

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

SUFFRAGE AND ABOLITION.
FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

HAVANA, Jan. 29, 1893.

"Viva Cuba! viva la libertad! viva la Revolucion!" So concludes *La Verdad*, declaring itself a liberal revolutionist, denying all government that is not consequent upon the revolution, and remarking the absurdity of chastising in Cuba the offense of treason. The reserve of the Captain-General as to these points fills it with a logical satisfaction. Another paper, the *Republicana Convocatoria*, expands some of the foregoing ideas with refreshing freedom. "We are all *insurreccionistas*. The Provisional Government is insurrectionary; Gen. Dulce is an insurgent; Cespedes is another. Personifications of the worst dogma of insurrection, the torpid slaveocrats are insurgent too; and the free abolitionists such as we proclaim ourselves are also insurrectionary. To-day we are all insurgents in common. Live the insurgents!" The logical perplexity of the Spanish programme is well hinted in these few words. Revolution further figures in the title of a paper just issued, the most noticeable article of which is headed "Down with the Jesuits." It relates that the Jesuits were introduced here as "the vigorous instruments of reaction by Gen. Concha;" that they are "the soldiers of a militia having neither faith nor law," and are working mischief to the island. This article is perhaps obliquely aimed at the Bishop of Havana, a prelate reputed of great capacity for intrigue, and who, although the first to recognize and greet the revolution in Spain, has received the adverse criticism of his fellow-countrymen. *La Prensa* is the organ of the Bishop and the Jesuits, and receives blows from all quarters. The *Prensa* is invulnerable (save the *Duablo Cojudo*) because it is unreadable. It might have been the *Prensa* which gave chance to a better joke. It was said that when the Spaniards had to leave the island they would leave it a mass of charcoal. "Well," said Nestor Poncé, editor of *Verdad*, "haven't you brought enough of that already?" meaning the negroes.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has at last sent us the law of elections. He remarks in his preamble that political and social reasons frustrate the establishment of complete and universal suffrage in the islands, and that it is impossible to pass from night into day without intermediate twilight. Slavery makes difficult, he observes, the absolute exercise of political rights and public liberties—that is to say, what the Cubans have found out: Slavery makes Slavery. He believes that this principle cannot exist reasonably with its opposite and condemnatory principle, Liberty. Therefore, he is at least disposed to suggest that Slavery shall undergo a certain kind of abolition, and that [this and other reforms shall march] shoulder to shoulder to their end and aim. The document is not a strong one, and it must be regretted that up to date it is all the fruit yielded out of Spain's great opportunity. The electoral law provides that Cuba shall have 15 Deputies in the Constituent Assembly, and that Puerto Rico shall have 11. Each of these islands will be divided into three circumscriptions, and these again will be divided into Electoral Districts, which shall be made up of *ayuntamientos*, each *ayuntamiento* having its sections. In order to be an elector, or voter, one must be a Spanish native, of 25 years at least, and pay taxes of various kinds to the amount of \$25. It is not sufficient that a father shall pay this tax for his household; every voter must have paid the tax for himself. Besides those comprised in this rule, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, office-holders, officers of the army, navy, and militia, chiefs of industrial and commercial establishments, or their representatives, professors or masters, and—wonderful to relate—"painters or sculptors who may have obtained premiums in the national or international exhibitions," shall have the right to vote. Your art critic may have reason to inveigh against the stupidity of the provision for the established snubbing and corruption of art, but for the present I let it pass. Among the exceptions of the law are criminals, incorrigible public debtors, and bankrupts. A portion of the Peninsular law which is appended to it to explain some of these exceptions, marks out as ineligible army officers and the Government's civil authorities in the provinces, and the Cuban provisions extend the exceptions to *alcaldes* and sub-*alcaldes*. Officials and employes of the Government who exercise their charges in Madrid can, however, be elected deputies to the Cortes; and Cuba, if she will, may spare her deputies the expense and trouble of a voyage to Spain. Whatever is vicious in this provision is intimately related to those intensely centralizing intrigues which have especially distinguished Spanish government. Madrid is Spain; Madrid has been and would like to be Cuba's also; Madrid is for Madrid. Obviously, those who have planned the elections of Cuba intend to carry the island for Spain and the Spaniards. The Bourbon slaveholder has pledged his purse, and it is full. Cuban public opinion asserts that by agency of a board of negro-traders in Madrid, sent there to react, he has bought over Don Adelardo Lopez de Ayala, the Foreign Minister, and so cheated Spain out of her great opportunity to put the cause of Emancipation beyond the danger of reaction. Yet there are some perplexed questions in which it is thought Provisional Spain is very willing to be swindled or considered swindled. The Electoral law charges the entire Spanish Government of the Island with its fulfilment. Spain is yet to appoint the day for voting; the Captain-General may stop the elections as he pleases; Spaniards will register all the votes. Furthermore, the \$25 clause will favor the publican and rich sinner at the expense of the honest and toiling native. Cubans may pay taxes, but cannot buy their votes for less than \$25, which amounts to an exclusion of a large body of capable men supposed to be on the native side by odds. Quacks and pettifoggers may vote freely, but not so the honest mechanic, 25 years of age, who cannot afford to pay \$25. This is the law which the slaveholders are said to have bought from Don Adelardo for the purpose of electing Spanish rule, by means of Spanish machinery, to be again over Cuba. The Cubans dislike and condemn the law all the more because it inopportunistly appeared on the day after the Villanueva massacre. By party and press they declare their indisposition—nay, more, a purpose—not to vote under the Spanish machine. "We believe that all Cubans ought to abstain from voting," says one of the most important of their organs. "After what occurred in 1897 with the last deputies who were sent to represent us, we must perceive that dignity counsels the policy of withdrawal." The newspaper of the Capuchins quotes these phrases from the Cubans—"No Deputies!" "We do not want them!" "No representation!" "It is now very late!" "Experience has something to serve us, and we ought not to return and expose ourselves to being cheated." There are more such sayings, but these suffice to show that the Cubans are not in their present mood by any means for Spain or the things of Spain. These and kindred sentiments ought not to go for naught in the estimate which Spanish pride makes of the Cuban character and spirit. Even yet it may imagine that Havana, like other Spanish towns, is only an *enfant terrible*; but Cespedes, who is behind Havana, is still a serious man and fact—never more serious than when he burned his own thirty-five houses at Bayamo. I have not begun to believe that this revolution of facts and ideas is over.

