

I asked for a five minutes audience of Genl. Cass--in which I stated to him the strong personal claims which Genl. Gonzales would have for an appointment to South America--and referred to the recommendations--which he had received from prominent leaders of the Democratic Party in his behalf. He replied--that he retained a favorable recollection of the Genl-- that he could not say that at present--there was any opening for an appointment but that he would bring his name again to the claims which Genl. Gonzales would have for an appointment to South America--and referred to the recommendations--which he had received from prominent leaders of the Democratic Party in his behalf. He replied--that he retained a favorable recollection of the Genl-- that he could not say that at present--there was any opening for an appointment but that he would bring his name again to the notice of the President. All which it seems to me--means very little. At least-- the same things are said to hundreds in Washington--who never get the appointments.

I hope in a few days to be able to travel without discomfort. Write on receipt of this-- directing me at the Mills House Charleston--and in the mean time give my love to all the family and believe me ever your affectionate husband--

Wm. Elliott

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“Register of St. John-in-the-Wilderness, Flat Rock,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, April 1962, 109.

Nov. 1, 1857. Ambrosio Jose, son of Ambrosio Jose and Harriett Rutledge Elliott Gonzales. Born May 21, 1857. Sponsors, Miguel de Aldama, Benigno Gener and Hilaria Font de Aldama.

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Washington *Daily Evening Star*

18 December 1857, 4

ARRIVALS AT THE HOTELS

WILLARDS' HOTEL--...Gen A J Gonzales, DC;...Hon S R Mallory, Fla;...

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**DDC**

Washington, D.C.

Jan. 18, 1858

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson

My dear Sir:

Allow me to express both my regret at the accident which you have recently met with and the earnest wish for your speedy recovery.

I remain,  
with high regard  
your most obt. servt.  
Ambrosio Jose Gonzalez

---

**EGP**

Washington, D.C. March 31st 1858

Hon. Wm. Elliott

My dear Sir:

I take pleasure in enclosing to you two newspaper extracts, the one being the

concluding paragraph of an article in the N.Y. Herald of yesterday on the destiny of Mexico --, the other a Washington correspondence of the N.Y. Times of the same date, relating to the President's anticipated action in regard both to Cuba and Mexico, and which I attribute to the Editor of that paper, said to be now in this city, Mr. Raymond. I am inclined to believe there is truth in the leading facts therein stated as the same rumor reached me yesterday. You will notice the connection between Cuba and Mexico existing in both articles. I am sure you will rejoice with Hattie, the family and myself upon the seeming dawning of a result so long prayed for and so long expected. In this connection your last article in Russell's Magazine from which I have derived great gratification, and which I have placed at the fountain heads of power, I consider both timely and forcible in a remarkable degree. Tomorrow is the decisive day for the settlement of the vexed Kansas question, which having fooled so many politicians might properly be disposed of as a huge "poisson d'Avril"; a sort of a "devil fish" to disappointed mischief makers. I am more than anxious to be at Oak Lawn. I shall wait for a week or two to see if I can take some welcome news to Hattie before the 17th proximo. If the President's policy is not developed with sufficient promptness to allow of it, I think that I shall go any how, and take my chances for another trip to Washington which I trust will not be again either so long or so very disagreeable. With much love to Mrs. Elliott, to the family and to Hattie and many wishes for your good health, I remain,

with great regard,  
yours very truly,  
Ambrosio José Gonzalez

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**JHH**, Vol. 24, Reel 12.

Oak Lawn, (*Adams Run*,  
*P.O. So. Ca.*) May 9th 1858.

Hon: James H. Hammond.

Dear Sir:

I send you by this mail the number for April of Russell's Magazine, containing an article of Mr. Wm. Elliott on Cuba, to which I beg to invite your attention, as it makes it extremely plain that Cuba cannot, under any circumstances, be anything but a *Slave State*; a fact not unimportant to Southern Statesmen.

I remain, Sir, with great regard your obt. servt.  
Ambrosio José Gonzalez

---

**EGP**

Edingsville, August 5th /58

Ralph E. Elliott Esq.

My dear Ralph:

Brosie has a pretty little brother with a fine head and a kind look. He snuffed the air of Edisto at five minutes of six, this morning. I trust he will give as much satisfaction and less trouble than his "illustrious predecessor," the "little General" under your charge, and that your knees will be equal to the task when they both go to riding school upon them.

We are much indebted to you for your devotion to our little boy as well as to Dr. Smith for his kind attentions. Your bulletins of health are read with much avidity. You may imagine the

cordial greeting I gave to Mrs. Brightman yesterday. I felt almost like kissing her for her great kindness in an hour of much need for Hattie. Her arrival could not have been more seasonable.

Annie bids me say to you that she sends by the bearer the gum asked by Kate for Brosie and some few cakes for the little fellow's friends. Kate is also enjoyed by Annie to make the baby's chicken broth as Mrs. Brightman has done it for him, (boiled in a bottle). With nothing else to communicate from this quietest of Summer residences, I remain with kind regards to yourself and Dr. Smith and kisses to the baby truly

your friend & brother

Ambrosio José Gonzalez

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The New York *Herald*

8 August 1858

**The Defence of General Narciso Lopez--The Cuban Question**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD

Eddingsville, S.C., July 29, 1858.

I find in your issue of the 21st inst., under the caption of "Southern Leaguers and Southern Confederacies, &c., &c." an editorial article in which you seem to connect the movements of General Narciso Lopez for the liberation of Cuba with ideas of Southern policy looking to the disruption of the federal Union. Intimately acquainted as I was with the views and sentiments of that distinguished man, solely a patriot, who, having much to lose, lost all for the freedom of his own country, misrepresented though he has been, I may claim to say for him that his only purpose was a change of rule in Cuba, whereby she might become incorporated in this sisterhood of States, following the annexation lead of such Spanish colonies as Louisiana, Florida and Texas, retaining, as they did, her domestic institutions and coming, as in their case, to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and to the protection extended to those institutions and those liberties of our federal compact. Such, I may venture to add, are also the views of the annexationist party of Cuba.

The question which it was not Gen. Lopez's good fortune to see settled in his day, has, by his endeavors, been earlier incorporated into the American political calendar. It has grown apace in importance until the day has nearly come when, finally taken up, it will bid fair to decide the destinies of this great country. I could not condense into a smaller space its bearings upon the commerce, security, civilization and future greatness of America than the concluding paragraph of an article published by me in the *Washington Union* in 1854, now more appropriate than ever:

"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 of Cuba into this Union, the grateful and novel spectacle will be produced of a State enclosed by water, yet eminently agricultural, blending within itself all the interests of this diversified confederacy; rich in mines and in unrivalled staples; rich in the best harbors and the finest timber in the world; blessed with a genial climate, an enviable position and a controlling influence, the shield alike of Northern and Western interests 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, Oato and Genesee; the corn and bacon of the West; the rice of Georgia and of 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

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**EGP**

Edingsville, Aug. 11th [1858]

Thank you for your letter dearest Papa, it would have been answered before had I been able. You will be pleased to know that Hattie & her sweet little boy are doing very well. The mother was rather disappointed at the sex of the infant but *I* think it all for the best. The white attendant leaves us today, an excellent colored one having just been installed. Your little pet Ambrosito is rapidly recruiting under the kind care of Dr. Smith & his Aunt Ralphita. I am thankful that your health has improved & trust you have had some sport in devil fishing. Mary has reached Flat Rock, several of her family having had the fever. The Pinckneys are to be in Paris in October. Would you not like to have some shirts made by Mad Sylvaine & sent out by them? do think of it-- The recent high tides have made some of the family nervous about being here without a large boat (as the cause way is impassable) so when you leave Beaufort pray leave orders with your overseer to send it here. Some coin would be acceptable if it can be spared. Pray remember me to William & the little girls & believe me to be your affectionate

daughter  
Callie

P.S. The family are well & send their love. Please excuse & *destroy* this shabby little note, I have no news to write you, but will be glad to hear from you again.

---

**EGP**

Philadelphia 26th Augt 1858

Dear Emily

In the isolation of your Island prison-house--even my letters--prosy from fatigue and failure of energy, will be acceptable--so I jot down my proceedings which may be interesting--compared with the no proceedings at all--which your present residence supplies to you.

In fear of quarantine, & increased dangers of yellow fever in Charleston, which I must needs pass through to reach the north--I started on the shortest notice--encountered a gale at sea (which doubtless gave *you* uneasiness--lest your ship should be launched into it) and left Charleston at three o'clock on Monday. Rode all night--without sleep--the first sound nap for three nights. There was a fracture of some of the machinery. A cry was raised that the boat was aground--a shock like the striking of a cannon shot--made every thing quiver again--but it was a fracture of the machinery. The boat stopped--the steam was let off--and when the noise ceased--the din of hammers was heard repairing the broken works--amidst which din I went to sleep again and never enquired, nor know to this moment--what the damage was--I woke up in time to be swindled by the hackmen--and recovered voice enough to denounce two of them as rascals--I took lodgings at Brown's hotel-- and determined to pass the day there--hoping to find

some intelligence which would be agreeable to parties at home--I called on Genl. Cass--but he was absent--at the wedding of his daughter to the Netherlands minister Mr Van Linsberg--I saw the President--but his reception was rather formal, and invited no communication--I met Mr. Soule and drew the conversation to the annexation of Cuba. He says that Spain never will sign away the possession of that island--that no persuasion--no bribe can induce her--that if ever taken--it must be by force--that in fact the time had gone by--when Cuba would desire annexation. They desired no connection with the abolitionists--who would tamper with their slaves--with the know nothings who would despise them as foreigners and Catholics--nor in fact with the Anglo Saxons who would view them--as *pariahs*. He spoke with bitterness--evidently excited by disappointments of his own--which he must have supposed to spring from some of the causes he enumerated--I told him that Genl Gonzales--qualified by nationality and suitability in other respects--had failed to receive a Commission for a South American mission though strongly recommended by prominent members of Congress--on the ground that his appointment would interfere with the acquisition--from the offense which Spain would take at it. "No such thing Sir"--said Soule. "He is rejected because he is a foreigner." This seemed a strange position for him to take when he and Belmont--both foreigners--were appointed to foreign missions--at one and the same time.

My unprofitable attempts over--I fell asleep and think I may have been--carried off without waking. It was a long time (--such a dearth it seemed--) before I could understand--where I was. I rose at four o'clock this morning--and reached this City to dinner--tomorrow I go to New York and as soon as I have got some decent under clothes I shall go on to Saratoga. Meeting DeBow at Washington he advised me to have my *Carolina Sports*--printed by Lippincott of Philadelphia --and illustrated by "Crayon"--I have called today on Lippincott--but he was absent--and I have left for him a copy of my book--and requested him to write me at N. York--whether or not he will undertake it--I have no luck with booksellers--they are entirely took keen for me.

I have met sundry acquaintances on my journey--Judge Dunkin--James Deas--and the omnipresent Chevalier Hulseman--but I am very very dull--the new generations that swarm about the thoroughfares--have no knowledge of, and no sympathy with me.

I find the hard riding good for me--I think I am better--though I cough much--my chest is certainly stronger--and the exposure to sea and night air--has *not* brought back the quinsy.

I wrote a hurried letter from Charleston--tell Callied I recd hers and thank her--I hope she and others will write again--and direct N. York "St. Nicholas Hotel"--they will forward them to me--if not there. With my love to Mama and to all her chicks and grand chicks, and to the Genl--I remain Dear Emily

yr. affte. father  
Wm. Elliott

In her last letter your mother said you were feeling wretchedly--I trust--it was but for the moment.

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**EGP**

Edingsville Sep 1st [1858]

My Dear Papa

We were very glad to receive today your letter from Philadelphia. We were quite in the dark as to your where abouts & are happy to learn that you are well over the uncomfortable part

of your journey & bound for Saratoga. Ere this we hope that you are gropping the waters and forgetful of asthma. The first indication we received of your hegira was from Jacob who made his appearance here on Sunday Morning having left Beaufort at 9 P.M. the evening before. He made a successful voyage & fair weather for Beaufort. The corn was very acceptable & Jacob's advent a sensation. We are so quiet & uneventful here. We are all pretty well. Hattie has been to drive & having had no fever this time we hope will look blooming before you see her. Her baby is the smartest little thing possible & gives no trouble. He is thought very like you. Callie went to bathe this morning & at twilight this evening took her *first* drive on the beach!! Nothing strange has happened in consequence. She sends her love & thanks for the corn!

Tomorrow is to be an era with us. Little Gonzie is to return from Adams Run to the expectant bosom of his family! Ralph is to bring him (reluctantly too, for he has become quite attached to his charge). We have missed him terribly & the occupation he gave, for as you know we have no diversions here.

Edisto furnishes fine sweet potatoes now, but has not improved otherwise since you left. The Edward Seabrooks continue their watermelon & other vegetable attentions Major Murray called to see you last week-- had been coming early in the season but heard of your absence & awaited your return. He has offered us a refuge in case of a gale, & in case of any uneasiness about the weather desires that we shall send to him, so that we shall not feel so forlorn. Miss Street the *bakeress* has also sent to offer shelter if we should be set adrift. I rather think that "The Shultzs" will stand another season, & that the cloudy cool week we have had will take the place of a storm. After all the fair promises the cotton crops on this island are not good. The rains lately have assisted the early drought in doing the injury-- but as I remarked before the potatoes are remarkable & beat The Grove & Oak Lawn entirely. You see now the foundation of Edisto glory. [...] has failed to meet his [...] contract, he finishes it this week, but has the conscience to deny his agreement & charge 50\$, of course his rascality will not be countenanced. He has proved himself an unfit companion for Alfred but as the later was only "playing oposum" in Beaufort according to Jacob, we have him here, where he will be seen after Mama Helen returned in the boat to Bristol & the Paptist Church she has taken to the latter rather too violent but more anon. All of this must sound "stale flat & unprofitable" to one in the *World*. We shall be glad to receive any glimpses of the said locality, in our "prison ship." **Gonzie** thinks Mr. Soule embittered as you say & continues to believe the articles of his faith-- Cuba & Mr. Buchanan! Mama desires her love she ~~has~~ is quite tender upon you & says that you missed one of her letters by leaving Beaufort so soon or unexpectedly-- one of mine too. Annie has lost a pound or two[...] for Brosie & now My Dear Papa good night & a good time to you, enjoy yourself as much as possible-- & write to us often. *All* join in much love to you & I remain

Your affect. daughter  
Emmie

---

EGP

New York. 3d Sepr. 58

My Dear Wife--

...

Tell the Genl. that Slidell<sup>83</sup> is in the ascendant--with the cabinet--has the President they say--*by the ear*.

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<sup>83</sup> Louisiana Democratic Senator John Slidell, the political rival of Pierre Soule.

How is the health of Callie, Emmy, and other members of the house hold? When do you think to leave your inhospitable quarters? Is little Gonzie yet at Adam's Run? My time is out--when I might have expected infection from passing thro' Charleston--with much love

yr. affte. husband  
W. Elliott

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**EGP**

Edingsville Sep. 8th [1858]

Dear Papa

Yours of the 3d to Mama has just been received. We are glad to learn that your health has improved & hope your spirits will with your sojourn at the Springs. Hattie & her infant are quite well & Brosie has returned to us quite restored in health & appearance. The rest of the family are well & I am just as usual. Do write & say whether you have any intention of returning to this place & how late you expect to be in New York. I received a very kind invitation from Aunt Meta to visit her in Cass County, but was obliged to decline. We have had of late a quantity of rain & some rather squally weather with high tides-- but not sufficient to induce us to take refuge in the church-- I regret that I cannot give you any news of your crops. The rice harvest has just commenced at Oak Lawn. Do get some Sherry wine & send on & *should you want amusement* pray look at & *price*, a light, pretty, equipage suitable to our ponies, as we may require one. If you would call upon the Schuschards' I think they would be flattered & pleased to see you they live at 27 or 29 Washington Place-- they have some nice daughters you may remember. Have you seen Miss Florence Kirkman yet? You perceive I am driven to *extremes* for a comfortable sister-in-law! Ralph is quite well & William does not write to us he is I presume too much immersed in business. Should you meet any Cubans do try & get all the information you can respecting the price of lands in Cuba. *I have a cough!* I have nothing to write about so am faced to make suggestions-- dont be offended but believe me to be always your affecnate daughter

Callie

September 11th /58

Pray order Prevost to make me a pair of *fine cloth* boots-- she has my measure.

