution at *Puerto Principe* of *Don Francisco Agüero y Velasco* and *Don Bernabe Sanchez*. Another conspiracy, known as the “*Aguila Negra*,” and as vast as that of the “Soles,” was formed in 1828, with the countenance of Mexico. It also failed through the sleepless espionage of the Spanish authorities. Since then, Cuba has presented but a series of imprisonments, deportations, and executions. Let the dungeons of the Moro Castle and of the penal colonies of Africa-let the public executioner testify the truth of this assertion; let the *hundreds* of exiles now in the United States bear witness to the efforts of the Cubans-not ignoble because unsuccessful. Let the risings of *Agüero* at Puerto Principe, and of *Armenteros* in Trinidad, in 1851, composed of the *elite* of their respective populations, speak for the determination of men, who, in case of reverse, expected to meet what they received-death at the hand of the executioner. I may be permitted to remark that the first man that ever trod the soil of Cuba in a hostile array was a Cuban, the writer of these lines, whose blood also flowed that very night. The next was General Lopez,* also a Cuban, and then his staff composed of Cubans and Americans. In his last expedition, the captain of one of the best American companies was a Cuban, *Felipe Gotay*, who died gallantly at the head of it. The captain of the *Cuban company* which went in that expedition was also a Cuban, *Ildefonso Oberto*, who likewise died at his post, as did many of its members. Planos, a Cuban, an aid to General Lopez, was also killed; and, finally, the *only charge with the bayonet* which was made during that expedition, remarkable for the extraordinary courage and fortitude, displayed under circumstances seldom, if ever, equaled, was *made by the Cuban company*, composed of young men, but few of whom had ever seen the fire, against the choicest among the Spanish veterans whom they repulsed and broke. That the Cuban character, as a whole, is not now exhibited in its proper light, is but what should be expected by all impartial men. Three centuries of unheard of tyranny, corruption, and exactions, do not weigh in vain upon a miserable people. If they were as you of the Milledgeville Union, pray where would you find the necessity for a change? Your very objection builds up my argument. Remove, then, the weight, and the body will rise up to the majesty of its nature.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES.

WASHINGTON D. C., May 6, 1854.

*General Lopez, as a precaution, was induced to wait until the strength of the plank was tried which connected the steamer with the shore.

CCP

Washington, D.C. June 20, 1854

Hon: Caleb Cushing

Sir:

When you receive a visitor's card *and ask him in* it is your duty to hear him patiently if he comports himself respectfully. I have called on you before & have found you absent. Your bearing to me to-day is but an exhibition *of your* feelings since you have come to power. They were not so when you introduced me to Mr. Polk in 1849 on the subject of Cuban movements. At any rate, your position does not exempt you from the courtesy expected from a gentleman.

I remain, very respectfully your obt. sevt.

Ambrosio José Gonzales

The Washington *Daily Union*
22 June 1854, 3
GEN. GONZALES' CARD.

The following note from Gen. Gonzales corrects a statement going the rounds which connects him with an alleged filibustering expedition. Although he is a Cuban, and feels the deepest interest in the fate that awaits his native country, he has entire confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the President, and is ready to await the fruits of his policy, instead of seeking by filibustering movements to hasten a result to which he looks with confidence and happiness:

To the Editor of the Union:

Sir: A statement is going the round of the press connecting me with a Cuban expedition at the Southwest. I beg to say, that, so far as I am concerned, it is unfounded. I have full confidence in the President and in his ability to attain success. I shall abide by his action as long as that confidence is unimpaired.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES

New York Times
22 June 1854, 4

Filibuster Movements.

We are favored, from private sources, with a number of interesting items touching the movements at the South of the Cuban Junta and their affiliating friends among our own people. Some of these, in a different form, may have found currency already through the Southern papers, but most of the particulars we believe are new.

The preparations of the Junta are understood to have reached a formidable degree of completeness. The departure of the first expeditionary corps for Cuban emancipation is fixed for an early day in July. The Lone Star order, with their allies and sympathizers, are busy in making collections for material aid. One million dollars is the sum aimed at, and so confident are the rumors on this point, that were it not for the hard times, we should almost be prepared to believe that a good portion of the amount had actually been secured and lodged in bank. There is said to be, in any event, ample available funds for the preliminary demonstration. About 50,000 full uniforms, with the additional necessary equipments, are also said to be in readiness. Eight staunch steamers, suitable for war purposes, are at the command of the Junta, and the use of from 50,000 to 60,000 stand of arms, and 90 pieces of artillery, secured.

Then we have the reported force of the expeditionists, 50,000 in number, robust and thoroughly disciplined, prepared to meet all emergencies. Of these, 30,000 or 40,000 will be for active service, and 10,000 as a sort of reserve, to be brought into service in case of any severe loss or repulse of the advance party. Every man is said to be under solemn oath to avenge the slaughter of Crittenden and his companions by the Spanish Government at Havana, in August, 1851. High in command will undoubtedly be placed an American officer who won distinction in the Mexican War, and was subsequently made Governor of one of the Southwestern States. General Gonzales, whose steadfast devotion to the Cuban cause has won for him the confidence of all parties of his own countrymen, and of their sympathizers in the United States, will also be placed in prominent command. Colonels Wheat, Pickett and Bell, Majors J. A. Kelly and Moore, Captain W. S. E. King and J. W. Denient, with Lieut. Frank Oillette, are of the officers pledged to the cause.

New York Times
26 June 1854, 4

The Cuban Movement--Letter from Gen. Gonzales.

Washington, D.C., Friday, June 23, 1854.

HENRY J. RAYMOND, Esq., *Editor of New-York Daily Times*:

SIR: I notice in your issue of yesterday, an editorial paragraph in which you mention my name in connection with alleged Cuban movements at the Southwest, in terms of exceeding kindness--the more to be appreciated that I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, although I have always been an attentive reader of your interesting paper.

Your esteem, I trust, will not fail me because I prefer, for the present, the action of the Government to that of individuals. Should my confidence in the former ever be shaken, I shall go with the foremost for that "ultima ratio civis," in favor of oppressed humanity: *the right of expatriation*, and of meeting the tyrant hand to hand upon the soil he desecrates.

Nothing but the sense that I should not claim an undue share of the public notice, would prevent me from placing before it this humble expression of my gratitude.

I am, Sir, with great regard, your very ob't serv't,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES.

New Orleans *Picayune*
4 July 1854, 2

Letter from Gen. Gonzales.

We find the following in the New York Times, of the 26th inst.:

Washington, D.C., *June 23*, 1854.

Sir--I notice in your issue of yesterday, an editorial paragraph in which you mention my name in connection with alleged Cuban movements at the Southwest, in terms of exceeding kindness--the more to be appreciated that I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, although I have always been an attentive reader of your interesting paper.

