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SPEECH

Of the Hon. Mr. HOLMES, in the Senate of Massachusetts, during the Debate on the late "Report," and the proposed Convention at Hartford.

MR. PRESIDENT,

FROM the indefinite tenor of these resolutions and their preamble, I did expect that some one who was friendly to them, would have been good enough to point out their object. This I had a right to expect from their candour and liberality, but in this I have been disappointed; and unwell as I am, I feel little inclination or encouragement to detain the Senate long in this debate.

It was hoped that at this extraordinary session, summoned, as it is said, on account of extraordinary dangers, little would have transpised to excite the spirit of party. For myself, sir, I was disposed to dispense with party feelings, and unite my exertions with those of the majority in resisting and expelling the common enemy. In time of danger, we might well suspend our domestic quarrels, to be resumed, if we chose, in times of tranquility. But though in this expectation I have been disappointed, I am not surprized. During the short period I have had the honor of a seat in the Legislature of Massachusetts, I have learnt to be surprized at nothing, however extraordinary; and I confess I look upon this Report of your Committee with great composure, and do not believe that the dangers which it seems to threaten us will ever be realized. Yet sir, lest I should be too confident, it is my duty to resist it. I deem it, to be sure, fraught with pernicious principles and intolerable heresies.—That the Constitution of the United States has totally failed to secure to the people those rights and benefits which were the objects of its promotion, is a strong assertion. That a radical reform, or a new Constitution is necessary, is singular and extraordinary.—That at this time any innovations should have been projected, is a subject of extreme regret.

The spirit of party had subsided. All were becoming indignant against the enemy, and were determined to resist him. But certain leaders of party no doubt became alarmed at these symptoms, and the summoning the Legislature at this time became necessary. Gentlemen were probably alarmed lest a union in support of the war, would operate as a destruction of their party; and surely, sir, the course taken in the preamble, is well calculated to guard against the danger.

You begin with the old story of the injustice of the war:—This position of yours has been a hundred times refuted, and yet you persist. I have neither time, nor strength, nor inclination to travel again over this ground. If our cause is unjust *now*, it was much more so at the commencement of the Revolution. We, then, concluded that we ought not to be taxed without our consent. That the tax on tea was trifling, and that we ought to pay something, *we admitted*; but we claimed to be heard in assessing it. The right of Great Britain to her own men, we admit; but we claim some right in deciding who *are her men, and who are ours*. In the former case Britain undertook to take *our property*, without consulting us, in the latter, *our citizens*.

The outrages which Great Britain has committed on our commerce, are such as gentlemen now opposed to us, have thought intolerable. I could quote the opinions of those gentlemen at different times, were I not afraid of tiring your patience. One instance must at present suffice. I hold in my hand a memorial of a committee of the merchants of Boston to Congress, preferred in the winter of 1805—6, signed by Mr. Lloyd, now one of our Council, Mr. Perkins, now a member of this Senate, and several other very respectable merchants of Boston, in which the most outrageous pretences, principles and practices, against the American commerce, are ably and faithfully exposed.—[Here Mr. Holmes read several parts of the memorial.] Are these complaints just? Is this interference with neutral trade consistent with neutral rights? And from that period to the declaration of war have not these outrages increased?

But, Sir, I hold that however trifling the cause of the war in its *commencement*, additional and ample causes may arise in its *progress*, and such as would justify its prosecution, even after the original cause had failed.

Turn your attention to the intolerable and unprecedented barbarities of the British, and say, are not these fresh causes of war? The shocking barbarities at Havre de Grace and Hampton, the wanton destruction of monuments of science & taste at Washington, the robbery at Alexandria, the brutalities at *Penobscot*, and the extortion and pillage at *Cape Cod*, are not these acts which demand our vengeance? But, sir, I consider these as trifles, compared to the employment of the savages. The moment you engage them, you authorize and become a party to a war of indiscriminate massacre. It is like the use of poisoned weapons, or poisonous medicines. It converts the soldier into a savage. Such were once the sentiments of the great Chatham.—"But, my lords," said he, "who is the man, that in addition to the disgrace and mischief of war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods? To delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous warfare against our brethren? These enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, they will be a stain on the national character.—It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army is thus impaired. Familiarized to the horrors of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. No longer you sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, or feel the pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious warfare, which makes ambition virtue. What makes ambition virtue? The love of honor. But is the sense of honor consistent with the spirit of plunder, or the thirst of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? But thought this extraordinary man cannot be answered, he could be voted down. The practic of plunder and murder prevailed, and it has continued to prevail, until a British soldier is transformed to an inhuman and unfeeling ruffian, and the nation has retrograted to a nation of barbarians. Is it true that their barbarities cannot be restrained? Then why are they employed?—But the manner the war has been conducted by our Indians, which self-defence has brought into our employ, proves that Britain encourages, instead of restraining, their cruelties.