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**EGP**

Edingsville Sep 20th [1858]

I merely send you a line this morning My Dear *Captain* to tempt you to a reply, as we should like to hear something from you. You are becoming taciturn. We have had and are having glorious weather & have been tempted to exercise & picking shells. We had two visitors on Saturday evening. Tommie Simmons & D. T. Mikell! The "*Lafayettes*" also turned out on the beach & produced quite a sensation among pink & blue flounces, nurses & children. Nine Men & two officers performed striking evolutions, then disbanded, handing their muskets to their attending waitingmen & returned to their domesticity with the exception of the Captain whose exacting country called upon him for further services & at gentle twilight, he might have been seen at the windows of a poetic building in the Marsh distributing, with those epauletted shoulders & martial sword wielding arms & hands, calve's heads & heels!!!! Perhaps you had better not mention this little Edisto peculiarity as I believe The Captain et cet married in Toogoodoo-- his name is Mikell! We were quite uneasy about Brosio yesterday he was taken quite sick night before the last, with nausea & feverishness, having shown symptoms of

influenza previously Sr. Jenkins saw him, & pronounced it *no recurrence* of his former attack, by evening he was without fever. He passed a good night & is joyous this morning but we have to keep him close on account of his cold, & influenzas are prevailing. Baby Junior was indisposed, but not seriously, he misses Mama Bella as we all do. She is in bed with rheumatism but sent us such nice cakes & potatoes yesterday. By the by Mama begs that you will have some more rice beat for her, her supply is running low. **Gonzie** has gone to day with D. Mikell on a fishing excursion, where the probability is for sea sickness & the possibility for fish. Love from Mama & sisters. Your affectionate

Emmie

When are we to see you?

---

**EGP**

Edingsville Oct. 17th/58

Dear Papa

Your letter of the 3d to mama was duly received, we are very much pleased to hear how much your health has improved & of your great enjoyment of the Opera-- I wish *my ears* were with you-- The yellow fever is raging in Charleston & on the Loland several deaths, have occurred, so I presume you will not think of venturing South until you hear of *ice*, it would be decidedly dangerous & for no good. I regret that I am unable to give you any facts concerning your cotton crop; we have no communication whatever with Beaufort, William has written but *once* & then on his own business & Ben who was ordered over a month since has never appeared-- when he does his statement shall be forwarded to you. The rice harvest at Cheeha is not over, at Oak Lawn Ralph has the crop in and six bales of cotton. The weather continues fine for harvesting. Mama begs that you will not think of returning by the way of Summerville as she understands the yellow fever is an *epidemic there*-- The election is over & Mr Townsend has been badly defeated here because of his being a Unionist & his opponent Bryan going for the slave trade & Adams as Senator! Your lawyer Perry wrote to request your assistance in *his* election so Ralph carried him over thirteen votes, *including his own* & in consequence thinks you may feel pretty certain of the success of your lawsuit. Ralph begs that you will remember to send him the wine he wrote for. I hope you have got yourself a supply of *shirts*? if not pray do so at once, for your own comfort as well as ours, for though you are not hard to please, *you are* very hard to fit. I want you to bring home a present for Mama of a comfortable arm chair *not rocking*. The Bowery is the best place to shop the knowing ones say. I am just recovering from a severe attack of neuralgia. My health is so uncertain that I can give Mama very little assistance in housekeeping so that if you can get a *sedate* female, Scotch french, or German, who would be willing to sew, keep house & make herself generally useful I think it would be highly advisable to do so. Have you any intention of visiting Philadelphia on your way home? if so please notify me. The family are all well, Hattie's infant is a lovely boy & Brosie though still delicate becomes daily more attaching, do bring him some marbles & a set of nine pins, from a toy shop, near your Hotel, a barrel of large pears, for cooking, would be a treat, to us after such a *fruitless* Summer, & some of those *grapes* we *read* of. I fear you will find me tedious, so with one more commission, which I will enclose, I will say good night. Your very affecnate daughter

Callie

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**EGP**

Edingsville, Oct. 29 [1858]  
1/2 11 A.M.

I did write to you by Wednesdays mail my dear Ralphie but suppose my letter has gone to the city & will reach you on Saturday so I will not repeat it from memory.

We find the air on the reverse side of Edingsville less tracing & a preparation for the breezes from an inland swamp, but we have as yet no chill / fever. We are glad to hear that you have recovered from your cold & rejoice in your escape from your "perils by land and perils by water" of Sunday last. You hit Edisto at the wrong season for pleasure if you had stumbled in today you might have gone to a ball tonight - a regular ball - with Senior and Junior Managers respectfully solicited company & all that - for which ten boats (See John Deveaux) were out shrimping last night - Gonzie will go and represent the family (We having positively renounced the world for the season) so more now.

Jacob has just arrived & as there is no object in his remaining we sent him back with the clock that won't go & two loaves of bread.

I enclosed in the letter you did not receive an order to Millison & Huger for 12 yards of blue satinel at 75 cents for Ben to cut clothes from for Robert & pantaloons for Bob - if the letter does not come to hand you had best send an order to that effect - ordering the same sent by the stage. So you were right & Sampson has proved the mail robber.

Mama says that you must keep Dick as long as he is needed for we all really have no need of his services unless the weather changes. We shall be afraid to move to the plantation next week in haste. Yours affectionately,

Emily

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*Detroit Daily Free Press*  
25 November 1858

### **Cuba**

The series of papers on Cuba, the publication of which we commence to-day, is by one of the best Cuban minds. It is his wish to draw attention, particularly of the northern people, to the wonderful resources of Cuba, and its worth to the United States in every aspect in which the question of its acquisition can be viewed. He is an undoubted patriot, whose chief desire is to confer benefits upon his native country. In its annexation to this country he beholds the highest welfare of the island. Aside from the question of annexation, the facts and statistics of the articles are very interesting and instructive.

### **CUBA**

#### **INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE**

No question in the range of our foreign relations has ever been presented to the American people of such magnitude and, consequently, so deserving of their special and earnest consideration, as that involving the annexation of Cuba,--an island whose close proximity, social *status*, geographical and strategical position and commercial wants bring home to the peace, the security, the welfare, the development, the integrity and coming greatness of America, the subject of her future destiny. Such is, in fact, her importance to the Union, that her relation to it may almost be viewed as of a domestic character. As early as thirty-five years ago JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, then Secretary of State to Mr. MONROE, spoke thus of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico in his celebrated dispatch to Mr. NELSON, our Minister to Madrid:

"These islands, from their local position, are natural appendages to the North American

continent, and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of this Union together. Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations, formed by nature, gathering, in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that, in looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself.”

Thirty-five years of unbounded prosperity have more than doubled our population, quintupled our resources and extended our limits by natural accretion to an extent that brings the remarkable prediction of that sagacious statesman, certainly not over-zealous in the acquisition of southern territory, to the very border of fulfillment. “Manifest Destiny,” so often quoted, so seldom understood, simply the obvious relation in our political sphere between cause and effect, or, in other words, the visible process of our characteristic national political gravitation, is written in this great conquest of our people and institutions; for, unlike any other power in ancient or modern times, through peace we conquer. We conquer with the 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. “*In hoc signo*” Cuba is conquered, and fleets and armies could only be used to allow her people to proclaim it. Born in Cuba, but educated in the United States, of which I have been for more than fifteen years a resident; an American by alliance, engaged for the last ten years in the cause of Cuban annexation, formerly as a Cuban, in the field, and for several years in the character of an American citizen, I trust that I may claim to speak for both my native and adopted land words of a union which it is my pride humbly to impersonate; believing, as I do, that upon that union depends nearly all that is dearest to the American and the Cuban heart.

I propose, in furtherance of this aim, to review, as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit, the history, the colossal natural wealth, of Cuba; her political condition; her commerce and the balance of her trade, so adverse to the United States; her taxes, which are burthens on American exchanges; her customs duties, which are a clog on American production; her labor, which, threatened with impending danger, carries a menace to the labor of one-half of this confederacy, and, therefore, directly and indirectly, to the trade and the productions of the other sections of the Union; the character of the native population, owners of the soil; the moral duty of the people of the United States towards that of Cuba; the geographical and strategical position of the island; the not unfavorable effects of annexation upon Spain; its consequences to the United States, North, South, East, and West, as well as to the integrity of the Union; and, finally, its beneficial action upon the world at large.

That these unpretending articles, hurriedly penned to meet the exigencies of the times,

may receive the enlightened consideration of the press and people of the United States, and induce them to move with quickened step towards the goal of Cuban annexation, is my most fervent hope and wish. I have preferred taking from entirely American sources most of the data which they contain. In BALLOU's work on Cuba much will be found, *in extenso*, in relation to her history which, from the condensed character of these articles, has only been alluded to in general terms.

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALEZ

Oak-Lawn, St. Paul's Parish, S.C., Oct. 17, 1858.

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*Detroit Daily Free Press*

30 November 1858

**CUBA**

**ARTICLE II**

**Synopsis of her History.**

Cuba was discovered by the great COLUMBUS in 1492. After receiving successively the names of Juana, Fernandina, Santiago, and Ave Maria, she has retained her euphonious aboriginal Indian appellation. The timid and gentle native race soon disappeared under Spanish treatment, and the necessity of replacing it led to the introduction of African laborers. From its early history to the present time, Cuba has been the arsenal and point d'appui for the invasion of neighboring States, and to this purpose her treasury has ever been available. From Cuba, CORTEZ conquered Mexico. From Cuba, BARRADAS made a descent upon Tampico at the head of a Spanish army, in, I believe, 1828. Latterly, Senor ABADIA was secretly commissioned from her to the neighboring Republic, to take steps preparatory to the establishment of a monarchy under a Spanish prince; and at this very moment it is believed that SANTA ANNA expects from Cuba and through Spanish bayonets to return to power. In 1538 the city of Havana was sacked by a French corsair. The French and English *flibustiers* of the West Indies were then the terror of the Spaniards. Of late, strange to say, that same name of *flibustier*, cunningly applied by the Spaniards of the day to those Americans who have gone to Cuba in aid of Cuban patriots, has been echoed with delight by the countrymen of the very men who created it in its true acceptation.

We find JUAN DE TEJADA appointed in 1589 first Captain General of Cuba. The progress of the island was slow. Mexico and Central and South America absorbed the sinew and reflected most of the power of the Spanish monarchy. In 1760 Cuba was conquered by the British, who restored it to Spain at the conclusion of peace in the following year. The enlightened Don LUIS DE LAS CASAS was subsequently appointed to the Captain Generalcy of the Island. He founded the "Patriotic Society of Havana," for the diffusion of knowledge and education throughout the island. This society, now lying under the extinguisher of modern Spanish rule, was for many years the nursery of Cuban intelligence, and produced men who would have done honor to any country.

In the first third of the present century, the *Intendente*, or Superintendent of the Cuban Exchequer, Don ALEJANDRO RAMIREZ, another of the creditable rulers of that period, labored to regulate the revenues and economical condition of the island, and called the attention of the government to the improvement of the white population. But the most important concession obtained of the metropolitan government, the freedom of commerce, was due to the distinguished Don FRANCISCO DE ARANGO, a native Cuban, to whose indefatigable efforts

his country was also indebted for the creation of the “Junta de Fomento,” or society for the development of Cuban wealth, and which, under the most adverse political conditions, has done for Cuba all that enlightenment could prompt and patriotism achieve. “Fostered by such men,” says BALLOU, page 23, “the resources of Cuba, both physical and intellectual, received an ample and rapid development. The youth of the island profited by the means of instruction now liberally placed at their disposal; the sciences and belles lettres were assiduously cultivated; agriculture and internal industry were materially improved; and an ambitious spirit evoked which subsequent periods of tyranny and misrule have not been able, with all their baneful influences, entirely to erase.” To the same illustrious Cuban was his country indebted for the creation of the “Chamber of Commerce.”

The Spanish constitution of 1812 was extended to Cuba, as was also that of 1820. In both instances she was represented in the Spanish Cortes. Her deputies were, in 1820, the eminent patriot Don TOMAS GENER, President of the Spanish Parliament, whose talent, lofty character, striking presence and dignity of manner, may yet be remembered by those who had the good fortune to know him in New York during the eleven years of his exile; the learned and pious Father VARELA, Rector of Christ’s Church in New York down to the close of his useful life; Don LEONARDO SANTOS SUAREZ, of the firm of PETER HARMONY & CO., who still resides in that metropolis; and Don JOSE ANTONIO SACO, one of the privileged minds of Cuba. To those Americans who knew them, I would ask: is there a delegation to Congress superior in high tone and intellectual worth to these four men? I shall enlarge hereafter upon the fitness of the country which produced them to become a member of this Union.

The revolution of La Granja, in 1836, brought back to Spain the old constitution of 1812, and with it a Cuban delegation; but “the deputies were not allowed a seat in the Cortes, and the government decided that the provisions of the constitution should not apply to Cuba, but that it should be governed by special laws.” “Since then,” adds BALLOU, “the island has been ruled by the arbitrary will of the Captain General, without the intervention of the Spanish Cortes, without intervention of the island, and, what is almost inconceivable at first thought, without the direct action of the sovereign authority;” and further on:

“Up to this time, various political events, occurring within a brief period, had disturbed but slightly and accidentally the tranquility of this rich province of Spain. The Cubans, although sensible to the progress of public intelligence and wealth, under the protection of a few enlightened governors, and through the influence of distinguished and patriotic individuals, were aware that these advances were slow, partial and limited, that there was no regular system, and that the public interests, confided to officials intrusted with unlimited power and liable to the abuses inseparable from absolutism, frequently languished or were betrayed by a cupidity which impelled despotic authority to enrich themselves in every possible way at the expense of popular suffering. Added to these sources of discontent was the powerful influence exerted over the intelligent portion of the people by the portentous spectacle of the rapidly increasing greatness of the United States, where a portion of the Cuban youth were wont to receive their education and to learn the value of a national independence based on democratic principles, principles which they were apt freely to discuss after returning to the island.

“There also were the examples of Mexico and South America, which had recently conquered with their blood their glorious emancipation from monarchy. Liberal ideas were largely diffused by Cubans who had traveled in Europe, and there imbibed the spirit of modern civilization. But, with the fatuity and obstinacy which has always characterized her, the mother

country resolved to ignore these causes of discontent, and, instead of yielding to the popular current, and introducing a liberal and mild system of government, drew the reins yet tighter, and even curtailed many of the privileges formerly accorded to the Cubans. It is a blind persistence in the fated principle of despotic domination which has relaxed the moral and political bonds uniting the two countries, instilled gall into the hearts of the governed, and substituted the dangerous obedience of terror for the secure loyalty of love. This severity of the home government has given rise to several attempts to throw off the Spanish yoke.

“The first occurred in 1823, when the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, offered to aid the disaffected party by throwing an invading force into the island. The conspiracy then formed, by the aid of the proffered expedition, for which men were regularly enlisted and enrolled, would undoubtedly have ended in the triumph of the insurrection had it not been discovered and suppressed prematurely, and had not the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, intervened in favor of Spain. In 1826 some Cuban emigrants, residing in Caracas, attempted a new expedition, which failed, and caused the imprisonment and execution of two patriotic young men. Don Francisco de Agüero y Velazco and Don Bernabe Sanchez, sent to raise the Department of the Interior. In 1828 there was yet a more formidable conspiracy, known as El Aguila Negra, the Black Eagle. The effort of the patriots proved unavailing, foiled by the preparation and power of the government, which seems to be apprised by spies of every intended movement for the cause of liberty in Cuba.”

The intelligence of the revolution of La Granja was first received at Santiago de Cuba, then commanded by Gen. LORENZO, who proceeded to proclaim, according to usage, the will of the nation. In this he was foiled by Gen. TACON, at the time Captain General of Cuba, who, on the strength of a Royal ordinance, dated 1825, conferring on the Captain Generals of the island the most unlimited authority, prescribed with a high hand the preexistent *statu quo*. The destinies of the island have since been at the mercy of every Captain General. Then it was that the liberal party of Cuba, denied the expression of their views at home, conceived the idea of establishing organs abroad. The *Correo de Ultramar*, published in Paris, and the *Observador*, at Madrid, were edited by distinguished Cubans. The *Verdad* was established in New York in 1848. It has been conducted for many years with signal ability, at the expense of Cuban patriots, for gratuitous circulation. Others, less known though not less zealous papers, have been published in New York and New Orleans, with the same object, by the exiled Cubans; among them *El Cubano*.