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I am, Sir, with great regard, your very ob't serv't,

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES.

Henry J. Raymond, Esq., Editor of the New York Daily Times.

RG 59, General Records of the Department of State; Appointment Records, Applications and Recommendations for Office; Registers of Application for Appointment to Miscellaneous Federal Offices, 1813-23 and 1834-89, Vol. 3, Entry 763.

Names of Applicants	Office	Place	Year
Gonzales, A. J.	Translator <i>occasional</i>	in D[ept] S[tate]	1854

[Right after 28 July 1854, but before 9 October 1854]

EGP

Edings Bay, 7th Aug. 1854

Upon my return home my dear Mrs. Elliott, I found my Husband far from being well,-- and for some time I could not prevail upon him to permit me to call in a Dr.,-- at last I succeeded & he named Dr. Bailey, who is highly thought of, here on Edisto Isle, & else where, he is also a kind friend, & agreeable companion, --This Dr. & friend has been of much service to him, -- & as soon as he is well enough, wishes him to leave the sea shore as it is not good for him & try the Mt. air, either in Georgia, or N. Carolina, to try the warm springs in either of those States, as he could then take a faithful slave with him; I hope he will try the Mt. air, & leave home next week for that object-- as for my part I love the sea air, & always feel so much better when near it,-- I go into the reef every morn. before breakfast, & ride or drive out every eve. at sun set on our fine beach, when the tide will permit, or at Moon light's fairy hour-- This summer is the hottest I have felt since I have been living here, heat range from 90, to 95 in our Hall. I take as cool a seat as I can find, during the heat of the day, & read for hours, too warm to attend to anything else, then sleep on some cool sofa for one hour before dinner-- that I may keep awake until a late hour to enjoy the beautiful nights on our fine noble piazza, or riding out on the beach. Whenever I visit the north, I always prefer M[ay]port to Saratoga, Mp. is so much cooler than the other,-- if Gen. W.'s health is better upon his return from the Mts., I would like to go on, and pass the month Sep. at the North, & return home *here*, 1st Oct., two weeks at Nport, & the last two weeks of Sep. with my sister Rutherford,-- She is now in Vermont on a visit with one of her family at Brattleboro!-- My sister Vanderhost does not expect to go north this season, she is at present with Mr. V. on his sea shore Isle of Vriawah,-- she may visit Old Point Comfort, to meet some friends there. I have been reading some of Jimmy's revised new works, The Partisan, &c.-- and found them charming historical novels,-- true to the History, for since reading them, I have turned over the page history of S.C. & the U.S. & find these works of our distinguished historian, poet, &c. all so correct,-- you must read them again, for you will be well pleased with his works-- how I should like to become acqd. with him, it would afford me so much pleasure-- I have also been reading a new work by Caroline Hentz, the Planters Northern bride,-- it gives you just views of the South & slavery as it is -- read this book also, it is well written, in 2 vol. Tell me in your next of your Mt. climate this season, as it has been so warm every where and at your pleasant quiet Mt. home, how [*torn*] & your daughters are passing your time. I was so happy to rec. your very welcome letter, but at the time Gen. W. was not well enough for me to spare the time to write. You tell me that you frequently hear from Gen. Gonzales, when next you write to him, thank him for his kind message to us,-- & that we both hope soon to see him,-- & that he may soon recover all his property in Cuba:-- we presume he has gone or to Saratoga or to N[ew]port by this time,-- why do you not ask him to come & visit you at your beau. Mt. home, he would be so much pleased with that part of our Southern world.

Remember me most kindly to every member of your family, & with the hope of soon hearing from you, -- direct to me, *Edisto Island*, S.C. & I will rec. your letter much sooner, than to the care of my Factor in Charleston.

Your sincere friend

M[ary] W. Wayne

N.B.

Say to Harriett that her pretty little pet, is very much admired for its grace, & beauty.-- I presume Anne, & Emilie, often hear from the Brisbanes.

JDL

28th Oct. 1854

A. J. Gonzales

My dear Genl.

I am sorry that I was not at home when you called. I hope your health has benefitted by your summer residence in the mountains.

A short time since after you had probably left Warrenton, a friend in Mississippi wrote to me for information as to the article published in La Verdad, containing extracts from a letter of S. Betancourt. The number of the paper which you gave me containing that article has been lost or so carefully put away that I cannot find it, but if it were found it would be of much less value than such a translation as you could give, with explanations of the relations between the writer of the letter and the recipient. I am reluctant to tax you in this manner but it is believed by my friend before mentioned to be essential to the proper defence of the Administration in its Cuban policy.

Always hoping for success and trusting with sanctity of a cause which has for its end the prosperity of our own country and the regeneration of an oppressed neighbor I have not despaired through the vast and the bad each in his own way contribute to defeat our efforts.

Very truly yours

Jefferson Davis

The Washington *Daily Union*

19 November 1854, 3

General Amb. J. Gonzales, the well-known Cuban patriot, arrived in Washington yesterday.

JDL

20th Nov. 1854

A. J. Gonzales

My dear Genl.

Accept my thanks for your prompt & kind attention. I have forwarded the translation and hope the use of it will correct some errors; and serve to place you in the position to which you are entitled by the patriotism and discretion which has characterized your course.

With great regard I am

very truly yrs

Jefferson Davis

KRC

My dear Sir,

I have read the sheets you did me the honor to submit to my perusal and find much to which I give assent. I do not quite understand to what extent you would expect the proposed gun boats to be effective, and will call your attention to the advantage a ship of the line would possess by overlooking the small craft. But for this, small water batteries of a single tier of guns could be improvised at a threatened point and would afford adequate protection. The same necessity which demands high parapets would be felt by the Gun Boats in all harbors which would admit large vessels of War.

We use "Columbiads" and claim that M. Paixhan copied from Col. Boenford who first constructed the large gun for the direct fire of shells and hot-shot giving to them the name of "Columbiad."

yrs truly

Jefferson Davis

27th Nov. 1854

Envelope addressed to: Genl. A. J. Gonzalez, Washington, D.C.

Return address: Jefferson Davis, Sec. of War

The Washington *Daily Union*

3 December 1854, 2

For the Union.

ARMED NEUTRALITY--LIGHT-DRAUGHT WAR-STEAMERS--THEIR ADAPTABILITY TO OUR NATIONAL DEFENCE.

“*Si vis paem, para bello,*” is a trite but truthful adage, which applies to nations as well as to individuals. The power for retaliation or for stern resistance among the former as among the latter prevents aggression and forestalls insult. That the feebleness of our navy is such as to invite both is admitted on all sides. Among other patriotic presses, the Philadelphia North American had, some days since, a forcible editorial on the necessity of providing for our national defence, if we would be respected, adducing no less an authority than that of the “Father of his Country,” whose apostolic word has warned us, on more than one occasion, that a rank is due to us among the nations which will be withheld by an exhibition of weakness.