The late disturbances are to be held, in any point of view, as most significant events in the crisis through which Cuba is passing. If the revolution is destined to be successful herein is the turning-point of men's minds. Many will say Amen to the cool utterance of *La Verdad*, who would not have thought it prudent, who would not have dared to say it sooner. "We suppose that this time Cuba is lost to Spain." It positively appears now as if all Cubans were for Cuba. I do not mean merely the non slave-

holding, but the slave-holding class, and recall to mind as pertinent to the case, that all the rebel leaders have manumitted their slaves and put them in the ranks. They make a promise of compensation which everybody knows will have to be dissipated in battle-smoke if the insurrection becomes desperate and widespread, and lost in law if the cause is driven upon annexation; but still the Cubans regard themselves as Cubans. Will they be betrayed by the slaveholder?—for there is always reason to suspect his Judas institution. There ought to be proportionately more Philistines in Cuba, where all the wrongs of Church and State have been planted right amid the luxuries of human Slavery, than in Spain, which is supposed to be troubled with half an idea about institutions of less significance. But I am told that the abstract fogies of the Ever-Faithful Isle are not native. The other day I felt called upon to remark, in a conversation with one of the best of the Cubans, that the world's opinion of their movement would depend upon the sincerity of their treatment of the negro question. "My friend," he answered, "we spurn slavery—we care nothing for it. I am myself thinking when I shall put myself at the head of my slaves, and do for my country what others are doing." I have heard other such utterances as these, and deem that they contain the measure of a general wrath against Spanish rule. Three months ago the organ of the native party announced its belief in a general suffrage without regard to race, color, or condition. Now, the foremost Cuban paper, followed by unreckoned smaller issues of the day, reiterates the programme of emancipation and impartial and liberal suffrage. Will the Cubans act and fight as they talk? We have seen Cespedes, let us see what follows.