No other resort being left to the Cubans but that of revolution, a conspiracy was formed at Cienfuegos and Trinidad in 1848, under the leadership of the illustrious martyr to Cuban liberty, General NARCISO LOPEZ. A Major General in the Spanish army, he had been Governor of Madrid, Captain General of Valencia, Senator for Seville; had commanded a division during the Carlist war which comprised the Christina cavalry and a force of artillery in which Don JOSE DE LA CONCHA, present Governor of Cuba, served as a subaltern. Subsequently, he held in Cuba the posts of Governor of its Central Province, and of President of its highest military court. These antecedents and this eminent position he embarked in the Cuban cause. But the conspiracy was discovered, and he had to seek an asylum in the United States. Informed by eminent American legal counsel that he did not contravene the statute by organizing an expedition out of the limits of the United States, he landed in Cuba in 1850, and again, in support of a premature revolutionary movement, in 1851. The defeat of his project, the result of circumstances, was aided by his too confiding nature. He paid the forfeit by a heroic death. The

present generation will yet pass upon his acts a juster verdict than has generally been awarded them. Besides his own, Cuba has had to mourn at different periods within the last eight years, at Puerto Principe, Trinidad and Havana, the deaths, upon the scaffold, of AGUERO, ARMENTEROS, HERNANDES, MONTES DE OCA, FACCILOLO, ESTRAMPES, PINTO, and their compeers. If the events with which they were connected are called bubbles on the surface of Spanish stability, they are bubbles which betoken a sub-marine volcano which the weight of foreign rule is incapable to quench. The events I have alluded to led to the tripartite convention of England, France and Spain, against the progress southward of the United States, which was the occasion of Mr. EVERETT'S memorable letter declining to unite in guarantying to Spain the possession of her West India colonies. "Those best informed," says BALLOU, "of the temper, design and position of Spain, believe in the existence of a secret treaty between that country, France and England, by which the two latter powers guaranty to Spain her perpetual possession of the island, on condition of her carrying out the favorite abolition schemes of the British government, and Africanizing the island. "It is in accordance with this view," adds BALLOU, page 56, "that Captain General PEZULA signalized his administration by measures of great significance and importance. The decree of the 3d of May, 1854; the order for the registration of slaves introduced into the island in violation of the treaty of 1817; the decree freeing more than fifteen thousand *emancipates* in the space of a fortnight; that of May the, enrolling an army of Negroes and mulattoes; the project of importing Negroes and mulattoes from Africa under the name of free apprentices; the institution of free schools for the instruction of the blacks, while the whites are abandoned to their own resources; and, finally, the legalization of the intermarriages of blacks and whites, which last measure has actually been carried into effect, to the indignation of the creoles,--all of these measures show the determination of the Spanish government to bring about the emancipation of slavery, and a social equalization of the colored and white population, that it may maintain its grasp upon the island, under penalty of a war of races, which could only terminate in the extinction of the whites, in case of a revolutionary movement."

Not the twenty thousand Spanish bayonets of the Captain General, nor his omniscient and omnipresent police, the disarmament of the Cubans, nor the divisions sowed by TACON between them and the Spanish residents, which have been fostered since, but this one menace of a social chaos and utter ruin to Cuba it is that has, on more than one occasion, paralyzed the Cuban revolution. Had Cuba's social constitution been that of the rest of Spanish America, she would have long since succeeded in cutting loose from Spain. As it is, she has infinitely better elements for success in the career of self-government than the rest of the Spanish American possessions, having no Indians, and containing, like the southern States of the Union, but two races, an intelligent and energetic pure white dominant one, and the African.

The alliance of the three Powers alluded to; the Africanization scheme, silently but irresistibly being carried out, still worse complicated by the Coolie system, and that of apprentices either from Africa, as proposed by the Spaniard MEANA, or of Indians from Yucatan; the inability of the South to cope with the North in the settlement of the Federal domain; the imminent want of protection to the vast commercial enterprises of the North and West in the Gulf, the Antilles and in the Pacific, through the several isthmuses, which cannot be permanently enjoyed so long as Cuba, the key of the position, retains her present relation to Europe; and last, though not least, the danger to the continuance of good feeling between the North and the South so long as Spanish slave-traders are allowed to throw from the coast of

Cuba periodical firebrands into our political discussions, and to invite foreign cruisers into American waters, to the great detriment of American commerce and the national dignity--have induced me, for several years past, to regard the Cuban question as essentially an American one, and to wait for its solution almost exclusively upon the intelligence and patriotism of the powerful and free American people.

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*Detroit Daily Free Press*

1 December 1858

**CUBA**

**ARTICLE III**

**Physical Description of the Island.**

Cuba, the most westerly of the West India Islands, and that whose political position is conceded by all to be of the most vital importance to the United States, is six hundred and seventy miles in extent from east to west, about one hundred and fifty in its greatest width, and twenty-two in its narrowest part. Its circumference is about two thousand miles, containing an area, according to Baron VON HUMBOLDT, of 43,380,000 geographical square miles, or more territory than the rest of the West Indies, and calculated to be able to sustain a population of 10,000,000 souls. Its population is estimated at from one million and a quarter to one million and a half, and on the million and a quarter basis is thus apportioned for 1851:

Whites 605,560

Free colored 205,570

Slaves 442,000

Total 1,253,130

Mr. CALHOUN, who, however opposed he may have been to the absorption of Mexico, was, to my own personal knowledge, quite in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, considered its population and the proportion of whites, slaves and free colored people, to use his own words, as "about that of Virginia," so that, whatever objections may be raised to the complexion of her population, she shares them with Virginia, the mother of States and statesmen; and who would, upon that plea, exclude the latter from the Union? The growing increase of the free colored population of Cuba, on which I shall dwell hereafter, is, to my mind, the very reason why she should pass as speedily as possible into safer hands than those of her present rulers.

The soil of Cuba is almost exclusively owned by the natives, the descendants of the conquerors and early settlers. With the exception of about thirty thousand Spaniards, distributed among the larger towns--merchants, tradesmen and business men--and about thirty thousand more, composing the army and navy of Spain, the whites are Cubans and natives of the Canary Islands. The better educated comprise the liberal professions and the class of planters; the small farmers, tobacco manufacturers, overseers and *employes* of the plantations, and white country laborers and mechanics, the remainder of the native race. Of the Coolies, recently introduced, and of the Indians from Yucatan, I shall speak in a future article when treating of the Africanization of Cuba.

A chain of mountains, attaining in the Eastern Department the height of the Apalachian range, of rare fertility, and affording from the base to their summit almost every variety of climate and temperature, runs through its whole extent from east to west, softening into a sloping country as it passes through the central portion of the island. It may be called its spine, and the streams which, from both sides, flow into the deep blue sea, are, owing to the narrowness of the island

short water-courses of rapid current and graveled bottom, forming no marshes, and, consequently, creating no malaria, the bane of the white man in our rice and cotton growing States. Hence, the planter, of whatever country, can, in Cuba, reside on his plantation during the whole year, free not only from our "country fever," but from the yellow fever, which prevails during the summer months in the large cities on the coast. The advantages of this constant supervision over his agricultural interests will be readily appreciated by those Americans to whom they are denied in our southern States. The air is peculiarly light, making its inhalation, according to all travelers, a positive pleasure, and, owing to the perennial flora of Cuba, is fragrant and aromatic. This, together with the softness, mildness and equableness of the climate, which, according to Dr. FINLAY, has in its hottest months, July and August, a mean temperature of from 80 deg. to 83 deg. Fahrenheit, the absence of mist or chilliness by day or night, and the balmy influence of the trade-winds, renders Cuba the desideratum, in our winter and spring months, for the American invalid. The sky has the deep blue tint of that of Naples, and the waters the transparency of those of the Arctic seas. However warm the sun, its heat is tempered by the cooling sea breeze from eight or ten in the morning until sunset, after which the land breeze, called "terral," sets in and affords nights invariably cool and peculiarly refreshing. Frosts do not come to stop or interrupt the progress of the planter, and ice and snow are limited to but a rare visit to the mountain tops. Such is the salubrity of the island, even for foreigners, apart from the sea-board towns, that unacclimated merchants at Havana are enabled, by spending their nights two or three miles in the country, for which unsurpassed turnpikes afford the best facilities, to attend daily to their business in the city during the summer months.

Cuba abounds in the finest salt and fresh water fish. "The fish-market of Havana," says BALLOU, "affords, probably, the best variety of this article of any city in the world. The long marble counters display the most novel and tempting array that one can well imagine. Every hue of the rainbow is represented, and a great variety of shapes. But, plenty and fine as it is, it is made a government monopoly." Game is abundant, but, owing to the want of game laws, is fast disappearing from the cultivated districts. Deer have been introduced, and have become abundant in the vicinity of Guines. The whole island could easily be stocked with them. Flamingos, parrots, paroquets, and other birds of the most gorgeous plumage, wild geese and ducks, a variety of partridges, quails, wild pigeons, doves, &c., are abundant. No quadruped was found on the island by its discoverers larger than the wood-rat, nor is there a single poisonous snake or deadly animal of any kind to be found upon it. The horses of Cuba, descended from the Andalusian stock, are small, but well-shaped and hardy, and of a remarkably easy gait. The oxen are very fine, and pasturage is ever green and to be found in abundance wherever there is a clearing.

Sugar, coffee and tobacco are the great leading staples of Cuba, and upon which her wealth and power are principally based. Cacao, indigo, rice, plantains, cotton, sago, and Indian corn, are also cultivated to more or less extent.

The consumption of corn and rice is, however, so enormous that the production is wholly inadequate to the demand. Among the vegetable productions of the tropics which abound in Cuba, and which supply, with the South American jerk-beef, the best plantation food, are the plantains, yams, manioc, malanga, and sweet potatoes, and some of them,--as the yam, for instance,--attain ponderous size.

Cuba abounds in woods of the most precious kind, and the best timber for the construction of ships or buildings. Mahogany, ebony, the tropical red cedar, are among the

former, and among the latter are the yaba, the acana, the guayacan, the guao, and others without number, unrivaled for strength and durability. Some of the best ships of the Spanish navy have been built at the Havana--I believe as many as twenty ships of the line--among these the Santisima Trinidad, of 130 guns, the flag-ship at Trafalgar. Among the beautiful as well as useful trees of Cuba may be numbered, first the pride of the tropics, the royal palm-tree, which attains sometimes an elevation of over a hundred feet, and gives grace and character to the Cuban landscape; the cocoa nut tree, the tamarind, the mamey, the mango, the orange tree, and many others, which, besides furnishing delicious fruit, adorn villas and plantations with picturesque and stately avenues. Its principal fruits are, the much-renowned pine-apple, not to be had in perfection but under the Cuban sky, the orange, many species of bananas, the mango, mamey, guanabana, guava, pomegranate, anon, mamon, zapote, tamarind, chirimoya, shaddock, citron, lime, lemon, fig, cocoa, rose-apple, and bread-fruit. In no capital of Asia, Europe, or America, will the traveler find such a variety of rich sherbets and confectionery as he will at the Havana. As to flowers, to use the words of an American writer, "they are a drug." The fields are covered with them from New Year to Christmas. "Scarcely," says BALLOU, "can you pass from the coast of Cuba inland for half a league, in any direction, without your senses being regaled by the fragrance of the natural flowers,--the heliotrope, the honeysuckle, the sweet pea, and orange blossoms predominating. The jessamine and cape rose, though less fragrant, are delightful to the eye, and cluster everywhere among the hedges, groves and plantations."

If, for one thing more than another, Cuba stands pre-eminent, it is for the number, beauty and capaciousness of her unrivaled harbors; and this feature is the more striking, and renders her the more important, that none exist on that part of the coast of the United States which she commands, from Norfolk to the Rio Grande, a distance of two thousand miles, capable of giving shelter to a ship-of-war of the first class. The great port of the Havana, where a thousand men-of-war can safely ride at anchor, loses its proportions when compared to the bays of Nuevitas, Nipe, Guantanamo and Cienfuegos. Lesser ones, like Mariel, Bahia Honda, Matanzas and Santiago, abound upon her rock-bound coast, a coast the boldness of which reminds the mariner of that of England, without its storms or dreariness. Of the land, soil and agriculture of Cuba, constituting her colossal natural wealth, I shall speak in the succeeding number.

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*Detroit Daily Free Press*

7 December 1858

**CUBA**

**ARTICLE IV.**

**Natural Wealth of Cuba.**

The A[...] Ra[...]l has said that "Cuba of herself might consti[...] and this assertion is principally based upon her marvelous agricultural wealth. According to data before me, the total number of acres comprising the whole territory is 14,993,024. Of these, in 1830, there were used

in sugar cane plantations	172,608
In coffee trees	184,352
In tobacco	54,448
In lesser, or garden and fruit culture	<u>823,424</u>

Total acres	1,234,832
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Leaving over 13,000,000 of acres uncultivated. Some of these uncultivated lands are appropriated to grazing, others to settlements and towns; the remainder occupied by mountains,

roads, coasts, rivers and lakes,--the greater part, however, wild.

Total value of land in 1830	\$94,396,300
Value of buildings, utensils, &c	55,603,850

The different products of cultivation were valued as follows:

Sugar canes in the ground	\$ 6,068,877
Coffee trees	32,500,000
Fruit trees, vegetables, &c	46,940,700
Tobacco plants	<u>340,620</u>

Total value of plants \$85,850,197

Total value of wood exported, consumed on the island, and made into charcoal	\$3,818,493
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Minimum value of the forests	190,634,000
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Value of 138,982 slaves at \$300 each	41,694,600
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Total value of live stock	39,617,885
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#### RECAPITULATION.

Lands	\$94,396,300
Plants, including timber	276,774,367
Buildings, engines and utensils	54,603,850
Slaves	41,694,600
Animals	<u>39,617,885</u>
Total	\$507,087,002
Representative value of capital invested	\$317,264,832

#### VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Sugar	\$8,132,609
Molasses	262,932
Coffee	4,325,292
Cocoa	74,890
Cotton	125,000
Leaf tobacco	687,240
Rice	454,230
Benas, peas, onions, &c	257,260
Indian corn	4,853,418
Vegetables and fruits	11,475,712
Grapes (probably meant for roots)	5,586,616
Casabe	146,144
Charcoal	2,107,300
Woods or the products of wood	<u>1,741,195</u>
Total value of vegetable productions	\$40,229,838
Total value of animal productions	<u>9,023,116</u>
	\$49,252,954

Total *net* product of agricultural  
and rural industry \$22,808,622

Capital invested \$338,917,705; produces \$48,839,928.

In an able and luminous address to Marshal ESPARTERO from a Cuban planter, I find the production of sugar, the basis of Cuban wealth, stated as follows:

	Arrobas.
From 1825 to 1830	32,540,689
“ 1830 to 1835	39,467,878
“ 1835 to 1840	64,338,492
“ 1845 to 1850	93,452,300

The arroba is twenty-five pounds.

If the capital invested in slaves had nearly trebled from 1830 to 1850; if the production of sugar, as seen above, had increased in the same ratio, the same being the case of every other agricultural production, coffee and rum alone excepted, at what may not the wealth of Cuba be estimated at the present day? Let it be noticed, in behalf of Cuba's fertility and to the credit of her sons, that this extraordinary result is obtained by Cuban industry under a taxation of twenty-five millions of dollars, with a population of only 600,000 whites, and while there is, according to a report made by a committee of the Junta de Fomento, in 1844, but one-sixth of the whole island under cultivation. What would the production of such an island be under American laws, and with American immigration, when all her lands should be brought to market at the demand of American and foreign capital as well as of that of the natives, which now either lies unemployed or is invested abroad for want of confidence in the stability of Spanish rule?

The richness of the soil of Cuba is unsurpassed. It often produces three crops to the year, and in ordinary seasons two may be relied upon. The plough is seldom used. Very great results could be attained in lands not profitable at present, and which could be obtained at low prices, by the introduction of American improved implements of husbandry. There are lands in Cuba which have yielded seventeen successive crops of sugar cane without replanting, the cane springing up from the old root year after year. In Louisiana it has to be planted yearly or every two years, and then may be destroyed by frost, which is not known in Cuba. Plantations which have existed for one hundred and twenty years still continue their unintermittent yield from the same fields originally planted. The total production of sugar now exceeds two million boxes, being, according to the *Merchant's Magazine*, one-fourth of that of the whole world; of this, Spain only consumes one hundred thousand. Of the consumption of the United States I will treat in a future article on the commerce of Cuba.