But we wanting in the teachings of his wisdom, the occurrences of the few past weeks would show us that a spirit is abroad among powerful alliances that broods no good to the safety and the welfare of our country, and which waits with an impatience undisguisedly repressed but for a favorable opportunity to break forth and overt and decided acts. Lord Clarendon has already intimated that the purposes of the Anglo-French alliance look to the western as well as to the eastern hemisphere. The London Herald has told us recently that grasping America would be made to crawl back in her shell by the combined squadrons of England and France; and even the cautious Louis Napoleon can, at this period of his entanglement, find such wolf and lamb-like causes for complaint against the government of the United States as the acts of Mr. Dillon for the invasion of Sonora, and the address of Mr. Sanders, a *private citizen*, to the liberals of France. When the water is thus made to “run upstream,” their ships may not be long in *running* down our commerce, or in striking at that most vital point of the confederacy, the straits of Florida.

We *would* have peace-nay, more, we *want* it. Through peace we conquer. We conquer with that olive held in the hands of our commerce, extending East and West, to fold the world. We conquer wealth and power with genius and enterprise, and our institutions *conquer for us* the “God-speed” of the nations, and the hearts, and, with the hearts, the hearths of the oppressed around us. But we shall have no peace, unless we can *command* it. We cannot *crave* it, as a very few of our presses would feel disposed to do. We must buckle on the shield while the sword is yet unsheathed, and in the scabbard it may remain. Assuming, then, that we must arm to some extent to ward off the necessity of having to arm on a gigantic scale, I will attempt to throw out such suggestions as the observation of passing events has prompted me to venture, soliciting indulgence for my errors on the plea of my intentions. We cannot, in time of peace, incur the cost of an armament which would run up by scores of millions our national indebtedness; but we can, without great sacrifice, hold our own upon this continent. We should *first* guard our gates, our roadsteads, extensive bays and inlets, and our shallow coasts. We should, furthermore, provide for the protection of our isthmian commerce, through and past our “*mare clausum,*” the Gulf of Mexico; *then* let our clippers loose, if necessary, and our *Ironsides*. The recent operations of the allies have disclosed two facts: 1st, the importance

of the Minie rifle for various purposes of war; 2d, the adaptation of large-shell guns to light-draught steamers for warfare in shallow waters and intricate navigation. The War Department has lately introduced into the service, with commendable forecast and professional spirit, the French rifle drill, which will probably lead to the adoption by our militia of the improved tactics for a weapon eminently efficient in the hands of our countrymen. What the Minie rifle is on land, the new light-draught war steamer is on the sea-with this peculiarity, that both require that self-reliance and individual daring which are the characteristics of our people. We have seen recently that the most powerful naval armament that the world has ever seen has failed even to attempt a blow upon the Russian strongholds in the Baltic, and the allies have turned upon small steamers of six feet draught, aided by some floating batteries, to effect that which their superb first-rates of 131 guns have proved unable to perform. Well, our coast and our bays, our sounds and inlets, our rivers, and, above all, the West India islands, with the banks of the Bahamas, the reefs of Florida, the Alacranes, and the Colorados, all of a most intricate navigation, afford a paralell to the Baltic, and present innumerable positions which the ships that form the pride of Europe *would find untenable* if a proper system of defence were adopted by us. I suggest, therefore, that, in addition to steam line-of-battle ships-of which we are almost in total want, and the necessity for which *on the high seas*, and for distant service, cannot be obviated by any other craft-we construct vessels propelled by steam, of from four to six feet draught, mounting each two of the heaviest columbiads which they can be made to carry, and in such numbers as the foresight of Congress may determine and the probable danger to our commerce render necessary. To make their utility plain, let us suppose that a powerful fleet of the enemy were sent to the straits of Florida to cut off our communications with the several isthmuses, block up our immense exports from the Mississippi, stop our coasting trade between the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and menace our southern borders with depredation, or with a descent of Cuba and Jamaica blacks. Could such a fleet live long in the vicinity of two, five, or ten hundred light-draught steam vessels, carrying 10 or 11-inch columbiads, and manned by the Paul Joneses and Decaturs who would spring up from our navy and merchant service? Finding a convenient retreat at Key West, the Tortugas, the innumerable keys of Cuba, her shallow southern coast, the Bahamas, the reefs of Florida, the Alacranes, and Colorados, when over-matched, they would make a dash the moment an opportunity presented itself of exhibiting their prowess.

It is true that at close quarters large vessels-of-war would have over these craft the advantage of high bulwarks. They are, however, not intended for such service, but for attacking them at long range, and from those shallow waters in which the positions I have mentioned so much abound. It is also true that an equal number of line-of -battle ships of ours would dispose, in all probability, if we judge of the future by the past, of any fleet of the enemy might send across the Atlantic; but *when would they be built?* Very late, if ever-too late to answer the purposes that a less costly and more widely armament would almost instantly effect-the rigid police of our coasts and of its neighboring islands.

It is well known that a shell, striking near the waterline, may sink a 100-gun ship. This simple fact at one shows the formidable character of such an armament for coast defence, especially for such coast as those of our southern States, so deficient in deep harbors, or for those of the West Indies, where, although there are good harbors, there are also good banks and sounds, and numerous reefs and keys, with the most entangled navigation, inaccessible to any but craft of this description. Their advantages and peculiarities are, that they can be constructed in one month to any extent, in all parts of the United States. They woud float down the Ohio and the Missouri, and spring forth

simultaneously from every creek and bay of our extensive territory. The range of their armament being greater and their draught less than that of the enemy, they would inflict injury oftener than they would receive it. Their fire being a *fleur d'eau*, would make sad havoc in the hulls of their antagonist, while they would scarcely present a target for their broadsides. In a naval combat the fire of 50 or 100 such gun-boats, concentrated upon the advanced ship of the enemy's squadron, would sink her before she could bring more than her chase guns to bear upon them. In *support* of a fort, or overtopping works, they might often answer as a water or flanking battery, and in the attack of fortresses they could take a position inaccessible to larger ships. For the transportation of an army from one point of the coast to another, or from the continent to any of the neighboring islands, they would be invaluable, as they could avoid or give battle at will, thus baffling intervening squadrons, *land troops with ease*, and afford them, whilst they landed, the very best protection; all this with the speed, certainty, and regularity of steam navigation. They could be more easily officered and manned than vessels of large size, and their crews, from the nature of the service, could be relieved oftener than those of the latter. In fine, they are such as to give us in the hands of our seamen, and at a very short notice, not only the perfect control of our shallow rivers, bays, and coasts, but, if necessary, of the whole group of islands contiguous to the continent. For other purposes steam line-of-battle ships and floating batteries, on the new principle adopted by the English, would be indispensable. These, however, would act as our *Macedonian phalanx*, or, when detached, as a bold gladiator on the deep; but the steam gun vessels I have mentioned would prove in our hands either *American rifles* or *Thessalian cavalry*.