But a distinction is attempted in this Report, between an offensive and a defensive war. If, as you say, the war is unjust, and you have a right to refuse your aid in its prosecution, how happens it that you have a right to defend the soil? If the enemy is the injured party, it is his right to chastise and avenge the injury. And what authorisez you to screen yourself from his righteous indignation, by fleeing to your own territory? Sir, the law of nature affords no man a refuge from justice. If the municipal, law authorizes a man to defend his castle it is for the furtherance of *peace*, but not of *justice*. Upon your hypothesis, therefore, you have no right to defend your own or your neighbors property. The erroneous ground you have taken will lead you into a thousand such absurdities. Your Government has declared war.—That alone is responsible for its justice. The people are justified, and it is their duty to prosecute it in such way and manner as the constitutional managers of the war shall direct. It is often prudent and proper, and the best means of defence, to carry the war into the enemy's country. Will any one undertake to say that the invasion of Canada by General Brown was not the most effectual plan of defensive operation which could have been adopted?—How could this band of heroes, who have acquired such never-fading renown, have better defended our territory? And, sir, had wean army of sixty thousand men in Canada at this time, it would effectually draw the enemy from our Atlantic frontier, and we should be no more exposed to their depredations.

You complain that Massachusetts is left defenceless. At the commencement of the war, forty-one companies of militia, a force at that time adequate to the defence of the State, was required by the President and refused by the Governor; and upon the unprecedented and alarming ground, that the Governors of the States have the exclusive right to decide *when* and to *what extent* the militia shall be placed in the service of the general government. A more direct infraction of the constitution has never been made since *its adoption*.—In a part too which goes to the destruction of the strength and energy of the system. You took the defence of the State out of the hands of the general government. You would not permit them to decide on the danger. You refused them the means to repel it, and now, forsooth, you complain that you are left *defenceless*. But the regular troops enlisted within your State, you claim for its defence. What, sir, those enlistments which you have labored incessantly to prevent? Those soldiers whom you have scandalized, insulted and abused? Those officers whom you have degraded, caricatured, neglected and despised? Surely you would have none of these to defend you. Would you have troops of other States? These, you would say, were sent to dragoon you into submission, to trample upon your liberties.—And you would say, as one of your pulpit incendiaries has said, "rather lay your bones by the side of your fathers than to suffer southern troops to enter the borders of *New-England*."

The truth is, you expected that *submission* would tempt the enemy to forbearance and *discrimination*. Disappointed in this, you *face about*. The Governor lays aside his constitutional scruples, and in contempt of the solemn opinion of his *learned judges*, places the militia under an officer of the United States. *Now* Boston must be defended.—*Now* other seaports *like Boston* must be defended. The "peace party," will be patriotic, very patriotic, when the danger threatens their property or their *sacred persons*. The wanton barbarity at Hampton and other places, which gentlemen made the theme of so much pleasantry, wear a much more serious aspect when likely to be brought nearer home.

Under these apprehensions, the committee state in their report, that G. Britain threatens us with *desolation*. Gentlemen too who have hitherto placed great reliance on the magnanimity of Great Britain. And will they now doubt her magnanimity? What, after she has gloriously emancipated Europe? After she has given freedom to *France* by imposing on her a master at the point of the bayonet? After she has established the freedom of the seas, by placing all maritime rights under her exclusive controul? What after having given liberty to Spain, by re-establishing the *inquisition*? And above all, after having taken Sheriffs *Cooper* and *Adams* under her kind protection and made them her friends, is it possible that she can be so barbarous, as to threaten the "friends of peace" with desolation? There is, however, one part of the British conduct which I confess I liked. If there is any honorable feeling still remaining in an Englishman, it is love of country—And he respects that virtue even in an enemy. Instead of its being a source of complaint therefore, that the British have not discriminated in favor of, but against their *professed* friends, it is very honorable to our enemy and calculated to unite the people. The British have probably learnt, that as in the revolution, their professed friends are their real enemies—That they have been deceived and brought into this war by the professions and declarations of these very friends.