The soil of Cuba may be divided into black, red, and what is styled mulatto soil, a species of brownish-yellow. All three are used for sugar planting, but more especially the black, which contains more moisture. The red is preferred for coffee. The best tobacco soil is the rather sandy one on the margins of rivers, such as Rio Hondo, San Diego, &c., in the Vuelta Abajo, which lies to the southwest of Havana. The most productive system of planting tobacco is that upon a small scale. To American farmers, with small capital, this culture would offer, throughout almost the whole of Cuba, a most advantageous opening. The price of good sugar land may be set down at between \$15 and \$20 per acre. In the southern States \$60 and \$100 dollars per acre for cotton and rice lands are sometimes given. The coffee plantations of Cuba, though not what they used to be before the production of Brazil undersold this Cuban staple, constitute some of the most beautiful and extensive natural gardens in existence; the fields of coffee presenting, in the spring, extended sheets of fragrant blossoms of a dazzling white, intersected at right angles by avenues of palms, of orange trees, &c., lined with flowers and carpeted in green Bermuda grass. As to the sugar plantations, I consider them,--for their size, the capital invested, the order and regularity which prevail in them, and the application of the newest discoveries of science to the intelligent elaboration of the most lavish gifts of nature,--the crowning glory of agriculture; offering to the

native Cuban a field in which he appears unrivaled, in the three-fold capacity of a planter, a manufacturer and a carrier of his own produce; and such is the energy, not understood, of our people, that men are found in Cuba who have added to these conditions those of factor, merchant and ship-owner. Single plantations there are upon the island which exceed, in income, that of some German States, and men whose revenues from agriculture are over half a million dollars.

(To be Continued)

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*Detroit Daily Free Press*

9 December 1858

**CUBA**

**ARTICLE IV--CONTINUED.**

**Natural Wealth of Cuba.**

I cannot bring a more competent or more readable authority on the important subject of the sugar interest of Cuba had in relation to the United States, than that of an eye-witness, the Hon. WILLIAM ELLIOTT, of South Carolina, for twenty-five years President of agricultural societies in this State, its Commissioner to the Paris Exhibition in 1855, himself a cotton and a rice planter, and who, in the number for March last in *Russell's Magazine*, published in the city of Charleston, thus gives in an article entitled "A Trip to Cuba," the *result* of his observation:

"Just fifty yards in front of the dwelling house is the sugar manufactory, with the steam engines attached. The cane was now being cut in the fields, and carted home by oxen; which, as they were fed on the leaves and top joints of the cane, were in excellent condition. The cut cane was thrown from the carts near the apparatus for grinding, and was then laid upon a sort of revolving frame work, which fed it to the rollers.--These were three in number, of cast iron, and the cane was so completely crushed in passing through, that scarce a drop of fluid remained in the rind. It is taken up as it leaves the rollers by young or invalid negroes, and spread so as to dry in the sun, and serve for fuel; not, however, for the engine, which requires wood or coal, but for the stoves, which have fires passing beneath the floors of what may be called the drying house. The juice, meanwhile, as it passes from the rollers, is received into a vat, from which it is conducted by a pipe into the first boiler, and then is ladled out by the attendants into another, and another, until it reaches the point proper for granulation, when it is poured into vessels of tile, in shape like the frustrum of a cone, and set to drain. Then it is *clayed*, that is purged or purified, by being covered with a layer of *mud*, which by courtesy is called clay. The effect of this claying is to precipitate the molasses, and clarify the portion which is in contact with the clay; and the nearer to the *mud* the whiter and purer the sugar. The sugar is turned out from the forms when the granulation is complete, and the upper portion is placed by itself as superior. This, with a view to exhale the moisture, is then placed on the drying floors, heated as I have already said by fires which pass underneath, and thus accelerate the drying; which, when complete, the sugar now marketable is packed away in boxes of 350 pounds each.

"New and costly apparatus for the manufacture of sugar has lately been introduced on many plantations. The juice, instead of passing into the boilers as I have just described, passes into a condenser, by means of which granulation takes place at a temperature of 66 degrees of Fahrenheit, instead of 90 degrees, as is the case where the old process is followed. Looking in at this condenser, by night, through glasses arranged for that purpose, you behold the turbid liquid mass, boiling and seething within its prison house of brass, and are irresistibly reminded of the bubbling cauldron which figures so prominently among the *properties* in the incantation scene of the weird sisters in Macbeth! But we propose nothing more than a glance at this process of

manufacture. The scene is lively and pleasing, and activity and method characterize the operations. The labor, though uninterrupted, did not seem to me severe, or beyond the ability of the laborers. The plan of working by *watches*, as on ship-board, part continuing the work while others were dismissed to sleep, was adopted on the plantation of which we now speak; and, if universal, would refute the imputation of over-working, which sometimes attaches to the system adopted on the sugar plantations. It is doubtless true that the labor is heavier on these than cotton, tobacco or coffee estates, for there is, on these last, no need of such unintermitted labor. It is fair to state that it is only during the grinding season, which lasts from November to May, (both inclusive,) that the necessity for such continuous labor is felt. All that the planter can then secure is oftentimes insufficient for the cutting, transportation, and manufacture of the entire crop of cane grown on the plantation. For the labor of manufacture is greater than that of producing; since the land, in its exuberant fertility, will yield eight or ten annual crops from the same planting; the cane sprouting up anew from the roots, whenever the year's growth has been cut off. The after crops are produced, not only without new setting the plants, but often without any culture whatever, though it is admitted that, wherever the hoe or the plough is used the production is sensibly increased.

“Some curiosity may be felt as to the relative productiveness of the sugar estates in Cuba, compared with investments made in other objects of agriculture. I am scarcely authorized to speak on this subject with the certainty and precision that might be desired, because my brief and hurried visit did not afford me the opportunity. But I am not far from the mark when I affirm generally that the cotton culture in Cuba is now almost extinct--(all other cultures having proved more lucrative;) that coffee has been less attended to since the coffee of Brazil has taken precedence of it in the market--(the old estates nevertheless are kept up, but no new ones are planted;) that tobacco, which had fallen partially into neglect, is once more stimulated by the increased demand, and may increase more rapidly than other agricultural products, because the small capital needed for the cultivation of this narcotic places it within the reach of planters of the most limited means. But none of these can vie with sugar, either in the extent or the profitableness of the culture and, in respect to this great staple, I can speak *by the book*, as the sugar planter to whose hospitality I was indebted for the kindest reception at his *engenio* added to my other obligations by giving me in writing an estimate of the expenses and income of his estate for the sugar crop of 1856. The return was incomplete, because the manufacture was not yet finished, and a portion was consequently unsold; but assuming for that the same rate of production and scale of price, the statement will read as follows:

Estimate of the value of the sugar crop of the estate of L-----, the property of Signor A., [José Luis Alfonso] island of Cuba, for the year 1856, there being 320 slaves, of all ages, on the estate:

Production	Value in dollars
1,000 hhds. of Muscovado sugar	80,000
300 hhds. of Musco. molasses	8,100
3,000 boxes sugar, (350 lbs. each,)	84,000
500 hhds. sugar molasses	<u>12,500</u>
Total income	\$184,600
Total expenses	<u>34,600</u>
Net income	\$150,000

Expenses of Food.

Jerked-beef, fish, &c.	10,000
Coal and wood	2,200
Salaries	6,000
Oxen	1,500
Hogsheads	4,500
Shooks	2,500
Hides	600
Nails and Oil	900
Timber	1,000
Repairs of furnaces, &c	750
Medicine	200
Forms	1,000
The Church	150
Tax to government	1,000
Unenumerated expenses	<u>2,200</u>
Total expenses	\$34,600

“Here we have reached an amount which, according to our American ideas, is perfectly enormous; finding no parallel in our most productive industry. Nowhere, with us, cultivating our richest lands, with our highest prices staples, can we approach such a result! One hundred and eighty-six thousand dollars of gross income, from the labor of three hundred and twenty slaves, of whom one-fourth at least must be deducted, by reason of infancy or old age, from the list of workers! The thing is simply prodigious!

“Now, let us inquire on what amount of capital invested this extraordinary sum of one hundred and eighty-six thousand dollars has accrued by way of interest. The buildings on the plantation, including the dwelling house and offices, the barracks for the negroes, the sugar houses, steam engines, and generally all the houses, with all their fitting machinery, were set down by the proprietor at a valuation of \$80,000. The land, 2,000 acres, at 40 dollars per acre, was worth likewise 80,000 dollars. The slaves, 320, at 500 dollars round, were worth 160,000 dollars. This gives a capital of 320,000 dollars! The gross income is nearly 54 per cent, and the net income is over 47 per cent. Now let us admit that the present prices of sugar are higher than the average, and that the profits realized are thus beyond the ordinary standard, still, making due allowance and deduction for this, the result is astounding, and enough to disgust every American planter with the meagre [*sic*] returns derived from his own investments, whether applied to the production of cotton, corn, wheat, rice, tobacco or sugar! the most lucrative of these bearing but a starved and stinted proportion to the redundant exuberance of the Cuban harvest! I affirm that, to the same force of negroes employed in agricultural labors in our own country, there are many who do not realize the gross amount which the Cuban planter of the same force *pays only in expenses!* that is to say, that their factor’s books would not show a sum from the gross sales of their crops equal to that which the Cuban planter annually disburses in expenses, after keeping 47 per cent. Interest on his capital and clear income! It is disheartening to the American cultivator to look such facts in the face! His own labors in comparison are not only inadequately rewarded, but absolutely thrown away!

“The first thing that strikes us, in considering the result just given, is the surpassing fertility of the soil, and the adaptation of the climate to the production of this valuable staple, nor

can we overlook the energy and skill which have been exerted by the planters to aid and develop these natural advantages. Probably in this great yield, and the diffusion of wealth therefrom among all classes of the population, we have the secrets of the favors and the immunities notoriously enjoyed by the sugar planting interest in Cuba. It is a privileged interest! Sugar estates are exempted from seizure for debt! and we witnessed during our visit that a very politic reduction of the import duty on articles of foreign growth, which were needed by the agricultural interest, could be opportunely made in their favor. The drought, which prevailed in the United States in 1856, extended likewise to Cuba, and curtailed the crop of Indian corn, so as to produce a scarcity of that needful grain; whereupon, the Captain General remitted two-thirds of the duty, and the ships from New Orleans were pouring in their supplies, to relieve the wants of this favored interest! Concha well known by a politic can of the plenary authority lodged in his hands, how to propitiate a powerful interest whose good will is not to be despised! Nor is this all; the consideration of the government goes further still the assessment levied on the estate is where extraordinary returns we have already referred is, you will perceive, exceedingly moderate. It is but one thousand dollars, an arbitrary assessment it is true, but a most moderate one, being but two-thirds of one per cent, on the net income of one hundred fifty thousand dollars.

“Referring to the list of expenditures, in the estimate furnished us, we had the sum of \$10,000 set down for supplies of food. This is exclusive of what the plantations provide; and is paid away for jerk-beef, for cured fish, for Indian corn, flour and rice: all except the first being the productions of the United States! but they come to this market burdened with duties almost prohibitory; Indian corn with a duty greatly exceeding the first cost in the West; flour at a specific duty of \$7.27 per barrel, while flour from Spain pays but \$2.70 per barrel. This explains the secret of the brisk trade sprung up between Charleston and Barcelona, for American flour is shipped from Charleston to Barcelona, and thence re-shipped to Cuba in Spanish bottoms, cheaper than it can be got direct from the United States. The consumer of course pays all this extra charge! Rice, too, from the United States, pays a duty of over nine dollars a barrel, while the rice from Valencia is received at a light rate of duty. The object of this policy is transparent--it is to sustain and perpetuate the Spanish monopoly of the Cuban market, by the prostration of Cuban interests; and secondly, out of this very wrong to raise a fund to keep Cuba forcibly in subjection to Spain!

“Look further into this list of expenditures on a sugar estate; the timber, lumber, shooks, slaves, hogsheads, and materials for boxes come exclusively from the United States; and though the import duties are not actually prohibitory on articles of such absolute necessity, yet when added to the tonnage-duties and port-charges levied on American shipping, they constitute an enormous addition to the first cost, which the Cuban consumers have to pay; while the agricultural, commercial and shipping interests of the country of production are proportionately sufferers!

“Look to another item--the large amount paid by a single plantation for salaries! The overseer is generally a Cuban born, or *Montero*, but the engineers and mechanics employed in the construction and management of the steam mills are almost exclusively Americans. Ballou in his History of Cuba, published four years ago, states that 200 young men, from Boston alone, were employed at that time as engineers on the sugar estates.

“It is apparent then that a large portion of the salaries paid away on a Cuban sugar plantation is paid to American citizens, and that the far greatest quantity of their supplies are drawn from the products of the United States. Their value, though not exactly determined, is

considerable, and whatever it may be, must be multiplied by 2,000, (the number of sugar estates on the island,) in order to give a proximate estimate of the extent to which American interests are involved in the expenditures, from this sugar interest alone! But we have looked thus far only to the American interest involved in the disbursements of the estate. What greater concern must we not have in the income? How much of that must be exchanged for American productions, and must find its way to us by the various and sometimes devious channels of commerce! The extent and importance of this commerce are not matters of vague conjecture. There are facts that declare and demonstrate both! In spite of the differential tonnage duties imposed upon American vessels--amounting to \$1.50 per ton, while 62 1/2 cents only is taxed on Spanish vessels; in spite of the import duties levied on American products--always heavy, and often prohibitory, and on which from seven to ten per cent additional is charged when imported in American vessels; in spite of the port charges and other local assessments levied on American shipping visiting the ports of Cuba, of so onerous a character that they are, according to the estimate of reliable merchants, from ten to twenty times greater than would be paid by the same vessels in our own ports; in spite of all these hindrances and impediments, such is the dependency and intercommunication between the two countries--such is the reliance of each on the other, for the supply of mutual wants--and such is the irrepressible energy of our commercial character, that the amount of American tonnage visiting the ports of Cuba during the last year was greater than that from any other nation whatever! England had less tonnage employed in that trade than we had; and even Spain--decrepit, querulous Spain, bolstered up as she is by monopolies--did not carry on as much trade with her own imprisoned colony as we did! What will that trade be when these impediments shall have been removed--these fetters broken for ever? What new life shall then be infused into the being of commercial enterprise? What mutual benefits, what inappreciable prosperity, will be the consequence? The imagination is bewildered by the very contemplation! Byt, ala! the beautiful Andromeda, devoured by secret griefs, still lies chained to her solitary rock--still cheats her sorrows with delusive hopes-- still casts despairing glances towards the unpitying seas, and in each floating cloud that flings its shadow athwart the northern sky beholds--oh, mockery of the sorrowing mind!--the feathered Perseus flying to her rescue--coming to rend her chains and deliver her from the jaws of the monster!

“It is idle to suppose that Cuba can ever enjoy the benefits of free trade while she continues a dependency of Spain. The policy of the mother country is utterly and incurably antagonistic. It is the policy of monopoly. By this, she piles castle upon castle, armament upon armament, dispatches navies upon navies--the purpose and object of all being simply this, to repress the freedom of trade and freedom in everything; to keep her vassal in her serfdom, subject in every particular to her suzerain; and *that* by the harshest and most debasing means, by terror and intimidation!

“A government more odious than that under which Cuba now exists cannot well be imagined. It is a delegated despotism. She has no political rights, nor semblance of rights, no voice in the laws that control her, or in enacting the burdens that oppress her; no choice in the officers that rule over her! She endures not only oppression but disgrace--for the Peninsular government, with a consciousness of the disgust which such tyrannical proceeding must create in every generous breast, denies to the Cuban gentleman the privilege of serving as an officer in the national army! She is oppressed and insulted, and the fitful prosperity she enjoys comes from the benignity of nature, and the fortuitous favor of her ruler, who, wiser than the power he represents, dispenses from time to time with the execution of the harsh and tyrannical edicts with

which he is armed, in order to check some growing discontent, and preserve by timely concessions this valuable dependence to the Crown of Spain.

“They know little of human nature who do not comprehend that the natural effect of such misgovernment is alienation, and a disposition to revolt; and loyal and national as the Spaniard is, by education and by feeling, the history of all the Spanish colonies in America conclusively shows that he is still more devoted to independence, and that he will dissolve his connection with the mother country whenever the favorable opportunity shall offer for throwing off the yoke!  
*Cuba bides her time!*

“I think from what has already been stated, that the reader must come irresistibly to the conclusion, that the mutual wants, and the means mutually at hand for supplying them, make few countries more dependent for their well being on the freest commercial intercourse, and the untaxed exchange of their respective commodities, that the United States and the Island of Cuba.

