

American citizens have taken and will take part therein, animated by the holiest feelings of human nature and justified by their natural rights. The government which is struggling to perpetuate its despotism proclaims its foes to be pirates and robbers, and not entitled to the usages of war. Our own government has failed in its duty to place itself on record in such a way as shall lend its moral influence to the cause of humanity and human progress. It has gone even further than this, and has recently displayed a secret partisanship for the Power which has been rejected, and the members of the Cabinet exhibit a self-accusing spirit by laying the onus of the act upon the inferior member of the Council. Every thinking person in the country rejects with a laugh of scorn the statement that Mr. Hoar alone is responsible for the acts which have committed the government to an obnoxious policy, and none, however poor in intellect, will believe that the Attorney General took the liberty of committing the government in these great questions without advice and without direction from the whole body.

The whole government, from President Grant down to Mr. Hoar, is responsible for the acts which mark its policy and prove its partisanship. If Mr. Fish has consented to this course willingly he has exhibited a want of sympathy with American feeling and with the march of American ideas which disqualifies him for the high place he holds. If he entertains sympathies for the Cubans in their efforts to establish their own freedom, to sweep slavery from their land and to participate in the political happiness which we enjoy, he should show it in some other way than by whisperings through the pen of a newspaper correspondent. Such breathings are not sufficient to counteract acts in which the hand of the government is plainly visible. It will not be an act of war to perform our duty to human nature by recognizing the belligerent rights of the republicans of Cuba, and to intimate to our fond ally Spain that we expect her to carry on war as a civilized government and not as an enemy to the human race, especially as we are supplying her with guns, powder and ships wherewith to make the war. As for a national policy, it is plain that the weak and cold administration of Grant and Fish are not equal to the task of devising one. We look to the American people to take care of that, intimating to the administration that they will do well not to place themselves, in their timorous appreciation of European complications, in an attitude of hostility to the national policy the people shall lay down.

The Opportunity and the Failure of the Government.

In view of the events which are passing around us and in the immediate neighborhood of our Southern shore it becomes an important question to the country and to the nations with whom we hold intercourse to know what position the government will take in the Cuban question and the developments which are following it. The fulness of time has come to the colonial government of that island, and its people are assuming by force of their own arms new relations to the Powers of the world. No American can or does doubt their right to do this. Our political education is based upon a belief in the sacred right of revolution, and wherever we behold a people treading the path which our fathers trod before our sympathies go out to them, and no small number of our people are willing to follow the example of Lafayette, who came to the assistance of our fatherland in its dark days.

It cannot, then, be otherwise that in the struggle for liberty in Cuba some, perhaps many, of our own citizens will be found treading the wine press of freedom side by side with the impulsive sons of Cuba. If this were not so we should belie our own teachings; and, admitting this fact, the question comes up, what position will the government hold towards them? The war in which they embark is a fierce and sanguinary one. The foe claims to rule "by the grace of God," and proclaims that all who oppose him are robbers, pirates and enemies of the human race. Prisoners are slaughtered in cold blood; homes are given everywhere to the devouring flames, and extermination is the policy adopted and acted upon. Further than this, the stipulations of treaties of amity, commerce and navigation with neighboring Powers and their local laws are appealed to to justify this course and deprive those who aspire to exercise the right of self-government of the aid which private sympathy may extend to them.

Will the government admit the claim of the Spanish rulers in Cuba, and deny the right of a whole people to throw off the yoke of despotism, and of our own citizens to take part in the struggle without running other and greater risks of the chance of battle? That the entire people of Cuba reject the rule of Spain has been over and over again proclaimed by the Spanish press, the Spanish authorities, and the Spanish volunteers who now rule Havana. It is testified by the fact that not a Cuban is trusted with arms in behalf of Spain; that Spain rules only where her troops stand; that where her troops are an exodus of the Cuban population is witnessed. If the government at Washington takes no step to control the sanguinary practices of this war for a falling rule, as it should do in justice to our own citizens and in consonance with our history and the position we hold as the leading Power of America, then by its silence it justifies the outrage against humanity and is false in its duty to ourselves.

No treaty of amity, no laws of neutrality can sanctify before the people of the United States, or of the world, the claim of any Power to the right to govern a nation when the nation rejects such a claim. If this were not so Mr. Fish would be involved in an endless perplexity as to who should be recognized by him as the reigning sovereign in any country in Europe or America. But we may go even further. No treaty of amity can be appealed to by any Power as conferring upon it the right to use practices beyond the pale of humanity in its efforts to preserve itself, and all such claims will be rejected by every rightminded statesman. In truth, the very fact of an appeal to such practices should lead at once to a condemnation of the government using them. It is argued that the government is a friendly Power, with whom we have treaties by which we are bound. But by appealing to practices beyond the recognized laws of war the Power so doing becomes itself, in a certain sense, *hostis humanis*, and thereby releases the binding effect of all treaties with it.

We have brought forward these views because of the great events now before us. Cuba is in process of successful revolution.