But, sir, I do not believe that the glorious emancipation of Europe, has either increased or diminished the animosity of Great Britain. She has cherished a uniform settled jealousy and hatred against us, ever since our independence was acknowledged. To be sure the power to gratify this spirit of animosity is increased. The peace of Europe, which was the subject of so much exultation has put it into her power to harrass and distress us. That she has the disposition to do this, let the whole history of her depredations and abuses testify. The enormities of the revolution are renewed with two fold animosity and vengeance. Unwholesome provisions, loathsome prisons and poisonous medicines are renewed. Wanton cruelties and savage murders are revived—but no cause of war! Indiscriminate conflagration, but no cause of war! Pillage of private property, violation of flags, refusal of quarters, but no cause of war! The exchange of prisoners after they were dead, and other little base and contemptible frauds, which disgrace the savage—and yet gentlemen have the assurance to reiterate, no cause of war!

In this state of danger and alarm, the Governor has summoned the Legislature, as was supposed, to defend ourselves and expel the enemy. You recommend an army—and at the same time take care to propose a measure effectually to prevent it. Why is this done at this time? The reason is plain. The atrocities of the enemy had effected a union. You were alarmed for the fate of your party, and it was found necessary to withdraw the people's resentment from the enemy and direct it against our own administration. A little union was necessary to induce republicans to defend *Boston*—But while this secures the town, it destroys your party.

Instead of encouraging and inflaming the zeal of the soldier, we are informing him that the nation is *ruined*—And this Massachusetts *foretold*. I venture to affirm, that no evil can happen to the country which Massachusetts has not predicted. She is always predicting evil, and in addition has done all she could that her predictions should be verified. She now pretends to be raising an army, and takes care to throw every stumbling block in the way of the measure. She will rejoice at no national successes. She will reward no hero who has fought for his country; nor will she reverence the memory of him who has died in defence of its rights.

We magnify the enemy's power and resources, speak of our commercial hostility to her, take care to charge her with no wrong, boast of her justice, magnanimity and forbearance, and *pretend* to be enlisting soldiers to fight her. Fine encouragement!—well calculated to expedite the raising an army.

We are told too of the disasters of this war. The increase of our adversary's strength was not to have been expected.—No one, I believe, even in Massachusetts, ever predicted the late astonishing events in Europe. "The glorious emancipation of Europe" has given us a proof of British magnanimity. Her "conquerors of the conquerors of Europe" were sent to "lather the Yankees into submission." Some disasters have taken place not much to the honor to the American arms.—The capture of Washington, and the towns at the eastward of this Commonwealth, are mortifying.—But they have produced the hapiest effects, and have been succeeded by successes more unexpected and astonishing than even the events of Europe; The American arms have triumphed both by land and water. The defeats of their armies, the capture of their ships on the ocean and their fleet on the Lake, are events which should make every American proud. [Here Mr. H. particularised the brilliant achievments of the army and navy, and complimented the officers and men, and proceeded.] These, sir, are achievements which have exalted the reputation of Americans and humbled and disgraced Great Britain. Well may we give glory to Almighty God for these victories, and rely on him for further protection and triumph. I trust and believe that America is destined to be the grave of British glory. Her invincibles have been vanquished, and her navy, her pride and boast, has been humbled and intimidated. But no applause! No thanks! No cause of exultation!

The Committee in their report, complain that they and their friends are said to be *tainted* with *predilection* for Great Britain and *disaffection* to the Union. Something more than *tainted*, I suspect. After advocating all the British claims, magnifying her magnanimity, and excusing her barbarities, do you complain that we charge you with being *tainted*? If we say nothing *more*, you may well allow us to be very charitable. I do not *know* that any of the charges of *disaffection to the Union* are true, much has been said and something proved. Gentlemen would do well to take care that their present proceedings do not confirm suspicions or establish facts. There was a prediction that this course would be pursued—I hold in my hand the Message of the President, relative to the developments of John Henry. I will, with your permission, sir, read a part of a letter, dated 7th March, 1809. After stating that he had ascertained the course intended to be pursued by the federal party in Massachusetts, in case of war with Great Britain, he observes, "I have already given a decided opinion, that a declaration of war is not to be expected, but contrary to all reasonable calculation, should the Congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the Legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighboring States; will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a Congress, to be composed of Delegates from the federal States, and create a separate government for their common defence and common interest."