Having diffidently ventured these remarks--for I am no seaman--upon the tide of public notice, it remains for the genius of my adopted countrymen to correct what may be erroneous, or improve what may deserve of it. Their patriotism, no one can doubt, will do the rest.

A.J.G.

KRC

Wash. Decr. 14th 1854

Private

My dear Sigur:⁷⁵

I have seen an article in the "Delta" of the 26th ult. ~~which~~ it derogatory to the fair character of that paper in which my *motives* ~~are assailed~~ in keeping aloof from the doings of the Junta are assailed in a manner totally unwarranted by facts. This ~~too~~ not [*torn*] of a nature to be noticed by me otherwise than by stating, *privately*, to you & to Genl. Henderson, whose esteem I value, the exact nature of the case leaving it to yourselves to do me justice among our common & ~~may hope~~ ~~misguided~~ friends. From the [*torn*]firmation of the "Junta" I have I kept aloof from [*torn*] not even to inquire their affairs in one single instance about the state of [*torn*] and the antislavery notions of some of its members & my utter dislike of the personal character of others which I have reason to believe ~~must~~ is by this time, ~~hi~~ shared by those who may have had to deal with them, are certainly not such as to have changed my firm determination. Therefore I have *not* separated from my old associates: ~~we have~~ ~~were~~ ~~been~~ necessarily so ~~at~~ by the death of Genl. Lopez. I have *not re-united* with them since they have *associated* with the Junta. That is all. For all of you, who were formely [*sic*] with me & the Genl. and who were true to Cuba at the *first* & the tenth hour I have felt & feel the same of kindness & friendship feelings and it is certainly a matter of regret that we *are* separated,

⁷⁵ Laurent Sigur, editor of the New Orleans *Delta*.

if but momentarily, as I hope. I have advised *no* purchase of Cuba and if I had, the idea that it would be heeded by the Administration of this great country, is simply preposterous. I have asked the latter, it is true, for employment, but that was never considered by me as an impeding to *my proper* action when ~~the~~ its proper moment for ~~action~~ came. You and others hold or have held offices or are employed in private & honest pursuits which certainly have not interfered with your action in the premises. I have stated distinctly ~~that~~ & publicly that “I would abide by the Administration” only “so long as my confidence in its *clear action* & in *its ability to attain success* remained ~~unshaken~~ unimpaired” & no one can say that this is not the language of moral independence much less could it be argued that it implies a shackled judgement; but *above all*, I, on *the very day* I did so, ~~and to~~ I wrote to the President the following words: “and as this action of mine might subject me to the imputation of interested motives, I desire to state that I withdraw the application that I have made & which my friends have urged.” And here I am, for fear of slander & misinterpretation, entirely destitute & depending upon distant friends for a modest & precarious support. If after this, justice be denied me, let it be so; censure has no darts for me.

[Unsigned draft by Ambrosio J. Gonzales]

EGP

Washington 2d March 1855

Ann Elliott

My Dear Wife

... We have seen nothing but ice--since we arrived... We have all suffered from colds--Emmie first, then Anne--then myself...

The girls are much pleased having met as usual--gentlemen who could appreciate them. They are likewise appreciated by the ladies of the intellectual class... We have seen **Gonzales** frequently he visits in the best circles--has some employment in the Secy of State's office which gives him a moderate income--and appears to have the respect of the principal people. The session is to close tomorrow night--and on Monday we expect to be in Baltimore on our way home...

yr affectionate husband

Wm Elliott

BOOK⁷⁶

DOCUMENT XLV

From Navy General Headquarters of the District of Havana, giving an account of the activities of the Cuban Junta and of General Quitman.⁷⁷

4 March 1855

As having stated, General Quitman arrived yesterday 23 accompanied by some of his General Staff and their names are the following:

Adjutant General and private Secretary Ambrosio Gonzales.

Major R. King.

Captain J. M. Ellis.

⁷⁶ Diego González, *Historia Documentada de los Movimientos Revolucionarios por la Independencia de Cuba de 1852 a 1867*, II (Havana: Imprenta “El Siglo XX,” 1939), 232-233.

⁷⁷ The original document is written in pencil, in English and Spanish mixed. (Cuban National Archive).

Captain N. C. Briggs.

Colonel C. A. Green.

Said Ambrosio Gonzales joined Quitman in Alabama and gave him communications from the Junta (Cuban) in New York, to which, according to what I have been informed, instructed Quitman of the wishes of the Creole habitants in Cuba of his soon disembarkment, and also making charges against him (Quitman) of his slowness and the excessive expense being endured with the people who waited at point...⁷⁸ like with the officials in New Orleans for the departure of the expedition so that everything necessary can be proportioned to Quitman; and regarding the money there will be more than what is needed.

Today the Cuban Junta has gone to meet with Quitman to know his resolution and plans. He (Quitman) somewhat polite replied to them like a true American "I am not a complete General--Lopez was a great man, a valiant and good soldier, and I do not pretend to have his qualities. I am Quitman and not Lopez--I will go at the head of the expedition, as I have promised; but to do it I want to be under my own orders, *I will depart* when I think it is convenient and I want all power over the Juntas of New York and New Orleans, on the contrary I will separate and cede my place to who ever is believed capable of carrying out such an affair. Not because in case I separate, will I withdraw my investments in the matter."

General Gonzales claims \$3,000 in salaries and expenses in the North. The Junta has telegraphed the Junta of New York and, according to what I have heard, the Junta of New Orleans advises the one of New York to grant all the concessions that Quitman wants; because among other things communicated the dispatch says:--if the people already recruited, who await, have Quitman as General, none will go and it will mean starting again with whoever takes his place:--tomorrow 5 members of the Junta leave for Savannah, and they are Porfirio Valiente, Goicuria, Betancourt, Duanes and Trasher from where they will go to New York. It is said that Quitman offers to leave in 90 days after he is given the powers that he asks.

I have been informed that General Henderson and Sigur will have a big interview with Quitman tomorrow. I do not know anything else for now.

It is twelve midnight, the telegraphic answer has arrived from the Cuban Junta in New York. They give Mr. Quitman all the powers that he asks, and the Junta of New Orleans also gives them to him as long as the expedition departs soon. Mr. George Law has lent the Junta 300,000 dollars for the enterprise and they have taken the steamer Webster instead of the Massachusetts.

EGP

Oak Lawn Sunday night [13 May 1855]

I hope you have been enjoying the past week of delightful weather My Darling Hattie-- your evening walks⁷⁹ should have been very pleasant, of course you have not taking your flannel, but the next warm spell you may do so. I have wondered to myself whether you have had the energy or the ingenuity to tack on the long sleeves to your green [...] which I hope you have been wearing. We

⁷⁸ Broken in the original.