“Does New England want a brisker demand for products of her fisheries, a new market for her manufactures of cotton and iron, and an increased demand for her lumber, with profitable employment of her shipping interest, unburdened by exorbitant port charges, tonnage and import duties? She will have them when Cuba is free to legislate for her own interests, and inaugurate a system of free trade! Do the middle and western States want an additional market for their corn and flour and for various objects manufacturing industry now inadequately remunerated? Do the southern States require a market for their rice, corn and staves, now admitted under heavy impositions, or shut out altogether by prohibitory duties? They will have them when Cuba shall have shaken off the system of tyrannical misrule and odious monopoly under which she now labors, and inaugurated instead the system of free trade! And when will Cuba enjoy the blessings of free trade? We answer confidently--*not until Cuba is annexed!*

“I am no fillibuster--but unquestionably a sympathizer! I do not see, while peace continues between Spain and the United States, how the latter can openly interfere to effect the separation of the colony from the mother country, nor how she can do that covertly which she may not honorably do at all! Peace continuing, the government is precluded from interfering; but when “we, the people,” know that a neighboring people is oppressed, our sympathies are necessarily enlisted in her behalf; and the closer the vicinage, and the more intimate the intercourse, the stronger will be the sympathy! Now, if we are aware that the oppressed neighbor secretly but anxiously looks for our assistance--however the government, from a just sense of its obligations, may refuse to countenance any measures of interference--it is evident that the people, *as individuals*, will feel themselves controlled by no such scruple, and at the first outbreak made by the Cubans themselves against their oppressors, volunteers by thousands will flock to the standard of revolt, and Cuba will be liberated! I prefer that Cuba should not be liberated in this way. I prefer that government should pay even the enormous sum of two hundred millions of dollars for the transfer of this beautiful but cruelly misgoverned island to the United States, when she would enjoy the same liberties with ourselves! and possess her great revenues in peace--not by favor or conciliating a tyrant as now--but securely and of her own right! But if that cannot be, if Spain withholds her consent, swayed by the persuasions or threats of the same jealous Powers who with transparent ill-will devised the scheme of *the tripartite treaty*, for the special purpose of preventing the transfer--then let Spain reap the reward of her bigotry and subserviency. *She will lose Cuba--and without an equivalent!*

“We have not remonstrated with France for her conquests in Algeria; we have expressed no dissatisfaction when she enlarges her domains by annexing provinces once the rivals of

Imperial Rome! We have not caviled with England for her conquests in the east, or for annexing to her proper dominions the vast territories and possessions of the East India Company! Yet all these acts obviously disarrange the pre-existent balances of power! Why then should these nations interfere with us in our laudable attempts, by honorable means, to procure the annexation of Cuba? for desiring which, there are good and sufficient reasons of commercial policy, which we have already given; but there are weightier still behind. Place Cuba in the hands of a formidable maritime power, and it is evident that, in case of hostility, all the countries that border the shores of the Gulf, the vast valley of the Mississippi, and the rich argosies of California, will be tributary and subject to her control. She will command both passes by which the immeasurable wealth of these regions will necessarily pass. In four hours sail, her war steamers span the Gulf from Havana to Key West; in four other hours they sweep from Cape San Antonio to the coast of Yucatan, and close the outlet to the Caribbean Sea! Think of seizing the treasures of the California mines in transfer! Think of levying bla[...] ma[...] on the products of the giant West! Think of closing the communications and paralyzing the energies of this magnificent confederacy of sovereign States!

“It does appear to me that no act would more serve to popularize an administration with the people, than the annexation of Cuba; and that a refusal on their part to prevent the transfer from Spain to any other Power, even at the cost of war, would consign them to present contempt, and the execration of posterity!”

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**CUBA**

**ARTICLE V**

**Taxation and System of Government.**

The amount of taxation borne by Cuba, with a population of only six hundred thousand whites, --the highest figure at which it had been estimated, some computing it at 450,000, others at 530,000,--reached, in 1841, according to official data published at Madrid in the “*Observador de Ultramar*,” the enormous sum of \$21,437,454, and according to a circumstantial statement also based on official reports, published abroad in 1850, to \$24,864,427. As far back as twenty-three years ago Don JOSE A. SACO estimated in his “*Parallel*,” a pamphlet setting forth the great superiority of the colonial system of England over that of Spain, that the revenues of Cuba amounted to 140 per cent, on the value of exports, while those of the British colonies to only 7 and 14 per cent. And this difference is easily understood. British colonies do not support fleets and armies, do not defray the general expenditures of the nation, nor is their commerce, like that of Cuba, under the excessive burthen of differential duties levied to protect the shipping and manufacturing interests of the mother country. The \$28,000,000 which Cuba may be estimated to pay at present into the Spanish treasury proceed from custom-house duties, half the tax on contraband goods, the Royal lottery, post-office revenue, land taxes, costs of litigation, municipal taxes, those of the common councils, foreign and inland passports, salable and disposable offices, public notary offices, fines, revenue of the Captain General’s office, lease of the meat and fish markets, revenues of the diocese, marriage fees, renewal of the contract for the “emancipados” (emancipated negroes,) funerals, toll dues, fees from office-holders, gaming licenses, tithes, perquisites of tithe-collectors, monopoly of sewers, forced service of mules and

horses, port dues, fees of naval registry, church subscriptions, those collected for cemeteries, causeways, barracks, bridges, hospitals, and tax on minerals. These \$28,000,000 give a taxation per white inhabitant, amounting to the highest estimate for that class of population, of over forty-six dollars. In 1832 Mr. LIVINGSTON, then Secretary of State, estimated that the amount of Federal, State, county and municipal taxation in this country was \$2.55 per capita.-- Mr. DE BOW, the late able Commissioner of the Census, assigns to every free person in the United States a tax of \$4.24, or \$3.58 to every inhabitant. What a contrast, too, between the economy, comforts, luxuries and moral elevation derived by all classes of the United States from these contributions, and the little benefits and positive evils resulting to the Cubans from their own!

With the revenues derived from Cuba, Spain pays the greater portion of her navy now stationed on the island, and an army stationed as follows in 1854:

ARMY OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

*Infantry.*

Names of Regiments.	Where Stationed.	
Del Rey,	Puerto Principe.	
De La Reina,	Pinar del Rio.	
De Galicia,	Villa Clara.	
De Napoles,	Trinidad.	
De Espana,	La Cabana.	
De Leon,	Havana.	
De Habana,	Puerto Principe.	
De Cuba,	Havana.	
De La Union,	Havana.	
De Tarragona,	Bayamo.	
De Barcelona,	Matanzas.	
De La Corona,	Holguin.	
De Isabel 2d,	Havana.	
De Cantabria,	Santiago de Cuba.	
De Zaragoza,	Matanzas.	
De Bailen,	Santiago de Cuba.	
16 regiments of 900 men		14,400
<i>Cavalry.</i>		
1 Regiment--Del Rey--in Puerto Principe,		
1 regiment--De La Reina--in Havana,		
each 800 men		1,600
<i>Artillery.</i>		
1 regiment of 8 batteries of 112 men each,		896
mostly in the Moro and the Cabana fortresses.		
5 mountain batteries of 80 men each		<u>400</u>
Total		17,296

They are all, officers and men, with scarcely an exception, natives of Spain. Add to them soldiers on the retired list, but subject to call in emergencies, a Cuban militia, partly officered by Spaniards, of about four thousand men, and the regiments of blacks,--an institution revived and much enlarged of late,--and this force is swelled to over twenty-five thousand troops, which, together with the sailors and marines of the fleet, and the "matriculados," or men registered for

the navy not in active service, form a body of considerably over thirty thousand men, under the pay of the Cuban people. And for what? To protect them? No! To protect the colonial government from those who feed and clothe them, and to prevent, as far as in them lies, their union, to the United States. According to recent intelligence from Europe, it is to be increased by 3,000 Spaniards, and by still more ships-of-war. A proportionate military force would give us a standing army of over a million bayonets, at a cost of more than two hundred millions of dollars.

But the Cuban treasury pays, besides, thousands of Spanish civil officers, and is burthened with expenses totally foreign to Cuban affairs. To show how little there is of local in some of these, I will give some items of expenditures for 1846, taken from the already mentioned "Address" of a Cuban planter, to which I am indebted for valuable data:

Expenses of the Legation and Consulates of the States of America pertaining to the budget of the Department of State	\$57,787.07 1/2
Allowance of her Majesty the Queen mother of Spain	222,000.00
Checks from her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, in pursuance of Royal decree, for matters of importance to the Royal service	100,000.00

These "matters of importance to the Royal service in Mexico," the reader, acquainted with the relation that Cuba has held towards the neighboring republics of America, will readily understand. I shall recur to this relation when treating of the strategical position of the island. The above mentioned allowance to the Queen mother of Spain has reached, in 1854, the sum of \$1,498,500.

I have endeavored to show the Spanish rule in Cuba in its economical aspect. In what light do we see its political *status*? In that of the Austrian government in Italy; of unlimited, unscrupulous and irresponsible power. Since 1825 the Captain Generals of Cuba have been invested "with all the authority," to use the words of the Royal ordinance, "appertaining in time of war to the governors of a besieged city;" authorizing them to suspend at will, and at all times, any public functionary, whatever his rank, civil, military or ecclesiastical; to banish any resident of the island without preferring accusations; to modify any law, or suspend its operation; disobey any regulation emanating from the Spanish government itself, and dispose at will of the public funds. This is virtually the Cuban code of laws, and any intelligent American has but to read the Havana correspondence of the daily press to satisfy himself that in all departments it is in periodical operation, subject, as with all despotisms, only to such modifications as the enlightenment or policy of the ruler for the time being may render agreeable or necessary. There is in Cuba no freedom, whatever, of religion or the press. Nothing can be printed without the supervision and approval of appointed Spanish censors. No man can go abroad or travel within the island without a foreign or inland passport. Notice of arrival in a city or of a change of domicil is required by the police within a stated time and under specific penalties. There is a limitation to the use of arms. None are allowed susceptible of concealment or which might be made available for successful insurrection. At times, even the use of walking canes of a certain size has been prohibited, and for several Cubans to assemble has been considered sufficient cause for suspicion, and the police has dispersed them when exceeding the number of three individuals. Notice of balls and parties must be given to the police, who, after permission therefor is granted, are, generally, in attendance. All documents must be issued on stamped paper, which varies in price from three cents (for the absolutely destitute) to, I believe, eight dollars per sheet. Political offenses are tried by a permanent military tribunal, which also takes cognizance of crimes or misdemeanors committed outside of the city limits. The Cuban, unless

he is known to be addicted to the Spanish government, cannot hold the meanest office. For him to obtain a high one would almost pre-suppose moral treason to his country. Judged by this test, the very few of any importance which are held by them do not afford strong evidence of native loyalty. The government has the power, which it has often exercised, of tearing a Cuban from the bosom of his family, for which deed the night is usually selected, immuring him in damp, insalubrious cells or in the dungeons of the Moro or the Cabana, where, sometimes without an accusation being proffered, he has been kept for months, "incomunicado," as the term is,--that is, without communication being allowed with anybody, relation, friend, or stranger,--and then either banished without a trial, or with one from the "Comision Militar," already mentioned, with the allowance, as legal counsel in his defence, of an officer of the Spanish army! Add to this that the Cuban has no representation whatever in the Cortes, no voice in government, taxation or police, and that even the common councils have been deprived of the right of petition which they once enjoyed, and the reader will have some idea of the happiness which the Cuban gets from the metropolis for his yearly \$28,000,000.

A Captain General may be honest or unscrupulous, enlightened or barbarian, humane or cruel, the result must be the same; for, in the relation which Cuba bears at present to the Spanish monarchy, he cannot choose but have one grand political idea: the absolute subjection of the disaffected, disturbed colony; but one great financial purpose: the wresting from Cuba of the largest possible revenue; but a solitary economical gratification: that of protecting, at any cost, the pampered monopolies of Spain.

Of the miserable public instruction afforded to the natives, thus shorn of their rights and bereft of their substance, I shall speak in the next number on "The Cuban People."

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**CUBA**

**ARTICLE VI**

**On the Cuban People.**

I have already stated that the population of Cuba is, like that of our Southern States, composed of but two races--the pure, dominant, energetic white race, and the African. I have also shown that the majority of the former are Cubans which means *white natives*. Several errors have crept into the public mind, and, consequently, mistakes are often made in the public prints, regarding the elements of Cuban population. It is of some importance, especially to the Cubans, that they should be corrected. We have read that "the *Cubans* seized the Black Warrior," "fired into the El Dorado," &c., &c. The *Cubans* have done no such thing. The Cuban *authorities* have, who are the government. But they are *Spaniards*, that is, Peninsulars, from the other side of the water. The mistake is never made upon the island, where, owing to the policy of the Spanish government of creating jealousies between the two elements of white population, in order the better to secure its power, alienation has been engendered, and Cuban pride has not been loth to run the line of demarcation. The word *Creole* is equally misapplied; it is used sometimes in this country to designate a *mixed* race of blacks and whites; but a Creole means a Cuban born, as contradistinguished from the Spaniard or foreigner; if the word mulatto or negro is appended to it, or if used when speaking of the blacks, it means a Cuban born mulatto or negro, to distinguish him from the imported African or mulatto. I must qualify the statement that there are but two races in Cuba, by setting down the existence of the Coolie or Chinese; but this is a recent

element in Cuban population, and may be checked after annexation. The Indians from Yucatan, of still more recent introduction, are less numerous than the Coolies, and come under the same prospective lopping off. Both sets of immigrants have been drawn into the island within the last twelve years, by the same reckless and mischievous system which conceived African apprenticeship, and sees in a confusion of races and relative diminution of the white its chief power to do harm, as well as its best guarantee of dominion. I shall refer to them *in extenso* in a future article on the Africanization of Cuba. But, still, these apprentices, Coolies, and Indians from Yucatan, form, with the negro, a *subject* population, and this fact renders apparent Cuba's superior capacity for self government over former colonies of Spain where the Indian mixed with the descendants of the conquerors, modifying the original characteristics of the Spanish race.

Having shown the purity of the dominant race in Cuba, I desire to say a word as to its ability to adopt democratic institutions, which by some has been contested. In the natural exultation of our people over the splendid triumphs of American civilization, too much stress, it seems to me, is put upon the merits of Anglo-Saxon blood, as the cant term is, leaving but too small award for circumstances and causes which the liberal and enlightened American cannot fail to recognize. That the English, whose intolerance and oppression forced the abandonment of their country upon the independent spirits and hardy pioneers who settled on the borders of the North Atlantic, should, after centuries of selfish domination, and when compelled by a fierce and bloody war of independence to loose their hold upon them, and by that of 1812 to recognize them as a power upon earth,--for the Anglo-Saxons of Europe, I repeat, to claim for their blood and race the exclusive honor of what they tried to do, and could not, prevent, when it proved the brightest page in the world's history, is certainly a bold piece of British cleverness. But, can the liberal American, justly proud of his descent, and still more so of his Revolutionary ancestry, fail to acknowledge as causes of his country's greatness the free gift of a continent, and the accession thereto of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Huguenot and Catholic French, Italians, Spaniards, Israelites, Poles, and Hungarians, imbued with the same spirit which impelled his forefathers,--co-laborers with their mind, their capital, their industry, their superior handicraft, their science, may be their refinement, their knowledge of the fine arts, their bone and sinew in time of peace, and with their lives in war, in all that has made America what she is, "the realization," says Count GUROWSKI, "of the most elevated conceivable idea, that of humanity mixed and confounded with itself, without distinction of ancestry, origin or creed,"--his co-laborers in the working of a future of common glory for common generations?

In a spirit contrary to this, reproving greatness of America, writers there are who blindly disparage the ability of the Spaniard for self-government. A knowledge of Spanish history would teach them that liberal institutions were established in Spain long before the discovery of America; that the Biscayan Provinces, Navarra and Arragon, formerly possessed institutions not very dissimilar to those of the British Islands, the spirit of which may be gathered from the celebrated formula of investiture of the Kings of Aragon: "We," said the Cortes to each of these upon his coronation, "who, individually, are worth as much as thou, and who, collectively, are thy betters, do make thee King." "If thou should'st guard," &c., (here including the liberties of the people,) "thou shalt be such; if not, not."

The discovery of gold and silver in America proved a positive evil to the Spaniards. It went to build up the industry of those who found it not, and led to the corruption at home and in the colonies, as well as to errors and crimes, the offspring of the prevailing fanaticism of the age. The civilization of Mexico, Central and South America, they found but little inferior to that of

some communities of Europe. Hence, the partial amalgamation which ensued, and which the aborigines, from their comparative gentleness, were not disposed to shun. The union of Church and State, and the existence of large standing armies, added to these causes, have been drawbacks to progress among the Spanish republics of America, not the incapacity of the Spanish race for anything that is great and noble in war, in enterprise, in legislation, in letters, in science or in art; a fact fully borne out by the very great men whom in all departments of human excellence it has produced, under circumstances of the most adverse social and political existence.