The Cuban revolutionists complain of the United States. They have reason to believe that munitions of war, bought by Spanish money in New-York, are sent thither frequently and regularly. Very few or none come to the coast for Cuba, nor are the Cubans permitted to send them out from the nearest arms markets. We hear from the Spanish camp of Peabody guns and American munitions, while we know that the men of Cespedes and Aguilero have been using wooden guns, rude machetes, and Donato Marmol's wooden hook to stop bayonets. The weaker brethren as if this is at all a fair balance, since, in the first place, they do not ask you for filibusters, but only for the deadly wherewithal to work out their own deliverance. You answer with the Alabama case, and give Spain the arms which you deny the oppressed island. The Revolutionists retort that it would be a pity if the free aspirations of Cuba for republican Government should have to be extinguished by the United States, a shame if New-York and not Madrid had to put down the American revolution in Cuba. Suffice it to report the case. The Spaniards lately appeared to have the upperhand of the war; some surrenders, general and particular, were reported in the Government papers; but the forces of Cespedes, Aguilero, and Santa Lucia remained in the field; Puerto Principe was rumored as having been taken by Quesada; families were coming to Havana from Villa Clara, an important town 60 or 70 miles nearer Havana than Puerto Principe; young men are still heard of going from Nassau to the West; and I do not wonder that among well-informed Cubans there was no sign as yet of hopelessness in their cause. A large reinforcement may change the complexion of affairs materially, unless the Cubans reinforce their army in the field. Meanwhile it is a misfortune for Gen. Dulce and whatever Liberalism he has found himself guilty of, that the late scandals have had their effect. I am told that the Captain-General means well, not to say that he intends a very great deal. In spite of men there is trouble in the situation—radical and inherited trouble enough to make the cause of Cuba a long cause. Unless the Provisional Government of Spain is much brighter and better than its abused predecessors—nay, more; unless it can work something like a political wonder—it will be impossible to make amends for the seeds of mischief and murder sown by Bourbonism, and left to flourish by the last administrator of its Island estate.

SERIOUS OUTBREAK AT CAMARONES—REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE INSURGENTS—AN ENGAGEMENT AT MANAGUA.

HAVANA, Feb. 8.—A band of insurgents, whose numbers are unknown, have made their appearance at the town of Camarones, on the line of the railroad between Cienfuegos and Villa Clara. A detachment of troops has marched against them. A panic prevails in Cienfuegos; many families have fled from the town, fearing that the insurrection will spread to that district, and have arrived in this city. Fort Cabanas, which guards the place, is garrisoned only by a battalion of volunteers, and a force of regulars has been dispatched to reinforce them.

The *Duero*, in its account of the outbreak at Camarones, states that the first act of the rebels was to destroy a section of the railway between Cienfuegos and Villa Clara. The same paper acknowledges that the situation in this quarter is very grave.

Much excitement has been created in Havana by the version, more or less exaggerated, of events in the Central Department. The approach of the Revolution to the vicinity of Cienfuegos, which is the center of a large planting district, is expected to cause a rise in the sugar market.

Several attempts at revolution have been made in the Vueltita Abajo region, and the 1st and 5th Battalions of Volunteers are under orders to proceed to that point to prevent a renewal of the disorder.

Strangers continue to arrive at various points of the coast, it is supposed with the intention of joining the Revolutionists. Many have been arrested on suspicion. The Government has chartered several steamers, and is preparing some men-of-war and light draft steam launches to sail to the Roman Keys, and prevent the expected disembarkation of an expedition from Nassau; and when that is accomplished the flotilla will proceed to attack the earthworks which the insurgents have erected at La Guanaja.

The rebels recently assembled at Managua to the number of 300. They were attacked by the troops, and, according to official report, were defeated, losing all their arms and ammunition and 11 prisoners.

The sugar market is buoyant, No. 12 D. S. is quoted at 8 1/2 cts per arroba.

Exchange on London 15 1/2 per cent premium.