Now compare what Henry said *would* be done, with what is now doing, and I believe that you will agree with me at least in this that there is a wonderful coincidence between the prophecy and its fulfilment. In case of war with England, Massachusetts was to take the lead and give the *tone*. She was to summon a convention of the New-England States, and the object was to be the independence of these States. I do not undertake to say that the gentlemen who are supporting this measure, had any thing to do with Henry's prediction; but it does appear that this letter has a very close resemblance to your resolution providing for the convention, both in language and spirit. And I apprehend that the people of this Commonwealth will have too much reason to suspect, that the part we are now acting, will eventuate in a consummation of the fulfilment of John Henry's prediction.

Tainted with a disaffection to the Union! Good God! you resolve that "the laws must and will be resisted." You make the State laws controul those of the United States, and in this very report declare that the Constitution has failed to secure to the people those equal rights which were the objects of its formation, and complain that you are charged with being *tainted* with a disaffection.

Your resolve, connected with the meaning in the preamble, is a direct proposition to dissolve the Union. It is proposed to adopt another constitution—I suppose another government. I very well know, that gentlemen who were esteemed oracles by the present majority, had strong debates whether this government was not *too democratic*.—Under the name of *more energy* they *would* have made it, in principle, more *monarchical*. A permanent Senate, a *stronger* executive, were objects very near the hearts of some gentlemen, before the constitution was adopted. The honorable gentleman from Worcester suggests, and I ought to believe he is serious, that one of the proposed amendments is, to strengthen the hands of the *executive*. If the design of the convention is to create a constitution for New England, I have no doubt the gentlemen would strengthen the hands of the executive. He would probably attach to him all the attributes of monarchy *except the name*. There would probably be a permanent executive, a house of lords both temporal and *spiritual*, and *possibly* a house of commons. But it is somewhat doubtful, whether gentlemen wish to strengthen the hands of the present executive of the United States. We have ever since the war was declared, witnessed an unremitted succession of attempts to trammel the executive of the United States; and I do confess it appears to me extremely laughable, that gentlemen should now perceive the urgent and irresistible necessity of preventing the pernicious effects of their own pertinacity by inconsiderately altering the constitution. But alterations and restorations have become so frequent and so fashionable, that we must expect them on this side of the Atlantic. We very well know that republics are very *unfashionable*.—Ours is, I believe, the only one existing; break this into two parts, destroy it, and the *restoration* to ancient sovereignty in America, is *feasible*, if not *inevitable*. We are told in your preamble, that the constitution is "unfit for peace or war." This, sir, to me is novel doctrine. I had supposed that the constitution was very satisfactory, and very dear to the people. I am pretty certain, and I venture to predict, that should this constitution ever become *null and void*, another of a republican form will never be adopted, and that the liberties of this nation will *expire* with their present constitution.

We have been told, sir, that the administrators of the Federal Government have violated the Constitution, and that it is *therefore void*. This is strange doctrine—What power have Congress to destroy or make void the Constitution? They are no parties to it—They are agents to act under or conformable to it, and if they act against its provisions, their *acts* are void. But it is a most alarming and pernicious principle, that the Legislature of the Union, by acting in contravention of, can destroy the charter. Sir, the position is a wrong one—a dangerous heresy, calculated to deceive and ensnare the people, and to draw them from their allegiance to the General Government. It contradicts our own acts; for we have sworn to support this very Constitution, long since it has become void by legislative infraction.