As to the Cubans, reared in the sunshine, illuminated by the example, conquered by the silent workings of American progress, they have become the superiors of their rulers in all but the art of war, which they are not allowed to cultivate. Of moderate stature, agile, and sinewy, slender frame and nervous temperament, intelligent, polite, of famed hospitality, of gentle manners and generous impulse, the educated Cuban will make his mark in the future of this country. The yeomanry, or, as they are called, *Monteros*, of the island, are a fine race of men; of stronger frame than the residents of cities, inured to toil and the climate of the tropics, of quick apprehension, boldness of character, and hospitable withal, they want but education to become most valuable citizens. Thousands of Cubans have received their education in the United States, and I confidently appeal to those who have had them in charge, whether they have not been among the most advanced in their respective classes. Although not admitted, but with very rare exceptions, in the Spanish army, they have distinguished themselves in the Peninsula, in the "War of Independence," as well as in the "Carlist War." In the former, General ZAYAS, a Havanese, was commander of the Spanish forces, and proved one of the most distinguished Generals of that period. Some served with distinction under BOLIVAR, in Colombia; others in Mexico. General NARCISO LOPEZ, whose military antecedents I have already mentioned, and who commanded the Christiana cavalry in the Carlist War, was considered the best cavalry officer of Spain. ARANGO, already mentioned as the great economist to whom Cuba is indebted for the greatest source of her prosperity, next to the French and English follies of Jamaica and St. Domingo, the freedom of commerce, was, as I have said, a Cuban; so were PINILLOS, for many years the able though Spanish Superintendent of the Havana Treasury; SACO, among the foremost of Cuban writers; HEREDIA, the poet, author of the best composition extant on Niagara, which BRYANT has translated; MILANES, the dramatist, who stands the equal of Spain's best contemporary authors; the distinguished savant JOSE DE LA LUZ CABALLERO; the profound lawyers, ARMAS, ESCOVEDO, ZAMBRANA, and host of others; the not more gifted than patriotic and lamented ANACLETO BERMUDES; TOMAS GENER, the illustrious deputy from Cuba; VARELA, the wise and good; and others who have shown, on the limited and dreary field which is open to Cuban action, what the race might do under happier circumstances.

According to data contained in a memoir of General CONCHA, present Governor of Cuba, of 93,192 children only 11,033 were educated in 1844; and of these, but 3,682 in free schools. The funds assigned in 1847 for public primary education were derived from the following sources:

Royal Treasury,	\$17,173
Junta de Fomento,	10,000
Common Councils,	4,639
Subscriptions,	4,848
Individuals,	<u>3,839</u>

Total	\$40,499
The Royal Treasury having reduced its contingent to six thousand, the difference is	<u>11,173</u>
Being deducted, there remained for total assigned to public instruction	\$29,326

Thus it will be seen, on the authority of the present Captain General of Cuba, that the government, which draws from that colony \$28,000,000 per annum, devotes to public education the sum of but six thousand dollars! Can the condition of the Cubans be presented in a stronger light? Boston pays \$15.42 for every child it educates; New York, \$10.62; St. Louis, \$9.50; Cincinnati, \$6.37. Of 3,000 children from 3 to 16 years of age in a town of Massachusetts, the population of which was one-third Irish, there were but 19 that did not attend school, and, 16 of these having received the clothing which they lacked, the number of uneducated was reduced to three! That is Cuba and *this* is America.

Naturally, the silent, civilizing tendencies of commerce, the proselytism of returned Cubans, and the moral effect upon the country population of American mechanics and engineers disseminated throughout the island, have been unfavourable to Spanish domination. That Spain should have endeavored, at different times, to check the tendencies to education in the United States, and that she should have established a school for Spanish engineers and allowed but Spanish telegraphic operators, is what should have been expected under the circumstances. Of the efforts of the Cubans at independence, mention has been made in a previous article. The sum expended in them has been estimated at two million dollars. The Cuban ladies, noted for their expensive features, handsome figures, diminutive hands and feet, graceful motion, modest deportment, and retiring habits, have been still more so for their patriotic acts. Not only have they sustained their kindred in their efforts for their country, but subscribed money, and even jewels, as was the case in 1851, in aid of General LOPEZ.

The marvelous production of Cuba, under the adverse circumstances in which she is placed, should stamp her sons as the most industrious and energetic people under the tropics. In 1848, Cuba had built nearly three hundred miles of railroads, when Spain had, I believe, only commenced her first one, from Madrid to Aranjuez, a distance of thirty miles. Since then, new and extensive lines have been concluded, and others have been extended, chiefly with Cuban capital and conducted under Cuban management.

Some years ago hotels were unknown at Havana. The hospitality of the citizens sufficed before thousands of strangers flocked to Cuba in quest of health or pleasure. Even now, in most of the interior towns, the latter is the sole reliance of the traveler, and in the country nothing is required, as you go through, but to say: "Here I stop," to meet a "Welcome, sir," and have the most lavish hospitality bestowed upon you for as many days as you choose to tarry, often without previous acquaintanceship or previous introduction. Owing to the attractions of Cuban wealth, the education of Cuba's sons abroad and at home for many years past, at their own cost and through their own exertions, their inclination to travel in Europe and the United States, combined with the social traits of the people, the society of the island compares favorably with that of the metropolis, and for the stranger possessed of the Spanish language has peculiar charms. Indeed, for their literary, social and artistic cultivation, the Cubans may be termed a polite people.

That Cuba would form, with all her elements of industry, wealth, character and refinement, a desirable acquisition to this Union, I trust that I have shown herein. The experience

of this country has proved that Catholicism has gained in elevation of tone and purity, not only by the separation of Church from State, but by the association with other creeds upon the same field of competition, that of Christian effort. That such would be the case in Cuba after annexation, all readers will agree. To the Union she would bring, in a still larger scale, all the combined benefits of security, wealth and power which it has derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Texas and California.

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**CUBA**

**ARTICLE VII**

**System of Labor in Cuba, and its relation to the United States.**

It would be impossible to do full justice to the intricate and all-important question of labor in Cuba and its relation to the United States within the limits of an article, however extended. I shall endeavor, however, to present it in such a shape and on such authority before the press and people of the United States as to convince them that their own interest and that of Cuba and of her slave population are identical, and can only be harmonized by the annexation of that island. No intelligent American need be told that slave labor is, if not more so, as necessary in Cuba for the cultivation of her staples as it is in South Carolina for that of rice and cotton; that it was introduced hundreds of years ago, is adhered to by the Cubans, who are alone responsible therefor, and is considered by them, under proper regulations, beneficial to the African. Nor does he require to be told that the world want sugar, coffee, tobacco, rice and cotton, and cannot do without them; that they cannot be had without slave labor, and that this labor, under the regulations of American civilization, has proved more elevating and Christianizing to the negro than all the missions which were ever sent to Africa. To this labor Cuba is indebted for her production, and the world for a market for profitable exchanges, ministering to the enjoyment of luxuries which have become necessities of civilized life. This labor is in jeopardy from a combination of political and economical disturbing agencies, and must carry in its fall the labor of the South, and thus directly and indirectly endanger the happiness, the peace, and the prosperity of the other sections of the Union. It may be said to have run through three epochs: 1. From the days of LAS CASAS to the treaty between Spain and Great Britain of 1817 for the suppression of the slave trade. 2. From the date of said treaty to that of the introduction of African and Chinese apprentices. 3. From the latter to the present time. In the first period it was easily obtained, and consequently cheap. It laid the foundation of the wealth of the colonies of Europe, both on this continent and in the Antilles; but, transferred to America, without a decent regard to the calls of humanity, not by the planter who was to be the master of the negro, but by the trader, unconcerned as to his future lot, it became distasteful to a large class of Europeans, the more so that in some cases jealousy of American prosperity went to stimulate the promptings of philanthropy. During this period, labor being cheap, the production increased; but the welfare of the slave was not taken into account; males were imported in preference to females, as they could do more work than the latter, and in case of death they could be easily replaced by others newly imported. The nascent political aspirations of the Cubans giving as yet no umbrage to Spain, the negro was not turned into an instrument of intimidation. The hostility of the English government had not been enlisted by the followers of WILBERFORCE against the wealth of Cuba. From the second period dates the success of the latter against Cuban slave labor. They

obtained from Spain the treaty of 1817, which not only looked to the suppression of the slave trade, but gave England the right of control or supervision over all slaves clandestinely introduced thereafter. They even might, at her behest, be emancipated if found upon the island; and here is the beginning of the complications which have since grown up in Cuba. The latter needed labor, the number of females was limited, and, slaves, being overworked, reproduction was but small; the colonists, in supplying themselves with labor, looked to the day, and made small provision for the morrow. As Spain looks to the production of Cuba for the very means necessary to keep her in subjection, in order that thus kept Cuba may serve to pamper her monopolies, she surreptitiously favored the slave traders, for the most part Spaniards, and from ten to twenty thousand slaves have clandestinely yearly introduced since then.

But to the necessity of stimulating production was soon added, in order to counteract the aspirations of the Cubans, now grown to an extent calculated to give alarm, the malignant policy of introducing blacks that would outnumber them, and who, being liable to be armed by the Spaniards in case of revolution, would serve to deter them from the attempt. Hence, the Cubans, especially the more enlightened, although feeling the necessity for a supply of labor, have, as a whole, been opposed to the slave trade. During this, the second period, we find Spain opposed to England, and favoring the Cuban planting interest; but, having conceded to Great Britain the right of the treaty of 1817, she still held over the latter, like Damocles' sword, and as a preventive of revolt, the possible carrying out of the clause of negro emancipation. But the Cubans, under the influence of American ideas and American and Hispano-American examples, could not stop on the onward march to disenthralment. And this brings us to the third period, when Spain, no longer trusting them nor to her own power, and dreading the ever-increasing influence of the United States, combines with England, jealous of the latter, and not only holds forth the threat of sudden abolitionism, but actually intimates, by the introduction of a mass of African, Coolie and Yucatan apprentices, a system of gradual and stealthy Africanization, as the only means left her of maintaining her supremacy as long as Cuba shall be worth possessing. During this latter period she has alternately encouraged or discouraged the slave trade as the pulse of Cuba prompted her to do, in order to slight or conciliate Great Britain. Under the operation of these various causes, the labor of the African has increased in price, and the cost of articles of consumption having also increased, by reason of the duties imposed on foreign importations and the high rate of tonnage dues on American shipping, all devised to favor the importations from Spain and her navigating interest, nothing would have saved Cuban agriculture but the improvements which the sagacity, energy and intelligence of the Cuban planter has introduced during the last twenty years in machinery and the manufacture and carriage of produce, whereby it is estimated that an economy of seventy hands has been attained in a plantation of three hundred negroes. Add to this, that money commands in Cuba a high rate of interest; that, with the further decrease of the slave trade, labor will be still higher than it is at present; the precarious tenure of Spanish rule in Cuba; and the condition of the planter in this state of fear and pressure is any thing but enviable. The labor of the Coolie introduces a disorganizing element in Cuban population, leads to disquietude and instability, and consequently discourages the introduction of foreign or the full employment of native capital. Nothing, then, remains for Cuba but to favor white immigration, and reduce the cost of handicraft; to abolish all duties on importations from the United States, and enormously reduce the cost of articles of consumption; close the African and Coolie trade, and thus raise the standard of the slave, increase his comfort and favor reproduction; give stability to her social

fabric, and thus attract capital, and reduce the rates of interest and insurance; suppress all tonnage dues on American shipping, and thereby invite the brisk trade of the northern States; cancel all restrictions to the importation into the United States of her own valuable productions, and thus increase the demand therefor; dispense with Spanish taxation, and increase by that much the net result of labor; favor education and enhance the capabilities of her people in all departments of human progress; adopt democratic institutions, and thus stimulate their energies, and ennoble their existence, and multiply their happiness. But then she would stand towards the Union in the relation of one of her present members; in the closest political connection, and bound to it by the most unlimited free trade; in other words, annexed.

The foregoing remarks would seem illustrative of the striking contrast between the Spanish political and social system, as witnessed in Cuba, and the American political and social system, as practiced in the Southern States of the Union. On the one hand, cheaper but ruder labor, onerous taxation, high price of articles of consumption, scarcity of capital, ignorance of the people, oppression, and an insecure and chaotic existence; on the other, higher price of labor, with all the concomitants of an improved civilization.

To say that Spanish rule in Cuba is one of hardship to the negro race, and of evil to the Cubans and to the people of the United States, would be incompletely to state the case; it is much more, it is to the two latter one of growing menace and progressive danger. Cuba is silently but surely sliding down the inclined plane of Africanization. Apparently in a state of peace, she approaches war the more as Spain proceeds in the course pursued by her in the introduction of African, Chinese and Indian labor. And this I propose to show. I have stated that distrust of the Cubans, and dread and jealousy of the increasing influence of the United States, were the main causes of the combination between Spain and England. It gave rise, in the first place, to *authorized* attacks against slave property, around which had been thrown the guarantee of the law of March 2, 1845, which prescribed that "in no event and at no time should property in slaves be molested or acted against under pretext of investigating the source it emanated from." Plantations were invaded, and planters despoiled of their property, on the plea that it was illicitly obtained--unless titles thereto were presented anterior to the time stipulated with England for the cessation of the slave trade. It became evident that most of the slaves in Cuba, having been introduced since, and in violation of, the treaty of 1817, through the connivance of the Spanish government with Spanish slave-traders, for the double purpose of increasing her revenues and strengthening an element of political intimidation, without the guarantee of the law of 1845, (not to be relied upon as Spain is held by the leading strings of France and England,) labor in Cuba and the security of the institutions of the southern States, as well as the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing and navigating interests of the North depending thereupon, rest on a volcano. Will this danger ever cease while Cuba is in the hands of a foreign power? But to the authorized attacks upon slave property was added the second feature of the combination: the introduction of Africans, Asiatics and Yucatan Indians as apprentices, a St. Domingo and Jamaica *redivivus*, at the instigation of the very powers that had most suffered from the very sad experience of their once prosperous and happy colonies. That the character and aim of the coalition may be properly appreciated, I subjoin the dispatch of Lord PALMERSTON to Lord HOWDEN, British Minister at the Court of Spain. It was issued immediately after the promotion of the former to the head of the British Ministry in 1851:

“FOREIGN OFFICE, Oct. 20, 1851.

“My LORD--I have received your Lordship's dispatch of the 1st instant, transmitting

copy of a note you had received from Mr. De Miraflores, in reply to your note of the 20th ult., recommending, on behalf of her Majesty's government, that the government of Spain should follow the example set them by New Granada in declaring the total abolition of slavery in that republic.

"I have to instruct your Lordship to observe to Mr. De Miraflores that the slaves of Cuba form a large portion of the population of Cuba, and that any steps taken to provide for their emancipation would, therefore, so far as the black population is concerned, be quite in unison with the recommendation made by her Majesty's government, that measures should be adopted for contenting the people of Cuba, with a view to secure the connexion between that island and the Spanish crown; and it must be evident that, if the negro population of Cuba were rendered free, that fact would create a more powerful element of resistance to any scheme for annexing Cuba to the United States. PALMERSTON."

Here is the explicit avowal of Lord PALMERSTON'S motives, and a revelation of the narrow and mistaken policy which would seek a benefit to England in the ruin and desolation of a prospective member of the American Union. The session of May 30, 1853, made it evident that Exeter Hall had achieved against Cuban property the greatest of its triumphs. In accordance with the new policy, the *Heraldo*, of Madrid, proclaimed in the same year the barbarous doctrine that "Cuba must be Spanish or African," and further, to debar the United States from her possession, an insidious offer was made to them to join in a tripartite guarantee of the island to Spain, which was rejected by Mr. EVERETT in a most overwhelming and statesmanlike production. Baffled in the attempt, Captain General CANEDO was sent to Cuba as the instrument of the Spanish Cabinet. His bungling ways caused an alarm among the Spaniards themselves. He was recalled, and the more subtle Marquis DE LA PEZUELA was dispatched, insidiously to carry out the dark designs of the tripartite policy. In quick succession measures were taken by him to bring about the ruin of Cuba. The decree of the 3d of May, 1854; the order for the registration of slaves introduced into the island in violation of the treaty of 1817; the decree freeing more than fifteen thousand *emancipados* in the space of a fortnight; that of May 25th, enrolling and arming negroes and mulattoes; the project of importing negroes from Africa under the name of apprentices; the institution of free schools for the instruction of the blacks, while the whites were left to their own resources; and finally, the legalization of intermarriages between whites and blacks, which last measure *has been carried out into effect*, to the indignation of the Creoles, are among the measures adopted by him, and which, according to BALLOU, "show the determination of Spain to bring about the emancipation of slavery, and the equalization of the colored and white population, that it may maintain its grasp upon the island under penalty of a war of races, which could only terminate in the extinction of the whites in case of a revolutionary movement." "These measures roused even the Spanish residents, some of the wealthiest and most influential of whom held secret meetings to discuss the measures to be adopted in such a crisis, in which it was resolved to withhold all active aid from the government, some going so far as to advocate common cause with the Creoles." Finding that he had overreached his mark, the Captain General strove, in his decree of May 31st, to assuage the public alarm and indignation. The policy of the Spanish government, it is true, has been, under the rule of General CONCHA, one of mixed conciliation and severity, induced by fear, not love. How long will it last? Do the United States hold a guarantee that at any day it may not be changed? A false alarm, a panic of the Cuban government, a dispute with the United States, may be the signal for the wicked act.

