

determination to defend them with force and prudence against every individual attack.

4. The amelioration of the essential faults in these constitutions; this amelioration being made by governments, and grounded on sufficient reasons.

In case of the insufficiency of means, an appeal to the assistance of the confederation—an assistance which every member has the most sacred right to exact, and which, according to present stipulations, can less than ever be refused.

Such is, according to us, the only truly salutary, legal, and safe course. On such principles rests the political system of the Emperor and Austria, which in her interior, possessing an imposing mass of moral force and physical resources, will not only make use of them for her own preservation, but will always be ready to dispose of them for the advantage of her confederates, when duty and wisdom demand their exercise. I have the honor to be.

METTERNICH.

### FREEDOM OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

Royal Differences—The Pure and Spotted Diadem.

FROM THE LONDON EXAMINER.

Mr. Examiner—It was the great Athenian Legislator, I believe, who made it infamous for any one to remain neutral on questions of high public importance. He would know, that it could never be the interest of the majority to do wrong, and that the bad members of society always form a small minority, though they too often, by fraud, or violence, or activity, curb and overrule the better portion; whose chief failing has ever been the giving way to a feeling of apathy or timidity. The sage Athenian therefore wisely ordained, that there should be no neutrality; so that the strength of the conflicting parties being duly known and felt, the true voice of the people, must finally prevail.

Now as I think there was much wisdom in this statement, I would cheerfully take any part in the illustrious domestic struggle now on foot, for which I might be judged fitted; but, as I know at present no better way of doing my duty, than by assisting to aid the public judgment in forming a just opinion on the question at issue, I thus proceed to lay my views before your readers, who form, I am disposed to believe, no vulgar portion of the British nation, and who are also to be found, I have reason to know, among the admirers of an intrepid press in France, in Germany, in Spain, and in both parts of America.

What is the case? It lies in fact, as we say, in a nut shell, and may be briefly stated. Here is an illustrious Couple, who like many other couples not illustrious, cannot at all agree, and therefore have long lived apart. If this were all, it would be a matter perhaps on which the public would have properly nothing to say. But what makes it a question of importance, is, that though one of the "High Belligerent Parties," will not live with the other—though the King actually compels his Consort to leave his royal bed and house—though he deprives her of all the pleasures and advantages which she would derive from his society and countenance—though he in fact inflicts a heavy penalty on the Queen in thus abstaining from treating her as his Royal Partner—not content with all this, his Majesty is now straining every nerve, and exerting his whole power as the Sovereign of a mighty empire, still further to degrade, harass, and afflict an unfortunate woman, by endeavoring to strip her of the very rank and name of Queen; a title, by the way, to which she has as undeniable a right, as he himself has to that of King of these Realms.

And on what pretence is this evil work sought to be accomplished? Why truly, on the petty, hollow, shameful (and possibly false) plea, that her Majesty has been living an irregular life on the Continent—in Italy, whether she was driven by the hard treatment of her husband in the first place, and by the express advice of one of his own Ministers in the next! So that it seems his Most Sacred Majesty George the Fourth, for whom the pious daily offer up their prayers, thinks it becoming, and just, and humane, that his Royal Consort & Cousin—without the shadow of state necessity—should be stigmatised & punished for doing that abroad (allowing for argument sake the truth of the charges against her)—for doing that I say, abroad, which he himself has been notoriously doing all his life at home—that, of which he not only set her the example in his own princely person, but actually in some sort aided her in the performance, by forcing her against her will from his bed and palace, and by depriving her of all those wholesome restraints on the wild indulgence of the passions, which the society of a kind and just husband, the association of worthy friends, and the fair indulgence in all honest pleasures, so naturally call forth and confirm.

Nor are the particular touches and filings-up of this Royal Picture a whit more becoming than the grand outline. Far from it; the dirty handling is equally apparent with the vile design. Only think, honest reader, of the means and agents resorted to on this lofty occasion. Only imagine the organization of a grand Commission of Domestic Spies and Informers—only think of a gentleman—a man brought up to one of the learned professions, an admitted Barrister, being applied to and employed by the Crown in hunting out among cast off menials, dismissed chambermaids, scandalmongers, whisperers, spies, and eaves-droppers, for loose tales, filthy anecdotes, and disgusting hearsays, with which to blacken and blast an unfortunate Princess! What credit can possibly be given to evidence of this description? Who would believe a man capable of lending himself for such a dirty employment? For my own part, I would not credit such a debased hireling—nor the agents of such a hireling—if he and they were to take as many oaths as there are Bibles in existence on which to swear them. Such doings are altogether detestable, and the doers are wholly unworthy of belief. Doubtless the very appearance of the Chief Reptile will go far to throw discredit on any thing he would affirm: for that

he should have been supposed capable of accepting such a poisonous office as that of Court Scavenger, there must have been some outward and visible signs of want of grace stamped upon his countenance; and (notwithstanding Lord Castlereagh's admiration of his looks) he most probably is

"A fellow by the hand of Nature mark'd,  
Quoted, and signed to do a deed of shame."  
But if such are among the Agents, what, Sir, must be the Employers of such emissaries? This would be truly a delicious inquiry, and it most unquestionably here would have its uses. And yet, in the race of all these odious doings, and in despite of their natural suggestions, I see by the papers that Mr. Brougham, the legal advocate of the abused party, cannot only determine to abstain from all recrimination, but can actually talk of the "pure and spotted diadem." It is well known, I believe, that this learned gentleman never speaks on such topics hastily and unadvisedly; he is considered by far too wise a person to waste his breath in idle declaration; his sagacity is asserted to be equal to his eloquence. Nevertheless, though it may be true in general, that

"Persuasion tips his tongue when'er he talks," yet I cannot believe the learned Advocate will ever induce one reasonable Englishman to agree with him in this point, or persuade one just person that it can be of the smallest use, in these days, to talk of the British Crown in this country strain. *The pure and spotted diadem!* Surely Mr. B. does not merely allude to that new, and brilliant, and unvarnished bauble, that has just been manufactured, in which his Majesty is to dazzle the eyes of the loyal at the ensuing extravagant Rarée show. He cannot, one should imagine, mean to confine his eulogy to the bit of purple velvet, the tempered gold, and sparkling jewellery, which go to form that "round and top of Sovereignty." No; he certainly alludes to the Royal Wearers of the Crown, and he as certainly wishes his hearers to believe that they have been pure and spotted! What then, would he have us imagine, that all the hallowed Majesties of England, the bloodshedding, treacherous, and lascivious Ricardos, Henrys, and Edwards—the oppressive bigoted, and profligate James and Charles—the dull, unfeeling, and narrow Georges—have so fitted their high offices as to have bequeathed a "pure and spotted Diadem" to their Successor? O fie, Mr. Brougham—we must be doted indeed with some sweet oblivious stuff, some "drowsy nap of the East;" before we can lose all memory of past history, all knowledge of deceased Crowned Heads, all remembrance of the many odious actions, public and private, of the Sovereigns of England, to admit for one moment that the learned Advocate's description is not altogether false and useless; a fiction, in fact, having neither leg, nor historical, nor periodical beauty to recommend it; but on the contrary on this occasion in particular, equally unwise, insulting, and uncalled for—at least for any purpose not of a private nature.\*

And to make this Royal affair still more offensive, at what a time it does take place? When the long-suffering people were looking for some amelioration of their miseries, some legislative attention at least to their unparalleled grievances: when the petitions of falling and ruined merchants, manufacturers, traders, agriculturists, artizans, and labourers, all required an earnest and deliberate examination; when the vital question of Reform demanded an immediate and impartial discussion; when the entire conduct of Ministers—conduct that had excited the indignation of the great mass of the British people, called for a rigid inquiry—were, particularly the innocent blood shed in the fields of Manchester, like that of sacrificing Abel's, was crying from "the tongueless caverns of the earth" for justice on the offenders; when all those weighty matters were about to be considered, the whole is suddenly suspended, and the public ear is to be dimmed and disgusted with the shameful attempt of the Executive to violate the first principles of justice. And all for what? Why, forsooth, merely that a bulky Beau of fifty eight should not have his delicate feelings hurt with the bare possibility of living in the same country (not in the same street nor in the same house, but the same island) with his discarded Consort; and that his pious recollections should not be shocked by hearing that a form of prayer was numbed over every Sunday, in which the said discarded Consort was mentioned with his own Most Illustrious Self in the same supplicatory sentence! O wise and dignified and virtuous policy! O pure and spotted diadem! O happy subjects!

"O times, when folly is so common!

"O age, how wide from age of Roman!"

Well might the Royal Son of David pronounce that the hearts of Kings were inscrutable. But the heads of the people are not so bewildered and besotted, as to be unable to view the whole matter in its proper light, whatever their virtual Representatives may do. And here we come after all, to the true cause of all this mischief; for had the House of Commons being any thing like a real Representation of the People of England—(whatever the Queen's Attorney General, since he has slighted Reform, may artfully put into her majesty's head to utter on this subject) the whole affair would have been settled in an hour or two, even if any place-loving Minister could have been found hardy enough to have proposed occupying an honest House of Commons with so noxious a business. The voice of the British Nation, if properly echoed in Parliament, would at once have informed my Lord Castlereagh, that if his Royal Master had domestic wrongs to complain of, the proper Courts were as open to him as to any of his subjects, but that the great business of the Nation could not be suspended by matters of such a nature. This is what a true Commons House

\* How strikingly different has been the conduct in Parliament of Lord A. Hamilton, of Sir F. Burdett and E. Ferguson—of Messrs. Denman, Creevey, Hobhouse, Bennet, Home—and of Dr. Lushington; Their manliness is the universal theme.

would have done; but when that House, for the main part, is composed of venal boroughmongers, grasping placemen, greedy adventurers, and aspiring title-hunters, or the representatives of such worthless—a body, in short, containing a far greater portion of Public Criminals than Public Guardians—what can be expected from it but—just what we have seen it so readily perform.

And if, in the delirium of rage, after such a proper dismissal from the Senate, an appeal had been made to doctor's Commons, what sort of reception would such a Case have met—provided it had been any other than that of a Monarch who "can do no wrong?" What a fine opportunity would have been afforded to the venerable Judge Ecclesiastic to have read "a great moral lesson" of which he doubtless would have expressly availed himself. How he would have poured loath in reprobation of the indecency, not to mention the impiety, of the attempt—how dilated on the divine institution and reciprocal duties of Matrimony—on the grace of bearing and forbearing in that holy state—on the propriety of the stronger setting the weaker vessel an example of conjugal fidelity—on the absolute necessity of maintaining the purity of the Court, and the as absolute necessity therefore of the Complainant's entering its hall with undefiled hands, and not his coming, as it were, with a whole body steeped and saturated in impure streams. It may justly be suspected.

One thing, however, is consolatory in this heap of ignorance and passion: it is not, as you have said, Sir, the work of the people—the hated and abused lower orders—the reformers, radical or not radical—they have had no hand in the precious work; it is purely of Royal manufacture—all of lofty and Corinthian and Courtly workmanship. This is good—very good. No whispers can now be uttered about Jacobinical desires of dragging Royalty through the mire. If the "pure and spotted Diadem" be dimmed or shorn of its beams—if the purples and ermine robes be bespattered and rent—and where so much heavy dirt is thrown, some may stick and lacerate)—let it, for Truth's sake, be remembered, that we of the common people have had quiet and clean hands, have indeed been unwilling observers of, not angry actors in, the altogether Royal scene. Never let it be forgotten, that however the event may terminate, it is the deliberate achievement of the ill-advised Crown, and whatever may arise of ill to Royalty, it will be entirely owing to its own pertinacity in error. Doubtless, it is probable, that some little passion, some vain and imbecile desire, may be gratified by extraordinary proceedings against the Queen: some female failings too, may possibly be exposed, some error in taste, some family judgment brought to light. And what then? Are all the Royal Personages vestals and saints, all to chaste as the icicle that hangs on Diana's temple, "white as the driven snow?" Will the public ear or tongue be occupied all on one side? No, no. There may be much talk of "the illustrious Lady;" but will nothing be remembered and said of the illustrious Gentleman? The canting creatures, at Court and elsewhere, may shrug up their well bred shoulders at Her, but will He escape the more general animadversion? Not so. The manlier portion will speak out plain enough, when equal justice is due to be outraged; and even the timid will show their disapprobation, as their ancestors did on another occasion of Royal obliquity, so finely described by the Great Bard:—

"And when they talk of him, they shake their heads,  
And whisper one another in the ear;  
And he that speaks doth gape his hearer's waist,  
And he that hears makes fearful action,  
With wrinkled brows, with nods, with rolling eyes."

Yours Mr. Editor, most truly,  
G. FITZPAINE.

Not to mention the great number of Members who got into the House by other means than the voice of the people, and who therefore care little or nothing for the people. Seventy-Six of these worthy Commons actually divide annually among themselves no less than upwards of One Hundred Thousand Pounds of the public money? Of those who have the assurance to call themselves Independents, because they personally hold neither place nor pension, some are as constant applicants at the Treasury for their friends as any of the Ministerial band; among whom, if Mr. Canning's uncontradicted assertion is to be credited, the very pious Mr. Wilberforce (whom Mr. Brougham now thinks it discreet to praise so much) is not one of the most backward too, when we reflect on the unstained whiteness of those Ecclesiastical Courts, that even the Advocates of such a Plaintiff would hardly have escaped the indignant censure of the Bench, for undertaking so scandalous a task. "What! (the Learned Judge would possibly have exclaimed)—What, Gentlemen, ponder to the petty passions, the wanton appetites, the vain and naughty desires, of a mature Husband, who first, it appears, weds for interest, then slights and otherwise neglects his Wife, and after setting her an example of that very "irregularity" at which he now affects to be so shocked, comes here a brazen suitor for satisfaction and relief! For shame! [Here the powder is sharply shaken out of the agitated wig.] Go back, Sirs, to your unworthy Client to whom, I must really say, a lasciviousness seems to have been as natural as horns to a goat, and advise him to embrace better principles, and adopt better courses, or he otherwise will live and die a confirmed nuisance in a society, of which he ought to have been an ornament and a blessing!"—[Exeunt three Lawyers, somewhat abashed.]

### LATEST FROM BUENOS AYRES.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Buenos Ayres by his friend in Providence, R. I. received by the Nancy, in 74 days from Buenos Ayres.

"On my leaving Buenos Ayres, the city was, and had been, in great commotion, owing to the Federal army, (allies,) the mountaineers, consisting of about 2000 to 3000 men, under the united command of Generals Lopez, Alvear, and Carrera, having been in the vicinity of the city for more than three weeks, harassing them in every respect, particularly in cutting off supplies and threatening to invade the capital, provided they did not unite and appoint suitable persons for representatives to the General Congress. To accomplish this, they recommended Gen. Alvear as governor and commander in chief of Buenos Ayres and its Province.

"These propositions having been evaded under many pretexts, the five months preceding, there had been no less than fourteen different governments, or factions, in power at Buenos

Ayres. For 17 days, all business was at a stand, and most of the time the citizens or people of property kept themselves shut up in their houses, under arms, for self-defence—the few regulars and militia being stationed in the suburbs, and upon the houses. During this period, many families embarked on board the foreign vessels. Provisions were very scarce, and extravagantly high, particularly beef.

"On the 23d July, accounts reached Buenos Ayres, that Gen. Artigas had entirely destroyed the army of Gen. Ramirez at Entre Rios, who, on the 24th June preceding (as report says) had completely destroyed Gen. Artigas's army. The Portuguese hold quietly the Oriental side. The markets very dull; the produce of the country scarce, owing to the communication being cut off with the interior."

### COMMERCIAL.

LIVERPOOL, Sept. 9.—Our cotton market has continued in a state of stagnation for such a length of time, that it becomes a subject of curiosity as well as of interest to inquire into its causes. We think the solution is very simple, and is to be found in the unprecedented import, particularly of United States and Brazil cotton, which has taken place during the present year. The quantity of these descriptions imported into this country during the first eight months of the year, amounts to 598,000 bags. The growth of cotton both in the Brazils and the United States appears to have increased very considerably. For the three last years the import from the United States into this port, has not varied materially. In 1817, 164,000 bags—1818, 163,000—1819, 175,000, but for the eight months of the present year, 251,000.—From Brazil, the quantity imported into this country the first eight months of last year, was 85,000 bags; for the eight months of this year it is 118,000 bags. It is very certain that the quantity of cotton raised is much more than adequate to the consumption, or in other words, that the supply is greater than the demand. The annual consumption of the country is computed at 480,000 bags, and the quantity imported during the eight months of this year, amounts to 463,000. From this comparison of the supply with the consumption, we can be at no loss to account for the present stagnation. At the end of the present year the stock will have greatly accumulated: and there is no doubt that it will be larger at that time than it ever was at the same period of any former year. When we take into account the heavy stock that will be lying over till next crop, and the large quantities that must be imported from the United States and the Brazils, while their production continues on its present extended scale, it is very evident that the whole cannot be consumed, unless the prices are reduced. It is possible that the consumption of the Uplands and Orleans, at reduced prices, may be so much extended as to displace the use of East India descriptions altogether. In that case the consumption may become equal to the supply; but until prices are materially reduced below the present currency, we see no probability of the present stock being diminished. Upon the whole we calculate upon very low prices for the ensuing season.

LONDON, Sept. 23.

Portugal.—A variety of official papers have been received from Oporto, which serve to exhibit the state of the national or revolutionary cause in a more perfect point of view than it has been yet seen.

The Junta have published an answer to the Proclamation of Count Amarante. It animadverts in warm terms on the motives which actuate the Count to sow the seeds of discord among his countrymen.—And for what? To support despots—to perpetuate your misery—to force you to pay tributes which exceed your fortunes and incomes; taxes, which the produce of the lands, moistened with your sweat, is not sufficient to pay. *Tras montanus.* If you would know what happiness is, and what constitutes true love to our good and adorable sovereign, Don John VI. repair to Oporto. Here you will meet the brother of that deluded man Antonio da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca, whom the true lovers of their country call the Cato of Portugal. The son of our hero, Sepulveda, is here, also Gil, who has often trodden with you the road to honor. Hasten to see them, proud of having raised the majestic edifice of national independence, together with the great Cabreira, and other brave men, their brothers in arms. Hasten soldiers."

Two other papers, addressed to the inhabitants of Alto Douro, are intended to do away with the rumours which Count Amarante, and the partisans of the Regency have spread, respecting the views of the new government, whom they accuse of a wish to destroy the Oporto Wine Company. The Junta say, that, "far from having had in view a project so impolitic and so contrary to the interests of Portugal, they will, on the contrary, encourage, uphold, and seek the prosperity of the establishment by every means in their power, furnishing to the same, all the aids of protection which may be derived from the authority confided in them."

"If hitherto," they said, "commerce has carried our productions to the banks of the Thames, henceforth, freed from the obstacles occasioned by an erroneous policy, these will be distributed in both hemispheres. The Company will watch more and more over your interests; and a government, active, energetic, and patriotic, will not fail to employ every exertion for your happiness."

A fourth document is the despatch from Col. Sepulveda, written from Aveiro. The Colonel, it will be remembered, had been sent off from Oporto to the interior, to spread the patriotic flame, and animate the people. He had met with perfect success, the troops and people joining in the most enthusiastic manner in every town through which he passed; the next day he was to proceed to Coimbra, whither the 23d regiment was rapidly advancing in aid of the patriotic cause.

Paris papers have arrived to the 19th inclusive. The Commission to the Chamber of Peers is still occupied in the examinations preparatory