⁷⁹ Fifteen-year-old Harriett Rutledge Elliott was boarding in Madame Tognò's School for girls in Charleston.

have not thought about moving to the Village,⁸⁰ but the prudent ones of us will go wither on Tuesday it being the 15th. The house is far from finished, it will give us occupation to watch its progress, & the development of so novel a style of architecture! We have advertised the Flat Rock house, but you *need* not know any thing about it so I won't tell you as I have Mr. Bee, the terms-- I suppose that you are glad to hear of Mary's jaunt, & that Callie is to accompany her. You can adopt Elliott as your own this summer & get all of the Johnstone out of him. T'is a capital chance. Annie & yourself musn't quarrel for beaux! Have you seen Mary Man? how does she stand the Drs engagement. Do step in when you are walking & tell her that **Gen. Gonzalez** sends his cordial remembrances to her-- he does not know how disrespectful she is to Mama in not answering her letters or I am sure he would not send her any messages! I got a twelve-page communication from that worthy a few days since written in very good spirits. He is delighted to hear that you have outstripped *me* without taking to *heels*-- & wants to know what pieces you play on the piano. Shall I tell him-- Variations on the air "An Old Man will never do for me"? He wants to know our plans as his own will be contingent upon them-- if we are to be at Flat so will he; shall I tell him that little Annie, Mama & yourself, will greet him with gladness--? Pedro⁸¹ intends to send me his likeness-- "Vanity of Vanity sayeth the Preacher all is Vanity" & Man particularly. As a great secret I will tell you-- Now don't think I am engaged! No it is not that, Col. Morris has gone without proposing, but it is that Annie & I are going to spend the whole Summer in Adams Run. Nobody is to know it. We are to be supposed to have gone to some other watering place but we will stay & economice our means for a more congenial jaunt. One of our castles, is to go to Italy. Papa will I suppose be ere long in Charleston as he leaves N. York on the 30th. Mary's departure (Nee date) is not yet fixed. We are all well. Ralph came back delighted with the ball & "Marian." Why don't you write to us. The kittens No. 1 are not lovely, but fat & [...] No. 2 fair & with *espris*. The young mother has a very troublesome appetite. All send love to our darling. Your ever attached Sister

E.E.

EGP

Died in Beaufort (S.C.) on the 1st June 1855 Mrs Phoebe Elliott in the 84th year of her age. This venerable Lady, the oldest inhabitant, save one other native town, had passed the boundary of "four score years": yet her strength was not "labor and sorrow." Her eye was hardly dim, nor her brow wrinkled: She enjoyed life to its close, as lively discharging its relative duties. Her spirit was buoyant; her affections ardent, and her heart filled with kindness to [*torn*] or her fellow creatures. She walked before God humbly, thankfully devoutly, She loved His house, and frequented His Courts, and n[ot] many days before her death, occupied her place at the table of the Lord. A liberal steward of the property God assigned her, She was ready "for every good Work," and did her full share in the Missionary efforts of the zealous Congregation to which She belonged.

A long line of descendants encircled her with filial love, and three generations gathered around her dying bed. Her body was borne to the tomb by six of her grandsons, and Surviving friends rejoice, in their sorrow, that God hath granted her "long life and good days," and grace to glorify "his name" and adorn her Christian profession. One Son, one grandson, and three Nephews (including the Bishop

⁸⁰ Adams Run, S.C.

⁸¹ Pedro Guiteras.

of Georgia) are preachers of the everlasting Gospel.

Charleston June -- 55.

Copied from the Southern Episcopalian. Edited by Messrs J H Elliott &c &c

EGP

[Flat Rock] Tuesday night June 13th [1855]

Dear Emmie

Mama having eaten too many sour strawberries is in consequence unwell and has commissioned me to thank you for your most satisfactory letter received today. She *assures* you that she has not been persuaded that you have “deserted” her, knowing that you had no intentions of entering this Elysium. Farmers⁸² cook has arrived today so that he declines Turuks services. Merrell, who made the wood work of popes wagon, enquired of Mr. F. Johnstone, & whether, he knew if Mr. Ralph Elliott had left with Mr. Patten, the amount of money due him for the same; he says that Ralphie promised he would do so-- he is to call here in July for payment and Mama wishes Ralphie to write her all that he knows upon the subject the price of it etcetera. The Pinckneys are expected here to morrow Mama hopes that Tom will visit you she expected to have written to him this evening but was prevented by the ‘strawberries.’ I congratulate you *most sincerely* dear Emmie at not being here it is dreadfully not dull but *awful*. I advise you to keep away as long as you can with safety, Buncombe is unchanged, [...] crickets, grass, grist, crickets, [...]. I much prefer living at Farniente. We spent this morning there preparing for the Middletons and the place looked sweet. This is so far from the only interesting spot, the Post office, we have not heard from Mary or Callie since they left Charleston and can not account for it, do write as often as you can for your letters are the only glimpse we have of the world.

Mama amuses herself in writing to Mary keeping house and trying to manage the children, they are decidedly spoils but *Ma* is quite decided, with them, and I think their parents absence will be quite a mercy to them in some respects. The two youngest are decidedly the most interesting. Mama sent to see after Mrs. Huger. Today she returned a [*sic*] affectionate note with many thanks for the “delightful” [...]. She expects Mary, and a *two commons* occurrence in a fortnight. John tells Mama that she would not be able to recognize Mrs. Huger the lady who was at his house last summer she looks so thin and badly and Mr Huger was delighted to express to so intelligent and sympathizing a person as John his hatred to Buncombe. We were prepared to hear of the cold [...] as it has been most unpleasantly to hire and I am now writing by a large fire which is most comfortable. I am glad to say I have not got the Measles it would be a sensation if I had, and Buncombe has no idea of allowing me that gratification. There has been not the slightest appearance of it so the quarantine has been removed from Bella at least whom I have walked to my class to day to stimulate the ambition of Annie, oh she is a hard gulp; Elliott is ten times smarter and more ambitious but Johnstony with all. Ma sympathizes with both Annie and Amy in the loss of that pretty little negro, as to *my property she really ought to be spoken to*, that is the second baby she has lost *lately* and the heiress cant afford it and now then Emmie I must close this scrawl, which I trust you will excuse. Mama joins me in love to all you will have mercy on us and write soon to your affectionate

Sister

H. R. Elliott

⁸² Henry T. Farmer, Cheeha River rice planter and owner of the Flat Rock Hotel.