On the 4th of January, 1854, the *Revista Militar*, of Madrid, a Spanish publication

corresponding to the *United Service Gazette* of the British Islands, in view of the precarious tenure of Spanish rule in Cuba, made the following ominous recommendations:

“To form military colonies of infantry and cavalry as those proposed in the *Military Review* of January 10, 1853, giving sufficient latitude to those of blacks, not only on account of their little cost, but because, by thus preparing this race to act in our behalf whenever required, by bettering their condition of slaves and freedmen, and facilitating as much as possible their emancipation, the most powerful check would be re-established which Cuba has ever had to restrain her attempts at freedom before the year 1844, when that check was necessarily weakened by the demoralization to which the colored race became reduced.

“Thus, by bettering the condition of the islanders, (Cubans,) so as to remove their antipathy to the government of the metropolis, and dispel their hopes of benefitting by annexation, they would be made to see that if the island could cease to be ours it would never do so to pass into their hands, or those of the United States, but *into those of the blacks*.

“But that which they would especially see, which it is desirable that they should see, and which would be most disagreeable to them, would be the necessity of renouncing all dreams of independence and annexation, because the island could not escape the alternative of being either Spanish or African.

“In order to form colonies of blacks, or simply regiments thereof, (if there was time for nothing else,) besides the means proposed in the *Military Review*, which could not at first furnish even a number approximating the four or six thousand men which would be needed, we would suggest a species of *enlistment among the slaves, the owners furnishing one selected out of every twenty male field hands, and one out of every ten employed in domestic labor,*” &c.

The reader will readily conceive the influence of this publication, and the importance which attaches to its suggestions, in a country where the army furnishes, of necessity, the military, civil, and judicial head of the Cuban government. The advice did not remain long unheeded. Battalions of colored troops were formed, drilled and paraded, and they still constitute a portion of the garrison of the island. At every alarm of the Cuban government they are turned out as a bugbear for the especial warning of the Cuban people. A singular commentary upon the loyalty of the latter.

Under these circumstances, the State of Louisiana, which, from its sugar interest, has been mistakenly supposed interested in keeping Cuba out of the Union, promptly sounded the alarm, and through its Legislature, (Governor HERBERT having already taken the initiative,) spoke in the following emphatic resolutions, the precise language of which I am unable to give, as I translate them from a Spanish version:

“*Resolved*, That we witness with alarm the recent and confessed change which has taken place in the policy of the Spanish government in Cuba, the manifest tendency and result of which must be the abolition of slavery and the destruction of the white race upon that island.

“*Resolved*, That we regard this event as fraught with the most pernicious consequences to the same institutions and interests in these States; that it will destroy the social and political existence of that island; that it will materially affect the natural law of American progress, rendering forever impossible the admission of Cuba into this Union; that it will establish in our immediate neighborhood and almost in sight of our shores a government administered by an inferior and African race, subject to the direct influence of European interests and ideas, and adverse to the pure American influence which should pervade this continent and the islands adjacent thereto; that it will menace the security of the mouths of all our rivers and bays of the

Southwest which disembogue into the Gulf of Mexico, the Mediterranean of America, that of the new and great channels of trade through that sea and the Isthmus, and that it will materially endanger the commerce between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

“*Resolved*, That we approve the sentiments expressed in the inaugural address of General Pierce in reference to the extension of our limits and to the establishment of pernicious influences on our southern borders, and those manifested by Governor Herbert, in his recent message of the present year.

“*Resolved*, That the opportunity has come when the American people and the Federal government should take a great and active interest in the proceedings of Spain and other European powers in Cuba, in order to prevent the carrying out of measures adverse to our security and welfare.”

Views so correct, and so forcibly expressed, certainly do not exhibit the State of Louisiana as likely to profit by the destruction of slavery in Cuba, as a distinguished Senator from this State has erroneously inferred. I shall recur to this subject when treating of the advantages of Cuban annexation to each section of the Union.

But if the first part of the Africanization policy, that which aims at the liberation of the slaves introduced since 1817, has been desisted from for the time being, lest the Spaniards themselves should make common cause with the Creoles, and remains, as I have said, impending over the heads of the Cuban people, the second fruit of the alliance between Spain and Exeter Hall, the introduction of African, Chinese and Yucatan apprentices, has been and is working silently and irresistibly the gradual ruin of Cuba. And for this there is no remedy while Spain possesses Cuba, for labor she must give her or she gets no revenue, and without revenue she cannot pay her army of 30,000 men, and without that army Cuba is lost. It is meet that, in connection with the apprenticeship system, I should give the views of the Cubans themselves, who are more directly interested in the question of Cuban labor, among whom the system works at present, who have therefore the very best opportunities of forming a correct opinion of it, and who, if it were desirable, would not be slow to praise it. The conclusions they have come to in regard to it have, for these various reasons, the greatest weight. And let me here make the necessary distinction between the accepting of a system and the approving of it. The Cuban who cannot plant without labor, although not approving of the slave trade, a part of the Spanish system, accepts the labor of the slave clandestinely introduced by Spain, and for the same reason, although not approving of the apprenticeship system, does he accept the apprentice, a part of the European system. He would infinitely prefer, however, the American system of slave labor, consonant with humanity and with his and the slave’s interest, fed by reproduction, not by the slave or Coolie trade; made profitable, not, as the European system, solely by the depreciation of wages, but by the advantages arising from confidence and stability, the civilization of the slave, his health and comfort, the light imposition of taxes, the benefits of untrammelled commerce and navigation, the abundance of capital, the low rates of insurance, and the innumerable improvements in every department of science and of art only to be wrought by the energies of a dominant white race in the full enjoyment of political rights.

(To be continued.)

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**CUBA**

**ARTICLE VII.--CONTINUED.**

### **System of Labor in Cuba, and its Relation to the United States.**

I have already had occasion to quote an able and luminous address by a "Cuban Planter" to Marshal ESPARTERO, published in 1854, being an "Appeal to the Spanish Nation" to sell the Island of Cuba to the United States. From this work I have translated facts and remarks concerning the apprenticeship system, which I consider of much value to the American statesman. The author gives us, in the first place, the opinion of Sr. VAZQUEZ LUCIPO, the law officer of the Spanish government in Cuba, in matters relating to its economical affairs. Mr. LUCIPO, although a zealous advocate of Spanish rule, says of the system of apprentices, in his "Fiscal Report," that Great Britain, in resorting to it, "established severe regulations, which, from a pharisaical regard to humanity, she shrunk from applying to her recently emancipated negroes, " and remarks that apprenticeship was not with the British "a consequence of the suppression of the slave-trade, but rather of emancipation, which, by leaving the slaves since 1838 to their free agency, has allowed them to fall back upon their natural indolence, so that they now refuse the regular and steady labor, without which planting on a large scale, at present a necessity of colonial production, becomes utterly impossible."

The following conclusions may be deduced from Mr. LUCIPO's report: 1. That from *natural reproduction, the slave trade once abolished, the necessary slave labor can be obtained in Cuba*, and this is an important statement, coming from the highest Spanish authority upon the subject, which should dissipate the fears of Senator HAMMOND, expressed in his recent speech at Barnwell, that "with the slave trade closed, and her only resort for slaves to this continent, Cuba would, besides crushing our whole sugar culture by her competition, afford in a few years a market for all the slaves in Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland." 2. That its wages are too high if their just value in the market were obtained. 3. That the system is immoral, because it sanctions abuses in the contracts and in the transportation, imposes coercion and summary chastisement by means not authorized by law, and produces a concubinage either among the immigrants themselves, if women are imported, or with the slave race, if only males are introduced, as is the case at present. Attention is drawn in the same report to the disadvantage under which the apprentice labors while waiting for employment in the barracoons, to his want of proper food, attention in sickness, and above all of that discipline so necessary even for his personal cleanliness--a discipline, it seems to me, the more difficult to establish that the apprentice considers himself free, and will not work without compulsion of some sort. A free, if you like it, but *involuntary* labor.

In a report submitted to the Captain General in 1847, the Committee of the Honorable Corporation of Havana, which is composed of men of wealth, talent and high social station, and who hold their offices during life, expressed themselves against the introduction of apprentices. "Neither the project," said they, "of Mr. GOICURIA, nor any other measure purporting to bring colonists or settlers to the Island, is of itself sufficient to increase the population of the country with the rapidity and progression which we all desire." "Men follow the general laws of nature, and increase with the increase of the means of living and decrease with their diminution." "To increase these means is what is needed. Any improvements adopted in this line, however inconsiderable, will produce a constant and permanent cause of increase of population, more permanent and pervading than all the contracts devised to obtain and transport apprentices." "The distribution of lands, the increased guarantee to property, the least possible burthens and taxes, the just freedom of labor and industry, a good municipal administration in every department, the preservation of habits of economy and of good morals, would be the surest, and

may be the cheapest, means of increasing our population.” “We must not deceive our selves; sugar plantations, as now constituted, cannot exist without slaves. The price of wages, like that of all other things, is fixed by the supply and the demand, and no artificial means can make it rise or fall. *Cultivators* engaged in other countries may be brought over at great expense, but it soon will come to pass that these cultivators will either refuse to work or will [...] or will leave the country, or will not be restrained without coercive measures. This is in the natural order of things which is not for man to change.” “What surprises us is, that those who so much dread to admit those of our own race, religion and color, and object to them as heterogeneous, should not have feared to introduce into the Island, at great cost, a new heterogeneous race, which has the objectionable features of the other races without the advantages of any of them; for these Asiatics and neither robust and civilized, like the whites, nor slave and hardy, like the blacks, and in any unfortunate event would make common cause with other races, and probably not with the white. In this, truly, there is danger.”

Let it be remembered that the preceding judgement on the apprenticeship system comes from the highest body of Cubans now found upon the Island. But can we have a better case in point than the Island of Jamaica, whose sad experience of the apprenticeship system is before us to warn us with its lessons. The slaves of that Island, --the slave trade having been closed for nearly half a century,-- were, for the most part, Creoles. In the period preceding the suppression of the slave trade care had been taken to equalize the number of males and females, and the comforts of their firesides were beginning to produce a guarantee of security; the slaves, about to obtain their civil liberty, had not partaken of the wild, warlike and savage life of the desert; they had had the benefit of the preaching of the Gospel at the expense of the Metropolis; every thing, in fine, was done, says the author of the “Appeal” already mentioned, which the wisdom and foresight of Parliament could devise; and what was the denouement of this great drama, so wisely and carefully prepared: A [...] of anxiety and of dangers. As soon as the system of apprenticeship was proclaimed, postponing the total freedom of the slave to the year 1840, the latter considered themselves possessed of the rights of freemen, and nothing could, thenceforth, prevent their over-leaping the barriers of the law. The master and the slave were placed in open contest; the prestige of the former having vanished, the latter became insubordinate, resisted all attempts to make him work, and chose to impose conditions. The whites, alarmed at the dangers which threatened their lives and property, and despairing of obtaining a restoration to order and to labor from that chaos which portended calamities and bloody scenes, themselves petitioned that the work of emancipation should be consummated before the time assigned therefor. From apprenticeship to emancipation the transition was rapid and inevitable, and the spectacle now presented by Jamaica, once opulent and happy, reveals to us the results obtained by negro emancipation.

Upon the subject of Jamaica, Mr. BIGELOW, whose proclivities would have made it a pleasant task to set forth in brilliant colors the results of emancipation, thus depicts what he saw in that Island twelve years after emancipation. The houses of a single story, says he, are poor and miserable, most of them dilapidated, none in course of construction; their rent is nominal; trades have disappeared; city lots are vacant, and the best lands find no purchasers; the streets are without pavement; commerce without activity or life; the majority of the population indecently clad in rags, and loafing, and the very language changed and unintelligible. The Coolies or Chinese imported by the government at the expiration of black apprenticeship, in order to supply the place of “faineant negroes,” are now seen wandering in the public places begging alms “They

behave as if there were no shame in begging, and as if the least indemnity they are entitled to for having been transported from their distant homes to this foreign land was the daily provision for their wants. Their faces seemed at all hours to reveal their suffering condition, reflecting, as from a broken mirror, the outrage perpetrated upon their nation, and of which they are the victims.”

From 1832 to 1850, one hundred and fifty sugar plantations and five hundred coffee estates had been abandoned, and with them 400,000 acres of land and the labor of 60,000 men. Landed property with difficulty finds purchasers at 3 or 5 per cent of its value at the period of emancipation. The value of landed estates amounted to 20,000,000 pounds sterling; at the present day, only to 660,000. Individuals can obtain no pecuniary advance thereon. The local government has in vain attempted it with the guarantee of the Island. Mr. BIGELOW then shows a decrease of production from the year 1844 to 1848, as compared with that from 1831 to 1838, in British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad, of

3,100,000 cwt. of sugar  
506,000 cwt. of honey  
3,324,000 gallons of rum  
52,000,000 lbs. of coffee

and the whole cotton crop.

“Of course,” says the Honorable E. STANLEY, a member of the British Parliament, who visited Jamaica for the express purpose of observing the results of emancipation, “it is an easy and a plausible thing to maintain that man never works so well as when he works for his own benefit, but in practice it has invariably been found that the negro laborer, far from improving since the abolishment of slavery, has retrograded; that indolence, in lieu of industry, has been the result of freedom; that the task he now performs is not half of what it might be in a day of easy labor, and that for this service, *such as it is*, he demands a price which would be exorbitant in any other portion of the globe.”

Of the 4,500 Coolies introduced in Jamaica in 1846 and 1847, there scarcely remained a few hundred of the class described by Mr. BIGELOW. Africans could only be obtained by buying them in Africa, an act which the English law pronounces piracy. Nevertheless, the planters of Jamaica petitioned the government for vessels to transport them, money to pay them, and laws to *force them* to work.

The *Edinburgh Review*, for April 1851, demonstrates the incompatibility of the white and the black race living on the same soil on a footing of equality. “There were taken,” says the *Review*, in its number of April 1852, “to the Island of Mauritius, from 1843 to 1852, 105,370 laborers, of which number only 15,557 were females, and, as a consequence of this new step, compulsory measures were taken to compel them to work. In spite of the laws and their rigid enforcement, many colonists succeeded in evading their contracts, and became [...] thieves and finally, having left their wives in India, perpetrated the most shameful crimes. Competition, instead of inducing labor from the negro, produced the opposite effect, and even then, the increase of labor obtained was more apparent than real.”

“The Agricultural Review of the West Indian of Barbadoes,” says the *Kingston (Jamaica) Journal* of August 2, 1854, “reveals circumstance relating to the population of that island and its condition not a little alarming. In view of the large sugar crops which for several consecutive years have been made in Barbadoes, we, and others who are not ourselves, had inferred that the Island prospered, and that its laboring population was satisfied and completely happy. The language of the Review portrays, however, a state of things in the Barbadoes quite the reverse of

this, and shows that large sugar crops, accompanied by horrible destitution and starvation, are not incompatible occurrences.”

In Guatemala, (now Central America,) after the declaration of freedom to the slaves, there entered in the hospital of San Juan de Dios, in the year 1827, *fifteen hundred* patients, from stabs, of whom four hundred died.

There is a rumor that one hundred thousand Coolies are about to be introduced in Cuba. I have given the testimony of the highest authorities in Spain, Cuba, Great Britain and the northern States of this Union, (Mr. BIGELOW, I believe, is an editor of the N.Y. *Evening Post*,) in relation to the European system of labor. The following extract from the last of a series of articles in *Russell's Magazine*, published in Charleston, South Carolina, to which I have already had occasion to refer, entitled “A Trip to Cuba,” will give to the reader the opinions of a southern planter in regard to the impossibility of Cuba dispensing with African slave labor, or of exchanging it, without disaster and untold calamities, for any other than the more enlightened American slave system:

“If we consider the actual condition of Cuba, as she now presents herself to our observation, we will find her under the worst form of government--an unchecked despotism--exercised by deputy--enjoying an extraordinary degree of prosperity. I suppose none will be found hardy enough to deny the fact of her profuse wealth, centering chiefly with the agricultural and commercial classes--and that, not the result of inheritance--not coming from a remote ancestry--as happens in most countries of Europe--but recent, and the result of successful industry exerted within the last two or three generations. I desire to impress on the mind of the reader this fact--that the prosperity in question, in spite, as we have said, of this execrable government, in which the [...] are unrepresented and are subject to all kinds of misgovernment and [...]--must spring from some most sufficient and abounding cause--since it endures so much, and, notwithstanding, sustains itself, at a point unattained by any other country in the world!

