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CUBAN RETROSPECT.

SANTANDER, Spain, June 23, 1873. It appears that my chances of "breathing the air of freedom" under the flag of the Spanish Republic are not much better than under the banners of nigger-whipping Cuba. Probably it is due to a considerate care for my nervous well-being, that I am not suddenly and unexpectedly let loose into the rarified air of the new Federal Republic. This reflection has been forced on me by the position of my present domicile.

The day I was removed from the calaboose of the Cabana, Mr. Springer, of the American Consulate, came to the door to see me, and as I wished to have evidence as to the exact state of that horrible den, I invited him to step in for a minute. He replied that he had rather not, and I told him I thought it contemptible in a man to fear death from asphyxiation. On this he became irate. He said "he did not care a d—n what I thought, the United States did not pay him to put perfume, and it would take at least five dollars worth of eau de cologne to make him presentable in decent society if he crossed the threshold." This, to my mind, was an unwarrantable prejudice in a republican, and I told him so; but he became irate again, so for his sake I allowed him to depart in peace.

I was especially anxious that the British Vice Consul, should come and inspect the calaboose where I was confined; but that gentleman, for reasons which, no doubt, he will be able to explain at the proper moment, took care not to visit me until the day before I was embarked for Spain, when I was in the comparatively princely quarters of Mr. Price. The Vice Consul was on two occasions in the Cabana, but, under the pretence that I was *incommunicado*, he avoided coming to see the calaboose. In all probability I should have been forced to make the voyage in company with the sick soldiers and the off-scouring of the Spanish population of Cuba had it not been for the kindness of General Forbert, the American Consul General. Seeing myself abandoned by the representative of my government, I wrote to General Forbert, asking him to interpose in my interest with the Captain General and obtain permission for me to travel first class at my own expense. After some difficulty this request was acceded to, and I was spared many sufferings, mental and corporal. It is not my intention to give any extended description of my voyage, suffice it to say that it was monotonous and dreary in the extreme. Most of the cabin passengers were either officers or representatives of Havana merchants. A stranger would never have thought this, for with the exception of about a dozen decent people, they were the most vulgar and vulgar-looking collection of human beings I have ever seen in my misfortune to fall among. They looked for all the world like a crowd of horse-jockeys, prize-fighters' hangers-on, with a sprinkling of tinkers and soldiers, and their conduct did not much belie their looks. Scarcely a day passed without something impertinent or irritating being addressed indirectly to me, and on one occasion "a gentleman and an officer" said to the table that the people who emigrated to the United States were the off-scouring and thieves of Europe. This was going a little too far, and I felt myself called upon to tell him plainly that "HE WAS A LIAR."

when he took it all back like a prudent man. I admit that it was very rude language, but then I do not see why other course was left for me. Besides, this little incident had the advantage of preventing any more inconvenient remarks addressed in my direction. Telegrams have been received from General Sickles and Mr. Layard, in which it is stated that the government is BENEVOLENTLY INCLINED in my regard. This is certainly very pleasant to know; but there is nothing to indicate when the good will of the government may decide in restoring me to liberty. It is peculiarly annoying to be cooped up when one can hear from his window republican bands pouring forth the grand anthem, "Liberte, Liberte, Cherie," and one feels inclined to be somewhat cynical and a question: "Is the popular government still, for the consideration of my case, as the government is surrounded by all kinds of difficulties and dangers. It can, therefore, scarcely be expected to occupy itself with the griefs of an individual. There are moments when I feel serious alarm lest another revolution should take place before my case has been settled. It is charitable to think that if Castelar were still in power my release would have been decided upon long before now, and for this reason I feel very much inclined to quarrel with the new order of things.

Yesterday the official PROCLAMATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC took place in this town, and I could hear the bands playing the "Marseillaise," to the accompaniment of some market shouts. By climbing up to my window I was enabled also to catch a glimpse of the head gear of a company of federalists, who bore the new tri-color flag. It seems the federalists are retroverted to go away with the old "ham and bacon," upon which the Spanish cavaliers were wont to boast, with good reason, that "the sun never set." If, with the change of flag, the people can be got to look forward, instead of backward, in sully worship of past glory, there may be a brilliant and honorable career yet in store for Spain.

How these events may affect is, perhaps, the point of most interest to the American reader, and to me the issue seems clear enough. Matters have just now arrived at that stage which renders the loss of Cuba inevitable. Either the federal Republic will be true to the principles upon which it has been founded and give to Cuba a home government or it will continue the war of extermination. Should the first resolution be taken much bloodshed and trouble may be avoided and the island continue for years nominally an integral part of Spain; if the latter, the chances of the republicans piling down the insurrection are still more remote than under the old system. It is to be supposed also that the American people will one day get tired of looking on at the slaughter of Americans by European hirelings. Very many in the United States are apt to forget that THE CUBANS ARE AMERICANS, and that in the eyes of their butchers this is their chief crime. Even Spanish republicans can scarcely expect the United States to stand by while men, claiming liberty for themselves, shoot down Americans who claim the inalienable right of every man to freedom. On the other hand, should the present government be overthrown and a despotism established, it would become doubly the duty of the United States to interfere. I hope, therefore, that no time will be lost in completing the steps voted by Congress. If I see Pi y Margall before leaving Spain I intend to urge on him the wisdom of accepting Cuba and receive in exchange \$70,000,000 guaranteed by the United States. If this course were taken Spain could enter on the work of regeneration with every chance of a successful consummation of the work. The chief danger to the Republic springs from want of funds, and here is just the means of supplying that want. If Spain desires conquest and glory Africa is open to her, where her rule would be made really useful to civilization. No one might object to her extending her power over Morocco, which is one of the richest countries in the world, but almost wholly undeveloped under its present rulers. If the Spaniards do not take my advice they will regret it, for one of these days they will get a thorough "looking" and they will have neither Cuba nor the millions to console them.

I have already given some slight account of the "chivarious" way in which the Havana authorities treated me, and there is very little temptation to recur to so uninviting a subject. So far the treatment accorded to the imprisoned representatives of the free press by the Spanish Republic has certainly not been marked by any extraordinary consideration, yet it would be a mistake to attribute any of the insults offered to me during my incarceration to "the ever faithful pig" to the liberal parties in this country. The truth is Cuba is a political parish that degrades all parties by simple contact. There is in the atmosphere of the "Queen of the Antilles" the kind of moral infection attributed to other creatures of heavenliest seeming, whose bright smile and scented breath are fatal to the austere virtues, especially of Captains General. That unfortunate class of public servants are peculiarly exposed to the atmospheric influence of this climate on the official constitution, and the result is that escape from its evil effects is in their case without precedent. It must be said, however, in justice to the contagion so fatal to official morality, that, if dangerous in a moral aspect from its material and selfish point of view, the infirmities it brings in its train compensate in some minds for the moral damage sustained. The smiles of generous beauty; the applause of men distinguished by their high position; the enjoyment of boundless revenues that shame the "Arabian Nights"; and enable the favorite child of fortune to build *chateaux en Espagne* in real solid masonry—not the airy notions that waft away the lighter hours of Gallie neighbors—console the official conscience of loss so useless a commodity as honesty. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if under the usual pressure has become convinced that there were two sides to the Cuban question, and that the Madrid government are not taking the view most in accordance with a Captain General's interest. Under the magic influence of the *Napere's* eloquence the republican official was necessarily shaken in his conviction as to the convenience and propriety of granting freedom to the slaves; if the government would only give time, say a thousand years or so, the slave owners would by that time have gradually prepared the way for the total emancipation of the colored people without exposing the structure of society to any rude shocks. This and similar arguments are so cogent, so new, and made in such good faith, that the official mind, which has already been skillfully prepared for the reception of such important truths, is at once convinced. The orders from Madrid are certainly based on a total misapprehension of the true state of the island, and it is therefore the duty of every true Spaniard not to take any step that may imperil the national unity; and as a proof of the "true Spaniard's" devotion to the *integritad nacional*, the orders of the home government are thrown into the waste paper basket, and a vigorous protest sent home about the impossibility of putting revolutionary reforms into force without reducing the "Ever Faithful Isle" to the State of St. Domingo. The solid foundation of the *chateau en Espagne* has now been laid, and if the last addition to the ranks of the "good Spaniards" is as clever as he ought to be he will in a short time be able to build honestly as fine a palace as did that other good Spaniard, Valmaeda. But, after all, it is the old story—history repeating itself—and this melancholy age has no sufficient reason to grieve.

When the time has come to take up the whole Cuban question I will do full justice to the official class and their allies in their political, moral and social aspects. A desire to say a good word for the MUCH-ABUSED REPUBLIC has led me to touch upon a subject which I had intended to reserve for a more opportune moment; but the present letter will of necessity be a kind of mosaic made up of bits of the opinions of others rather than my own. The motive cause of my writing is to throw a little light on the conspiracy at present in full play that is endeavoring to overthrow the Republic and restore a despotism that will give "satisfactory guarantees" to the friends of "moral order" not alone in Spain, but in Europe. It would be a serious error to look upon the struggle now going on in Spain as an isolated event, only interesting to the natives of the Peninsula.

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