My dear Quatitle

It is now after nine o'clock & our bed time-- but having failed to day in ascertaining the fact of a daily mail which was promised us on the 1st of July, I conclude it safest to send you this remembrances, that you may not feel yourselves neglected-- as I really trust you would by my unwanted silence. You will have received Hattie's saucy letter of the 30th on Thursday I suppose & on Saturday this will reach you & though if Ralphie's promises are not like pie crusts made to be broken-- *he* will be the only one of the quatitles at home.

I hope the rains have continued their non interference with your migrating [...]. I had not supposed that you continued your daily visit to Oak Lawn. You must find the weather close & debilitating at times, as even here. The showery afternoons are close. Anne recommends Hattie to walk twice a day to the foot of Piedmont. The pregnant showers we have had would render this impossible if that young lady desired so to do. There are many days in which she never walks or rides at all. She has a good appetite & sleeps abundantly but she heeds not the advice I give to exercise & thinks for a Christian Mother I am over anxious about appearances. *She* was not thought too fat at school & there were other girls there fatter than herself. I must add that Hattie has improved for one evening at Aunt P--s where they told her-- *how* she should keep up my spirits & she is diligent also in her studies & plays Polka's amiably every eve' for the five darlings-- besides teaching Daisy,⁸³ Manners Morals & reading-- do not be prejudiced against Annie, who has many good points of character but is so brimful of health & spirits. She requires constant reproof. She was deeply hurt for one minute this eve' at my telling her her name s[houl]d be changed to Chicken Johnstone. She having gloried in two piles of chicken bones at dinner to day. Hattie keeps Elliott in order by threatening him with the Sheriff & the Pillory-- by the way, Wms. case may be tried this week I mentioned to Mr. Pinckney the circumstance he cd. recall only what we saw, viz that the horse seemed uneasy & was too fat. His Neice [*sic*] Mrs Joe had told him her coachman said the horse had a little c--k, but was not injured & was used again very soon. Mr. P. went to Henderson & enquired of Patton for Baxter who was not there however-- and if Wm. has no witnesses I suppose that Posey can have none either-- as young Axsen who instigated Posey to the suits I believe, cannot be here for that purpose I presume. If W. s[houl]d come this way at all this Summer-- he may have the pleasure of conversing with Dr. Michel who was one of Buonapartes soldiers. He married a cousin of Mr. P's & they spend the Summer at the Mountain house. He looks like a French gentleman-- wears gloves the color of his hair & beard I saw him at church, where H & myself were yesterday, fearing rain. We travelled in the Broad, the old horses survived their labors. They eat a half bushel between them of ground corn, besides chopped oats, per day. At the church door I met & shook hands with Miss Emma Dent. When she saw that we were almost the only persons yet assembled *she* came to my pew to talk with me. She said her Mother had not yet arrived had been detained in town. Her abode was unfinished & not comfortable, but for the three months she intended to pass here it furnished the most pleasant refuge for the distressed she knew of & it was greatful to me to hear her say she had seen from the papers that Mr. Elliott had gone again to France. I have looked in vain to see his name mentioned. I see to day-- that the 'Baltic' has returned to New York-- 12 days passage in returning.

⁸³ William Elliott Johnstone.

I hope she went in less time. I intend to write to Mary to go in the 12th by this said Steamship. I have not written to her since the 11th of June I find the [...]. All of the young Kings were at church yesterday the old folks not amid. Mrs Gasden K. is pretty. Mr. Barnwell looks quite handsome [...] has revived some & sent for more Pigeon to day. I trust that Ralph has made his visit in safety to & from Cheehaa. His letter to his father will be sent by the Baltic on the 11th. Emmie will write the direction for a monthly communication, which R. will I hope make his father. My children will think me turned into stone, when I do not speak to them about being in the county at this season. I really find it difficult to realize the fact of their being there, having nothing to propose to them that would be *agreeable* I *constrain* myself to be silent on the subject-- but pray that God will direct us all for our good-- Our neighbors remained in the French Broad to day to attend the speech of some great man, Clergyman possibly. Do you know with whom Mrs. Bee has left her sons. I see both Alice & Anne have accompanied her. Pray write constantly to your ever affecte. Mother

Please note that 'till you come, or unless you came I s[houl]d prefer not to have our horses here Dick wd. go to ruin, for want of occupation. I saw our old carriage at the church, it had a suspicious looking rope about it. I've not yet [...] for [...].

EGP

White Sulphur-- July 31st 1855

We reached this night before the last My Dear Mama -- *dreadfully dreadfully* tired. The crowd not being excessive we obtained comfortable rooms opening into each other in "Paradise Row." As yet we have seen no acquaintances & feel very indifferent about making any, the sulphur water & to get over the time being our objects in coming. The sulphur water is very requisite for William especially-- & as I weigh but *ninety nine* pounds, you may judge that it may do me, too, some good. William was looking badly before we left Adams Run. His complexion the color of a *not* cleaned brass lock. When he shaved off his beard in Charleston we were surprised to see how thin his face looked-- but he seemed well & energetic en route. Upon his arrival here however he had the fever-- luckily Anne had weighed & brought with her ten grains of calomel, which she gave him immediately his fever became hotter in the night & of course made us very anxious. Yesterday morning he tried Sedlitz powders, but at 12 O'clock we induced him to take a dose of "Palma Christa" which has had a most benign influence over his system & he is now up-- his attack arose *entirely* from indigestion so that we do not give him quinine. Tis a great relief to have him up again-- as it would have been a great trial to us to have asked or accepted any assistance in nursing him-- aside from the inconvenience. We have an excellent maid & man servant attached to our row & feel pleasantly enough-- now with a fine breeze blowing through our pink curtain & can be as quiet as at home. Yesterday we were too tired et cet & did not go down to our meals but this morning we went to breakfast & found things better than ever had anticipated. The bread is really good & we don't think that we shall starve. We have seen no beauties, *some* striking *open* dresses, & "a great many hard press" as our maid remarked. By the by I wrote you from Richmond & Hattie from Staunton directing "via Columbia" but not knowing whether you will get ~~them~~ if letters so directed I shall trust this to the judgement of the post master-- but Annie suggests that our judgement is best. So I shall direct this in the same way. She weighs thirty five pounds!! We left Staunton after I wrote you came seventeen miles in the cars & then took the stage. We had a choice set of passengers that evening ladies & gentlemen-- but were not so fortunate all the way. One of our insiders the last part of our journey being a *thief* who had been cowhided here a few days previous-- for stealing a thousand dollars. His accomplice was on the stage top, Annie is very indignant & vows she can not stay in a

country which with its Republican principals associates thieves & well-born ladies.

And now Dear Mama good bye with a great deal of love from our trio to Hattie & yourself-- don't be uneasy about William the Sulphur water will not have fair play & may his torpid liver permanent service. I shall write soon again. We have no anticipations of fever. Indeed I don't believe of in Malaria in Adams Run. Ever Your effaced.

Emmie

EGP

Beaumont 12th Augst [1855]

[To Ralph Emms Elliott]

My dearest Son --

I have had so much that was good in all of my correspondence since my separation from the various members of my family (eight in number) = that I should refrain from a murmur at the intelligence brought me by the last mail =

Your letter of the 8th & the enclosed two from yr Sisters reached me together yesterday afternoon the 11th inst. I can reason myself into a quiescent state and a hope for better accounts from William Annie & Emmie. But I am very very unhappy on your account. Poor unfortunate Skeen. I hope that he may not die. From the concluding sentence of your preceeding letter I apprehended that you were disturbed in mind. I cahort nay *command you* dear Ralph not to *visit Cheeha in any emergency* -- do not be tempted to expose your *life for any pecuniary* interests of our family. *Nothing* in this world could compensate your Mother and your Sisters for *your* loss. Let that doomed property alone. I fear that Jacob may have brought that infectious fever to yr doors. God grant your health and life to the prayers of Your poor Mother.

Do not forget the Madeira wine in the [...] you require it.

EGP

Salt Sulphur Spr[ings, Virginia]

August 30th 1855

Dear Ralph

I suppose the girls have kept you 'posted up' with regard to our various disagreements, since we left "the sweet little village" fatinging [*sic*] journey, my fever, their nursing, dirty people and bad fare at the White Sulphur Springs &c. Since then we have turned over a more cheerful leaf and quiet, good fare, and "the man they call **Gonzales**" have done much towards restoring us to equanimity. Since my fever which was injurious to me ~~more~~ less from its violence than from the quantities of physic I was obliged to take my return of strength has been retarded by two separate attacks of cold, the last of which I am now getting rid of assisted by a spell of fair weather, which has succeeded a foul one. Tis not so cold as in Buncombe but the air is softer in these mountains. Annie looks well and Emmie has gained some pounds but she must take the baths, at the Sweet⁸⁴ before she can attain her full complement, as the stage drivers say. To the last place we have taken seats for Monday the 3rd, as we are unable, from the engagement of stages for four previous days by others, to get off sooner from this quiet place, which, however, is quite comfortable. There is a nice looking little heiress here about Hattie's age, who rather likes me I think, but her brother is not nice looking, her mama neither, and, on going home I might be addressed as Tom was [*sic*] by Lord Foppington. "You

⁸⁴ Sweet Springs, Monroe County, Virginia.

have married into a family of great politeness and uncommon elegance of manners and your bride appears to be a lady beautiful in person, modest in her deportment, refined in her sentiments and of nice morality-- Split my windpipe.

Two people without head peice [*sic*] have been trying unsuccessfully to get up, tableaux, at this place. They have neither the requisite women, the requisite costumes nor the requisite sense of the ridiculous. A man named Patten who is fat and looks like an hotel keeper ~~whi~~ wished to go as Leander in Hers and Leander after he'd crossed the Hellespont, and the fools wanted to put [him] up as Richard Cour de Leon in the scene of Friar Tuck and the Black Sluggard drinking in the hermitage. As Patten was to be the jolly friar the thing struck my fancy and as they said they had a costume for me and a helmet, I consented. What do you think the dress was to be. Alas for human brains and taste: Richard the lion hearted was to appear in an artillery coat with sword & epaulettes, a pair of Mexican spurs and a cocked hat such as is worn by Gov's aides and captains of the 'beat.' The *Black Sluggard* was to have a *blue* uniform. Age of chivalry why art thou gone! Thou should'st have staged thy retreating step until this famous tableaux had been exhibited.

Mama wrote to us giving an extract from Papa's letter to Hattie and expressing the hope to see us about the 1st of September. Of course this is out of the question if we go to the Sweet we will scarcely reach Flat Rock before the middle of the month, tho had we been notified before of Mama's settled wishes we might have arranged to be there earlier than is now practicable. We were glad to see by yours of 22nd Aug. that you still preserve your health, that Skeen had recovered and that his crop is as promising as when we left & also that Dr. Smith was friendly and the village free from fevers. Continue to take care of yourself. Hoping that your crop may turn out better than you anticipate, and that we shall soon meet you in the mountains, I remain with united love from the girls your affectionate brother William

The sweet Spn will be your next direction.

EGP

Beaumont 11th Sept. [1855]

My dear Husband -- I have before me yr. letter of the 12th of August for Ralph which is the latest date by 7 days that has reached us from Europe. our Daughter's last [...] from Baden Baden, in mentioning this fact I do not intend to complain of yr. silence to occupations when I presume offend some thoughts. I hope that you will excuse me if I devote this paper in telling you how & by what anxieties my thoughts & feelings have been engaged since the 29th day of August. I [...] that we have now only cause for thankfulness to God [...] escape with his life & without disfigurement of our dearest son Ralphie. I shall as most satisfactory to you give an account in *his own words* of all that occurred -- "August 2nd -- My dearest Mother, I fear some exaggerated or false accounts of an affair that took place here on Saturday eveg. may possibly fear & alarm you -- and therefore take advantage of the 1st mail to give a truthful statement. Between the hours of nine & ten on the evening of the 25th whilst Mr. Girardeau & myself were passing the store of Mr. Price, the proprietor was seen dealing with one of my father's negroes who had been ordered never to enter his store. I went in for the purpose of ordering the negro out -- and was grossly insulted by that degenerate scamp Price -- he followed me out of the building and made [...] of an [...] which as the son of a Lady I could not quite listen to -- so he was knocked down by my fist. The little rascal picked himself up -- thrust a Pistol into my face, and fired -- I was supported by Girardeau & walked to Dr. Smith's -- the wounds were probed, and found to consist of three duck shots lodging over the left temple and between the skull & the scalp there was further a mark on the forehead supposed to have been caused by the wad

and my beautiful phis is now of a hue as a Ethiope -- that is as black as a nigger's -- from the quantity of gun powder lodged therein. My hat is riddled with the duck shot with which the weapon was charged. Parson Prentis assures me he sees the hand of God in the affair. That it was a merciful interposition. And now my dear mother allow me to congratulate you on having such a relative as Dr. Smith -- as a friend -- a physician -- a cousin -- a nurse -- a legal adviser, he has shown himself the most kind. I am still at his residence-- but hope he will allow me to visit O.L. tomorrow. They commence harvest there today. I recvd. Hattie's copy of Papa's for which accept my thanks-- also from Emmie who was going to the Salt Sulphur the succeeding day -- dn't Hattie think it twas barbarous in them to shave off some of my ambrosial curls? Ever yr. attached Son."

Accompanying the foregoing was this enclosure from the doctor-- "My dear Cousin -- For fear that you may receive an incorrect account of your son's condition -- I write to assure you on my honor that the injury is a mere trifle and that he is suffering the very slightest inconvenience. I have advised him to remain in house for a day or two and he has just eaten a hearty breakfast. Tomorrow or the next day he will be able to attend to his business." I shall give extracts from Ralphs letters ever since the above he has written up to the present moment three times a week.

29th "I drove from Dr. Smith's hospitable residence yesterday to the "roost" as the girls have dubbed this house-- but do not feel as if the jolt between this & the Lawn wd. be agreeable to my pate. I am suffering no pain whatever and have been in excellent spirits. Price has given leg bail -- but we all think so much of him that we contemplate lodging & boarding him, at boarding him in the village of Walterboro at the expense of the State. There was much excitement after the affair mentioned in my last -- & no one could possibly have experienced more attention than I have had. Every male in the community has called on me -- many of them twice, some 3 or 4 times -- a number of sympathizing messages arrived, presents of ice, a plover -- birds & innumerable &c &c. Fine weather for harvesting -- all that was ripe enough at Oak Lawn has been put into the barnyard." 31st August. on the 29th I recvd. a note from my brother -- he had heard that [...] of my having been shot -- he's out on horse to enquire into the truth of the report & to offer to [...] to me. I of course wd. not give him the unnecessary ride. On the 30th I was prevented from visiting the plantation by the law business forced upon me & had to make affidavit as to the facts of the assault & Price was ordered to be committed to jail-- but was bailed out by his brother for 1,000 dollars. The scamp then had Arthur Simmons, [...], Girardeau, & myself bound over to keep the peace in the sum of \$450.00. H. S. King takes pleasure in standing my security -- but tis [...] in binding the others as they were not even spectators of the act. I have [...] an [...] with the Magistrate Dr. Smith he is a friend I do not believe it possible for the human body to contain [...] good qualities than are to be found in him. He has just been summoned to attend his own sick child at Summerville. The weather today is propitious for a visit to the plantation [...] After three pleasant pages written to Hattie on the 2nd Sept. Ralph says "I wd. write a lively letter out to Hattie. I am sad. The most congenial & gentlemanly of my acquaintances is I fear on his death bed & refer to L. Girardeau [...] mentioned) he has had bilious fever-- he has been maltreated by that horse doctor Clemer as is so debilitated his recovery depends upon the strength of his constitution. I will be one of his watchers tonight. So you see that notwithstanding the "hopelessness" of my recovery expressed in the "Courier" that I am well enough to offer my services to a sick friend. The powder has nearly all been extracted from my face. The baldness on the left side of the head gives a venerable appearance and the lead in the skull will prevent future light headiness and the accident has taught me that lethargic as they may appear the Men of St Pauls are not without noble & generous impulses-- at present I am not afraid of fever. Skeen came

over yesterday for orders. He will commence harvest tomorrow-- his prospects are good. I hope to embrace you all in October." An intermediate letter has been mislaid-- it spoke of Girardeau's recovery & of one other case of fever in the village-- Miss Atkison-- from [...]. She had been exposed to rain at the time G. had been. Sept. 3rd I fear that you have been unnecessarily anxious on my acct. The kind treatment of my cousin has rendered the wound at worst but slight & totally insignificant. I mentioned on the back of my last that my brother Tom was in the village-- he says that he cd. not write to you & that he had not seen me for he came on Sunday 2nd from Mr. P. {...] & reached the Run at dark, rode over the crop on the following morn. & returned on Monday Eve.-- He was pleased with the crop & my management of the plantation as with the appearance of the Summer residence. Girardeau

[A page missing]

12th Alls well. No mail recvd-- recvd. yesterday.

EGP

Annandale Thursday Evg. [December 1855]

Our mail which was again delayed brought me this morning Your letter of Sunday for which pray receive my best thanks dearest Mama. I am truly sorry to find that you are still suffering from your cough and its effects; and beg that You will be constantly careful to avoid its continuance. When Annie's remedies are exhausted, do try "Sherman's lozenges" I remember they were useful to me, two years since. I dont think you should give up your wine, altho a little Brandy toddy would be better for You. Nomi acknowledges herself better these two days so I hope she will now improve, tho' these coughs are very obstinate. Since my last-- Mr. Johnstone and I have both been sick. I spent two days in bed, with aches and pains, which I thought the prelude to a violent cold. I am now very well again, but Mr. J. still coughs distressingly. He was well enough to be out to day, his business, in the absence of his Overseer-- and from the untoward winter, requiring much looking after. Yes, dear Mama Mr. J. has for several Years wished to rid himself of such a disagreeable business in a *private* way but *we* have heard nothing of Burrel Sanders-- so I hope he has returned to his first idea and bought Social Hall. I would not for the world have Mr. J. buy more negroes, those he has are abundantly troublesome-- he has just been obliged to displace his two drivers, finding them preachers, and incapable of seeing or requiring work done by those who had been listening all night to their nonsense-- besides leaving thousands of bushels of rice hid in the stubble to do discredit to the Overseer. If the rice produced by the land could have been sold we should have had a nice crop. I believe each cargo has brought 1.22 which is enough for such trash. You must console Yourself for Your poor crops, with the notion that the places are at least incapsive [*sic*]. I saw a bill for Bacon and Tobacco (for less than a year) of over nine hundred dollars, a few days ago-- and many such expenses, soon demolish a crop-- but I am giving You a regular dose. I was not well enough to write on Wednesday, and when Mr. J. is sick I am quite miserable, so the day passed by-- but I think it will be better in future to make friday *my* day and then I can answer Your letters more directly.

I am quite sorry for friend George but did not see the account-- tell Callie I hope only his "ginger" whiskers were damaged. What are Hattie's plans, is She going to be romantic and settle down at Myrtle Bank? or is She going to be a public character and live in Washington? Is She to be educated as Emmie says, and how is the education to go on? only thro' letters-- "Mamie is very impertinent and shant be answered" but just remember Miss Harriet what a chicken You are, and that Your old sister has a right to ask. I dont know from Your letters dear Mama whether it be a secret or not-- so I have mentioned H[attie]'s engagement to no one besides Mr. J. Elliott and Nomi. Wm.

and Alice go soon to Charleston, so if not, *they* will hear it there I suppose. I have *not* heard lately of the Bee's. I owe Alice a letter-- only think of Pinckney Maxwell being engaged to be married, to a Miss Pickens of Edgefield. I cannot but think the girl crazy, or that he is mistaken in believing the good news of himself, altho his Mother told me of it. Daisy sends you a note which he says "I have written large that Grandma may read it easily. You know she dont see well." Daisy reminds me of Grandpa very often-- he is so fond of change. I often wish for Annie to answer his questions, he likes to gain information, and is too inquisitive already for his poor Mama. Pray let me help You if I can dear Mama and with much love to all believe me always Your affecte

daughter [Mary Barnwell Elliott]