“If we consider the geographical position of Cuba--placed as she is between the Gulf and the Caribbean Sea, and stretching for nearly seven hundred miles just within the northern limits of the tropics--and reflect on the valuable and indispensable productions that belong to this belt of latitude--and then on her geological magnificence and the extraordinary fertility of her soil--we begin to comprehend what the elements are that go to the formation of her unrivaled wealth. The main causes, then, are climate, and fertility of soil. But when we look around the archipelago of islands, in the same belt of latitude, and of rich, but it may be of not so exceedingly rich, a soil as that of the Island in question--we shall find none equaling her or approaching her in prosperity--and wherefore? We must by inquiry and reflection endeavor to arrive at the solution of this problem!

“Here is the fine island of Hispaniola--what is her condition? Let us refer to the authorities, (commercial reports published by government,) to decide this question. In the year 1790, while she yet remained a colony of France, she exported 70,000,000 pounds of white sugar, 93,000,000 of brown, and 68,000,000 of pounds of coffee, 6,000,000 pounds of cotton, valued, together with indigo and other products, at \$27,820,000! St. Domingo then had, to 38,000 whites and 8,000 free blacks 455,000 negroes (slaves) employed in field labors. Then came the frenzy of the revolution--the slaves were liberated, and the island was wrested from the possession of France! Now see the result of free negro dominion; we quote from the public documents: ‘Sugar, indigo and tobacco, have disappeared from the list of exports; of cotton but a trifle is now produced.’ ‘Mahogany, and coffee, gathered from the wild coffee trees, the

remnants of French dominion, are now their main reliance.’ ‘The total value of their present exports have shrunk from 205,000,000 of francs to 3,500,000 francs.’ And what is the condition of Jamaica? Her exports, which once amounted, under a different policy, when her soil was cultivated by slaves instead of apprentices, to \$\_\_\_\_\_, are now reduced to the pitiful amount of some \$400,000 a year, (a sum which the crops of two Cuban sugar planters will overbalance,) while her imports exceed \$1,300,000 and show a balance of trade against her of more than \$800,000 annually!

“The peculiar source of the prosperity of Cuba, then, is *her possession of slave labor*. She owns six hundred thousand slaves. It is this element which she has, and which the others want: and by all logical sequences, you must ascribe her unquestionable superiority to this cause. It is as clear as proof can make it! but this matters nothing to the abolitionist. He won’t believe the proofs: more than this--he won’t read them!--He don’t wish for the truth, and he won’t find it. It would only serve to destroy his self-esteem, which he cherishes even more than another man.

“It is slave labor then. It is the possession of these six hundred thousand African slaves which is the peculiar source of her prosperity. They are employed in the production of sugar, molasses, aguardiente, coffee, tobacco, fruits, Indian corn, potatoes, and cotton, whenever the price justifies the culture; but if cotton is not now produced the neglect comes from economical and not from climatic reasons--it is simply because this article of culture is now less remunerating than the others.

“In the third volume of *Commercial Reports*, printed by order of the Senate, page 146, we have ‘*the computed value of the production of Cuba in 1855*,’ amounting to a total of \$77,900,000--a sum almost incredible when considered in reference to the laboring force producing it. Of all the agricultural products which go to compose this immense amount, the sugar is the most important.--In the table from which we quote, the sugar is set down at a valuation of

	\$36,000,000
Molasses	2,400,000
Tobacco, cigars, cigaritos, &c	32,000,000
Fruits	2,000,000
Coffee, rum, wax, honey, minerals, &c	<u>5,500,000</u>
Total	\$77,900,000

“Now the number of slaves to whose labor this amount is credited, if the Cuban authorities are to be believed, is but 426,000; but relying on the information derived from the Cuban planters themselves, I have assumed the actual number to be 600,000. The amount of \$77,900,000 produced by these seems almost fabulous. The actual exports of the year were thirty-two millions, and are sufficiently starting, leaving an immense amount for domestic consumption, and in appropriations in ways I cannot undertake to explain. By the report of the Secretary of the Treasury just published, her exports to America alone amounted, the last year, to forty-five millions of dollars.

“Where in the world, besides, can there be shown a like result from the same application of labor?

“And here some caviling dissentient will bray in the remark, *African labor*, say you? Why should that be *slave labor*? Why not leave him free, and let him work and receive his hire, as other laborers do, in temperate climates? Why, thou lineal descendant, thou undoubted progeny, of the beast bestrode by Balaam, that talkest without the inspiration of thy progenitor; does Jamaica, does St. Domingo, speak nothing intelligible to you? Do you wish to learn

something? Know, then, all African labor in tropical climates is compulsory labor. The negro will not labor unless made to labor; and happy he who has a master to care for his wants, while he exacts his service, and restrains him for his own good in cases where he seldom exerts self-restraint, as is but too well known. But my purpose is not to argue of colors with the blind--(they think themselves always the keenest judges) I simply want to point to this peculiar labor as the origin of the Cuban wealth. This mine diffuses its ore throughout every section, and to every inhabitant of the island. Generated as we have been, it brings wealth to the proprietors, pays the overseers, clerks, engineers and carpenters, all the men of white blood directly concerned in the culture and manufacture, pays profits to factors, salesmen, merchants, ship owners, or store keepers, who vend the articles themselves, or those which are brought back in exchange for the domestic products. The moneys which circulate every where, which enliven and vivify all the channels of commerce, are derived from this one sufficing source African slave labor! These valuable agricultural products, shipped to the mother country, purchase her products in return, and come to the Cuban consumer at a lighter duty than the productions of other countries. This preference, even if short of monopoly, is a source of prosperity to Spain. The revenues raised from this source, as well as the greater ones raised from foreign commodities, and the internal taxes, all go into the coffers of the State, to an annual amount of from 25 to 30 millions, and are remitted to Spain to pamper royal luxury, and to pay the salaries of government officers, and the expenses of the army and navy, employed *in the defence of Cuba!* Cuba thus emphatically pays for the armaments that keep her in subjection! furnishes the stick that breaks her own head and gilds it ostentatiously besides! Can Cuba, these things being so, emancipate her slaves? or, what is the same thing, dispense with slave labor? There are dreamers who think so; but what silly things will not dreamers think? Jamaica did not emancipate hers. It was the Imperial government which did it, in defiance of her will and interest, and compounded with her cheveril conscience, by paying her a scant stipend, as the assumed value of her slaves, leaving the hopeless depreciation of the land unconsidered in the forced transaction.

“The statistics applicable to this question will show that what Jamaica lost, Cuba has gained.

“Neither did St. Domingo liberate her slaves--the destruction was the fiat of the *Convention!* She fell a victim to the sans culottes during the frenzy of the French revolution! Liberty, fraternity, equality! were the cabalistic words that ruined a prosperous colony--gave the accomplished, elegant, highly cultivated Creoles to the butchers of a bloody frantic multitude, or compelled them to [...].

“Well! what have these emancipated slaves done for themselves, or for the country, in St. Domingo? They are a by-word of contempt? And what have the emancipated blacks done for themselves, or the colony, in Jamaica? They verify to the very letter what I have affirmed of them--they will not work unless made to work!

“Cuba is perfectly aware of the working of the free system in St. Domingo, and the apprentice system in Jamaica. She will accept neither--She cannot be persuaded to embrace suicide as a remedy, and I am satisfied if Spain, in her besotted bigotry, or her representatives in the Gulf, acting under like influences, shall attempt to establish either of these systems in Cuba, that Cuba will revolt, and in that revolt we shall behold the beginning of the end!

“We must look at the constitution of society in Cuba, in order to understand this. There are, at the head, planters--the slave owners--whose crops, as we have shown, are the source of all prosperity. These are almost exclusively Creoles or Cubans by birth--come of Spanish parentage;

their interest in the existing state of things is too plain to be disputed. Then, there are the merchants, who exchange these agricultural products for foreign goods, which they import. These may be Cubans, or Catalans, or Peninsulars, by nationality; but they are equally interested in the system which provides the products which serve as the basis of their exchange. Cut off these, and they are bankrupt! Then, there are the manufacturers, the storekeepers, the tradesmen, the artisans, who draw their support, directly or indirectly, from this great fund, generated as we have seen! The very placement of the Peninsular government have a moneyed interest in the system; for, should that fail, their salaries would be imperiled; and there is no class that would not sympathize with the Cubans, if their peculiar institutions were assailed, but the army, whose pride as Spaniards might make them insensible to the wrong done to a *province* which they were expressly sent to overawe!

“As to the Coolie system, attempted as a substitution for the African, I saw enough to convince me that it was, and must be, a failure! The Coolie is incapable of enduring the heat of the climate; he is unfitted for the severe field labors exacted of the African. No colony cultivated by these can compete successfully with another cultivated by African slave labor.”

There is a peculiar importance attached to the remarks of the preceding extract. The inference may be drawn from it that, should Spain be induced to emancipate the slaves of Cuba, at the first dawn of her determination Spaniards and Cubans--even her officers themselves, and perhaps a portion of her army, who have interest in Cuba--would rise to oppose her, and that, should she succeed in abolishing slavery, she would commit suicide.

A Havana correspondent of the New York Herald, of March of the present year, gives as follows the movement of the Coolie trade, and comments upon it in a manner corroborative of the views already expressed:

“The following table, derived from a reliable source, exhibits the total number of vessels that have arrived at this port since 1847, with Asiatics, their flags, tonnage, number and per-centage of deaths, &c., which, I think, will not be deemed uninteresting:

Flag of vessels	No.	Tonnage	Asiatics	Landed	Deaths	% of Deaths
American	13	13,545	6,744	5,929	815	12
British	29	21,375	10,791	9,205	1,586	14 3/4
Dutch	8	5,003	2,773	2,463	310	11 1/4
French	7	6,037	3,655	3,154	501	13 3/4
Spanish	5	2,038	1,779	1,489	290	11 1/4
Portuguese	3	1,246	1,049	1,021	28	2 3/4
Peruvian	3	2,484	1,314	812	502	38 1/4
Bremen	1	560	249	236	13	5 1/2
Norwegian	1	470	221	179	42	19
Chilian		1	250	202	155	47
	23 1/2					
Total	71	53,008	28,777	24,643	4,134	14 3/4

“From the foregoing it will be seen that the loss of life on the total number shipped actually amounts to 14 3/4 per cent; and whilst the number of deaths of those brought hither in Portuguese ships amounts to only 2 3/4 per cent, the number brought in American ships amounts to 12 per cent, in British ships to 14 3/4 per cent, and in French ships to 13 3/4 per cent, whilst in Peruvian ships the number of deaths amount to 38 1/4 per cent.

“Who can contemplate this vast amount of loss of life without horror? Who think of the

sufferings of the poor wretches after they arrive here without regret that the flag of this country has been disgraced in bringing these Asiatics to Cuba, without the mantling blush of shame tinging his cheek? I had thought it was illegal for American ships to be engaged in this trade, but it would appear, if there be a law against their being so engaged, it is broken, with impunity.

“It is worthy of remark that the number of deaths have always been proportionate to the length of the passage, and I cannot omit drawing particular attention to the fact that all these Asiatics brought here are males, not a single female having arrived among the 24,000 and upwards that have come to this island? Is this not the very refinement of cruelty?

“Besides, this trade has not even the sorry excuse of the African slave trade. The Africans are savages, whom it may be said it is charity to civilize and Christianize; the Asiatics are far from being savages,--many of them are persons of refined habits and considerable education.”

The superior intelligence of the Coolie laborer, and the fact of his conscious superiority over the African, make him the more dangerous as a laborer associated with a savage, ignorant and war-like race.

In reference to the Coolie system, the *New York Herald* forcibly remarks in an editorial article:

“One of the fallacies of the humanitarians has been completely exploded by the social experiments made in Jamaica and Spanish America. It is proved that unequal and dissonant races of men cannot live in social communion with equal political rights. For this reason a political *status* has not been conferred upon the bond laborers under the new system. They have no vote, they cannot sit upon juries, and they cannot pursue a claim at law except in certain prescribed forms and courts. Thus far the experiments have not determined what is the precise position of these members of the community after their term of bond service has expired. They constitute an anomaly not considered in the European constitution of society, which, though strict in its enforcement of class, has no recognition of caste.

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“Communities cannot everywhere, either in the tropics or out of it, be filled with population until labor can be obtained at starvation prices, as is the case in the little Island of Barbadoes. Neither is it wisdom to endeavor to keep the price of labor at a low point. The true aim of every society is so to increase the productive power of the individual, that he may obtain a high remuneration for his labor without increasing the cost of his product to the consumer. This is not the philosophy of the Coolie and African contract labor systems. Their only aim is to diminish the price of unskilled labor. Such a system, it would seem, can only end in the creation of a large mass of worn-out paupers, which eventually must weigh heavily upon the community. If we do not mistake the indications in Mauritius, such a result seems to be developing itself there.”

“To increase the productive power of the individual, that he may obtain a high remuneration for his labor without increasing the cost of his produce to the consumer,” is the philosophy of the American system of slave labor, as contradistinguished from the European. It is the state of things most desirable to all concerned--the one which Cuba expects by annexation.

In conclusion, if the measures adopted by the Spanish government to supply Cuba with labor tend to the Africanization of the Island; if Spain has no other resort but that, placed as she is, between the re-opening the slave trade, (which it is impossible for her legally to do, and which even if she did, legally or clandestinely, would still be an aggravation from the complications it must bring in relation to the right of search and Africanization,) and the loss of her Cuban

revenues; if by Africanization our commercial and navigating interests in the Gulf are jeopardized, the social institutions of one-half of this confederacy placed in imminent peril, involving in its fate all the great interests of the whole Union, are we not right in stating that the day predicted by Mr. ADAMS has arrived, when Cuba would become “INDISPENSABLE TO THE CONTINUANCE AND INTEGRITY OF THE UNION ITSELF”? And, if so, should we not say to Spain and Europe, as we value our peace, our interests, our social and political existence: carry out your systems in Africa, in Asia, or in the Indian Ocean; *there* you come not in immediate contact with the property, the homes and firesides of an enlightened and free people; there, surrounded by darkness, you may give light; but *here*, into the midst of light you would bring a chaos, and this we must, we will resist. And if the Monroe doctrine saw danger to our peace and institutions in the settlement of men of our race upon this continent outside of our limits, with what dread and apprehension should it not regard the introduction into the islands adjacent thereto, not of Spaniards, Germans, French, British, Swedes or Dutch, but of a heterogeneous and savage race; the rallying tribes for Jamaica and St. Domingo?

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**CUBA**

**Article VIII.**

**On the Geographical and Strategical Position of the Island.**

Cuba, variously designated as the Key of the Gulf, the Pearl, the Gem or the Queen of the Antilles, is situated, not merely at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, but one-fourth within it, and being long and narrow, might be likened to a tongue protruding from the mouth represented by the Gulf of Mexico. By some it has been compared to a signet on a ring, formed by the territory adjacent to the Gulf. I think that from her shape and position, and from what she is destined to become, she may, with propriety, be termed the Clasp of America. She is the westernmost and, therefore, the most *American*, of the West India Islands. At sixty miles in a straight line from Key West and Tortugas, from which the salutes of the Moro Castle are sometimes heard; at ninety miles from the coast of Yucatan, with the great harbor and the formidable fortifications of the Havana within six hours steaming of American territory; in the course of the Gulf stream, cutting in twain the coasting trade of the United States, which exceeds in value our foreign commerce; closing the outlet from the Gulf, New Orleans and the Valley of the Mississippi; commanding the commerce with California and the Pacific coast through Panama and Nicaragua, and still more so that by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec,--she effectually blocks the passage and may stop the ingress and egress of the greatest commercial movement on this continent; and that, too, with one thousand miles of United States coast on either side, in which there is scarcely a harbor capable of giving shelter to or of sending forth a ship of the first class, to wit: from Norfolk to the Rio Grande.

From an article in Andrews' Report, S. Doc. 112, entitled “The Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida,” I extract the following paragraphs, which give a general outline of the amazing importance of the latter: