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POLITICAL.

From the National Intelligencer.

POLICY OF RUSSIA AND OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

The attention of the European World has just been drawn to the Document which we publish to-day, announcing the views of Russia in regard to the late Revolution in Spain. It is a state paper of the first importance, which promises to have an important bearing on the affairs of Europe. If its doctrines be maintained in the spirit in which they are advanced, a war in Europe, odious in its origin, and desolating in its progress, must be the consequence; for, there are no people so slavish as, with arms in their hands, to permit a foreign nation to dictate to them not the form of their government only, but the principles on which it shall be administered. Though the sovereign of Spain were impotent enough to succumb to the conditions imposed on him, or to abdicate his authority, the people would not: they would resist any despotism but that of their own chusing. They have done so once already, and placed their present ruler on his throne, almost against his will; and, should the necessity arrive, it cannot be doubted they would do so again. That the Emperor of Russia will retract the sentiments so publicly and formally avowed, is scarcely to be expected. Those who surround him have too many motives to counsel him differently; and pride of opinion is equally powerful in the breast of the monarch and the mendicant.

In this country, however removed from the theatre of these occurrences—however unmoved by the commotions in Europe, this document will produce a deep impression. Its doctrines are so radically opposed to the fundamental principles of the Revolution which in this country eventuated so happily, that they are repugnant to the universal feeling of the country. It is not that there is, either on the part of the people, or of those who are the organs of the people's will, the least disposition to intermeddle in the politics of Europe, but, on the contrary, a desire to stand forever aloof from them. But, we cannot shut our eyes to what is passing: we are particularly alive to whatever flows from a source entitled to the respect with which we have hitherto regarded the Emperor of Russia: and, above all, we recollect that that power has been the accepted mediator of differences between this Republic and one of the greatest powers of Europe. The Sovereign of Russia was one from whom we had been taught to expect all the magnanimity of an enlightened and liberal mind, controlling an almost unlimited physical power; and it is with a proportionate pain that we have observed the tenor of this state paper, which is too plain to admit a doubt of its meaning, and too labored not to have been the result of deliberate counsels and fixed determination.

There are many considerations which crowd themselves on the mind on the perusal of this document, with which we will not at present trouble our readers. We contemplate with unmixed pain its probable consequences, earnestly hoping, however, that we may be mistaken in our anticipations.

MEMORIAL.

Addressed to the Ministers of Russia on the subject of the Affairs of Spain.

The Chivalier de Zea Bermudez has presented to the Imperial Cabinet the annexed note, relative to the events which had just taken place in the Peninsula, and of which we were already informed by the despatches that were forwarded to us by our agents at Foreign Courts.

M. de Zea in this document confines himself to informing us that the Constitution promulgated by the Cortes in the year 1812, has been accepted by the King, and expresses a desire to know how the Emperor has viewed this change of the government. If the distances which separates us from Spain, and from the states which are best enabled to weigh maturely the nature of the disasters with which she is menaced, be considered, it will be readily acknowledged, that the position of the Imperial Ministry, with regard to the Representatives of the Spanish nation, was difficult and delicate.

The Revolution of the Peninsula fixes

the attention of the two hemispheres; the interest which it is about to decide, are the interests of the Universe; and if ever the Emperor wished that the opinion of his Allies might conduce to regulate his own it certainly was at the moment when the note of the Chivalier de Zea imposed upon his Imperial Majesty the obligation of pronouncing upon an event which involves, perhaps, the future destinies of all civilized nations. This obligation, however, existed, for, in these days, every subject of doubt becomes an instrument of malevolence.

The necessity of replying to M. de Zea was, therefore, evident; but, in this important conjuncture, it appeared natural, that previously to pronouncing an opinion, the Emperor should consider the object which the Allied Powers proposed to themselves in their relations with Spain; that he should consult the views which they had expressed to that same Power, and that he should take a guide for his own, the principles of European policy. This is what his Imperial Majesty was bound to do; this is what he has done.

Since the year 1812, more than one Diplomatic Document attests the general solicitude which the several Courts of Europe have constantly manifested in behalf of Spain. They applauded the noble perseverance with which her intrepid people resisted a foreign yoke. They rendered homage to their wisdom, when they rallied round a constitutional throne, the dearest interests of their country;—the interests of her independence. Finally, from the period when Providence restored Ferdinand VII. to his people they never failed to acknowledge that solid institutions could alone secure on its basis the ancient Spanish monarchy.

The Allied sovereigns did more. In the course of long conferences, relative to the differences with Rio de la Plata, and to the pacification of the Colonies, they let it be sufficiently understood, that these institutions would cease to be a means of peace and happiness, if instead of being granted by kindness, as a voluntary concession they should be adopted by weakness as a last resource of salvation.

Let us investigate on the other hand, the great transactions which established the European Alliance.

What is the object of the engagements that were renewed on the (3d) 15th of November, 1818?

The Allied Monarchs had just then obliterated the last traces of the Revolution in France; but that Revolution seemed ready to produce new calamities.

The obligation of the Monarchs was, therefore, and their design was, to prevent that bursting from the same horizon, the same storm should a third time desolate Europe.

Nevertheless, as if the alarms which were then excited by the state of France, and which it still excites were not sufficient—as if governments and nations entertained by slight doubts with respect to its future condition, it was necessary that the genius of evil should select a new Theatre, and that Spain, in her turn, should be offered up as a fearful sacrifice. Revolution has therefore changed its ground, but the duties of the monarchs cannot have changed their nature, and the power of the insurrection is neither less formidable, nor less dangerous, than it would have been in France.

In unison, therefore, with his allies, his Majesty cannot but desire to see granted to the Peninsula, as to its transmarine Provinces, a government which he considers as the only one that can yet justify some hope in this age of calamities. But in virtue of his engagements of the (3d) 15th of November, 1818, his Majesty is bound to mark, with the most forcible reprobation, the revolutionary measures set in action to give new institutions to Spain.—Such is the twofold idea that is found developed in the annexed answer, which the Cabinet of Russia has made to the Chevalier de Zea, by order of his Imperial Majesty. The Emperor does not doubt, that his august Allies will approve its contents, and perhaps they have already addressed similar sentiments to the Court of Madrid. The same wishes may, in fact, have inspired the same language, and convinced, like his Majesty, that crime must always yield pernicious fruit; they have doubtless deplored, as he has, the outrage which has recently tarnished the annals of Spain. We repeat it, this outrage is deplorable. It is deplorable for the Peninsula; it is deplorable for Europe; and the Spanish nation now owes an expiatory deed to the people of both hemispheres. Till this be done, the unhappy object of their disquietude can only make them fear the contagion of her calamities. Nevertheless, amidst all these elements of disaster, and when so many motives combine to afflict the real friends of the welfare of nations,

may a better future still be looked for? Is there any wise and redeeming measure, whose effect may be to reconcile Spain with herself as well as with the other Powers of Europe?

We dare not affirm it; for experience has taught us to consider almost always as an illusion, the hope of a happy event. But, if we might trust the calculations which personal interest would seem bound to indicate; if it were permitted to presume, that the Cortes would consult the interest of their own preservation, it might be believed, that they would hasten to extricate, by a solemn measure, all that is culpable in the circumstances which accompanied the change of the administration in Spain.—The interests of the Cortes are here identified with the interest of Europe.—The misled soldiery who protected, may to-morrow assail them; and their first duty towards their monarch, towards their country, and themselves, seems to be, to prove that they will never consent to legalize insurrection. These are hopes which would not appear to be without some foundation. The Emperor, however, is far from cherishing them, and if he admitted the possibility of a result so useful he would make it depend upon the unanimity which might manifest itself in the opinion of the principal powers of Europe, as the act by which the representatives of the Spanish people ought to signalize the opening of their deliberations. This unanimity, always so powerful when it takes the character of an irrevocable deed, will perhaps carry conviction to the minds of the most eminent members of his most Catholic Majesty; and the Allied Courts would seem to have an easy means of impressing upon their language such an imposing uniformity.

Their ministers in France have hitherto treated in their name, with a plenipotentiary of the Court of Madrid. Can they not now present to him in common observations, the summary of which follows, and which would recall to the Spanish government, the conduct, as well as to the political principles of the allied monarchs?

"The monarchs would," say the ministers, "have never ceased to entertain wishes for the prosperity of Spain. They will always entertain them. They have desired, that in Europe, as in America, institutions conformable to the progress of civilization, and to the wants of the age, might preserve to all Spaniards long years of peace and happiness. They desire the same at this moment. They have wished that all these institutions should become a real blessing, by the legal manner in which they should be introduced. They now wish the same."

"This last consideration will convey to the ministers of his Catholic Majesty, with what sentiments of affliction and grief they have learned the events of the 8th March, and those which preceded it. According to their opinion, the salvation of Spain, as well as the welfare of Europe, will require that this crime should be disavowed, this stain effaced, this bad example exterminated. The honor of such a reparation appears to depend upon the Cortes. Let them deplore, and forcibly reprobate, the means employed to establish a new mode of government in their country, and in consolidating an administration wisely constitutional, let them adopt the most rigorous laws against sedition and revolt."

"Then, and only then, the Allied Cabinets will be able to maintain friendly and amicable relations with Spain."

The observations urged in common by the representatives of the five Courts would, from thenceforth demonstrate to the Spanish ministry the conduct which the Allied Governments would observe in case of the consequences of the 8th of March, should perpetuate in Spain, trouble and monarchy. If these salutary counsels be, listened to, if the Cortes offer to their King, in the name of the nation, a pledge of obedience, if they succeed in establishing upon durable bases, the tranquility of Spain, and the peace of Southern America, the revolution will have been defeated at the very moment where it thought to obtain a triumph.

If, on the contrary, alarms, perhaps too reasonable, are realized, at least the five Courts will have discharged a sacred duty; at least a new occurrence will have developed the principle, indicated the object, and displayed the scope of European alliance.

The Emperor awaits the answer of the Courts of Vienna, London, Berlin & Paris, to the communications which his Ministers have addressed to him on the subject. He informs them, that the present Memorial is in the instruction which he has caused to be despatched to all his Ministers on the subject of the affairs of Spain.

FOREIGN.

CHARLESTON, SEPT. 26.

LATEST FROM ENGLAND.

By the fine fast sailing Ship *Fama*, Captain BERRY, arrived at this port yesterday, in 37 days from Liverpool, we have received Liverpool papers to the 18th of August.

LIVERPOOL, AUGUST 16.

THE QUEEN'S LETTER TO THE KING.

The London papers of Monday contain the Queen's letter to the King. It is a very long document, far too long for our limited space. It is a retrospect of her Majesty's life since her marriage to the present period. It begins thus:—

"Sir—After the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your Majesty, and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting—it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I address this letter to your Majesty. But, bearing in mind that royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal and hitherto unheard of proceedings:—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your Majesty, in the hope that the justice which your Majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honor and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquility of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression, and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws."

The letter then alludes to the first separation of the royal pair; the inquiry into her Majesty's conduct in 1806: her separation from her beloved daughter and the late King. It contains bitter invectives against the King and his Ministers. We can find room only for the latter part of the letter.

"I have always demanded a fair trial. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of a law. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

"The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the alleged acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the constitution of the court itself that I particularly object, and that I most solemnly protest.

"Whatever may be the precedents as to bills of pains and penalties, none of them, except those relating to the Queen of Henry the Eighth can apply here; for here your Majesty is the plaintiff. Here it is intended by the bill to do what you deem good, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

"You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this House written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the House have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the House, merely upon that report, have brought forward a bill containing the most outrageous slander on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

"The injustice of putting forth this bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations, is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hand.

"Your Majesty's Ministers have advised this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to punishment if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my judges, but it is they who have brought in the bill: and it is too notorious that they have always a majority in the

House; so that, without any other, here is ample proof that the House will decide in favour of the bill, and, of course, against me.

"But further, there are reasons for your Ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your Majesty is the plaintiff: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate Peers. Many of the present Peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole can be, at your will and pleasure further elevated. The far greater part of the Peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty, and these of course, your Majesty, can take away whenever you please. There are more than four fifths of the Peers in this situation, and there are as many of them who may be thus deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

"If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found in some Peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the bill, some of these Peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is equally an alarming power, new Peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your Majesty's Ministers would advise these measures, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however, unjust or odious.

"To regard such a body as a Court of Justice, would be to calumniate that sacred name: and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject, would be tacitly to lead myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

"In the House of Commons, I can discover no better grounds of security.—The power of your Majesty's Ministers is the same in both Houses; and your Majesty is well acquainted with the fact, that a majority of the houses is composed of persons placed in it by the Peers, and by your Majesty's Treasury.

"It really gives me pain to state these things to your Majesty; and, if it gives your Majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against the mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honor to be sacrificed. No innocence can assure the accused, if the judges and jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonor.

"On the grounds I protest against this species of trial. I demand a trial in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from among the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the House of Parliament face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honor, and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a Court of Justice.

"I have now frankly laid before your Majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is liable. Instead of loving, honoring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction.—You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation.—You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than prejudiced witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honor. If my life would have satisfied your Majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child; but, since you would send me dishonored to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed)

"CAROLINE R.

"Brandenburgh House, Aug. 7, 1820.

On Tuesday her Majesty, under the recommendation of her advisers, wrote the above letter with her own hand to the King. It was despatched by one of her Majesty's messengers to his Majes-