I can well perceive the grounds of all the complaints against the Constitution. It operates to keep the *minority* from controuling the *majority*. I would enquire of gentlemen, if in their new or amended Constitution they would provide for obtaining the first offices of the nation, against the will of the majority? If not, the amendment will not suit their purposes—And they have even divulged their feelings and wishes on this subject, which is nothing more nor less than that they cannot expect to get into offices under the present Constitution, and they therefore want a new one. I suppose if Mr. Madison would resign, gentlemen would withdraw their propositions for amending the Constitution.—This plan was the first which was projected, but as it did not go far enough, or for some other reason, it seems to be suspended to give place to this report. We admit the attempt to discard the people's rulers, or compel them to resign, is a very *modest* one. It seems to amount to this—"We believe this war to be most wicked and abominable, that Great Britain is right and the United States are totally wrong; nevertheless, if you who are the majority, will give the reins to us, let us have the President and all the offices, and fall into the ranks and labour for us, we will believe this wicked war to be most righteous, and will use all our endeavors to make it terminate most prosperously and gloriously—and further, our "peace party" shall instantly be converted into a "war party," we will condescend to take your preparations, your army, your navy, and your services, assume all your victories and triumphs, give you all the disasters, and at last take all the profit, honor and glory of an equitable peace to ourselves." It is strange that gentlemen did not pursue this first plan, and make this modest application to Mr. Madison and his friends. But, sir, if this had been done, and Mr. Madison, as he undoubtedly would, had gratified Massachusetts in this small request, and had the Vice-President, and the President of the Senate *pro tem*, and the Speaker of the House, who are to fill the vacancy in succession, complied; and further, had Congress, to gratify these same gentlemen, been so complaisant as to appoint a Speaker to act as President, who would be perfectly agreeable to those gentlemen, it is doubtful whether they would get along much better than we do. There is no doubt every little skirmish would be magnified into a victory, and every thing which is now disaster or of a doubtful character, would wear a very different appearance. Should we, however, judge from events, it is very doubtful whether Massachusetts' military skill is superior to all the rest of the world. Wherever the enemy has made any attempts against Governor Strong's territory, he has succeeded, except two small posts at the west; the only territory from which the enemy has not been driven is in Massachusetts.

But the most alarming view in which I consider this report is that it holds out encouragement to the enemy. I do not fear that you will *dare* to carry any plan of disunion to extremities—I am satisfied that the course you are pursuing is the most destructive to your party—But I do apprehend that this show of disunion, will encourage the hopes of our enemy and remove far the hopes of peace. Let these measures be known at Ghent pending the negociations, and it would be the means of suspending if not utterly terminating them. It is impossible to believe that gentlemen can expect any benefit to the country from these strange proceedings.

But gentlemen should take care. Measures whose design is innocent may ripen into *treason*. The moment your *speculations* grow into *action* you pass the *rubicon*. The blood of your fellow citizens must flow, and brother must be arrayed against brother. Your situation is therefore exceedingly critical. You stand on a precipice, the ground trembles under your feet, advance one step and you plunge into the abyss below, and are lost forever.

Ambition has destroyed every other republic. In times of distress and danger, factious men rise out of the times. Their reasons are plausible, their accents *honied*, and their views *professedly* patriotic. They well know that in such times the people may be inclined to listen to schemes of *revolt*, under the name of *reform*. And in time of war a crafty enemy will watch their movements with a critical eye. But I know that any attempt of this sort, must, at this time, fail. The people are attached to their government—They are not so inconstant as you would make them—They are becoming every day more and more united—The American spirit is rising, and they will denounce these headlong measures and their authors. Sir, our course is too plain to admit of a doubt. Union and energy will secure us an honorable peace. Instead of fomenting discord let us urge a union of all parties—Leave these mad measures, for times of more safety, or abandon them forever—Make party animosities to subside, and direct your zeal against your enemy, and your triumphs, peace and prosperity are certain.

BOSTON, Oct. 24.

We are told, though we have some doubt on the fact, that there is a gentleman in town, who left Portsmouth, Eng. *Sept.* 10, and that he reports that Lord Hill was then there about embarking with a large force, which was to touch at Cork, and proceed immediately for this country.

SUCCESSFUL PRIVATEERING.

Wednesday arrived at Portsmouth, the fast sailing private armed brig Portsmouth, Shaw, from a short and successful cruize of 22 days. A week after sailing captured British schooner Mary, Burroughs, from Halifax for Martinique loaded with fish—Oct. 3, captured ship James, Messenger, from London for Quebec, with cargo of dry-goods, rum, gin, brandy, and 80 casks of powder, besides cloths, &c. for the Canada army.—The James sailed from Spithead, Sept. 1. in co. with a fleet having on board 8000 troops, and parted shortly before in a gale having been thrown on her beam ends and considerably injured—took from her 300 packages of dry goods. Capt. Messenger states, that the cargo on board the James was invoiced at 100,000*l.* of which the Portsmouth took out 35,000, as per invoices.

The sale of the goods at Durham on Thursday last captured by the Portsmouth on her former cruize, amounted to over 190,000 dollars, and allowing the goods she has now bro't in to average as much in the sale as those at Durham, (and there is no doubt they will more, as they are better adapted to the season,) they will amount to upwards of 362,000 dollars, thus neating to the owners and all concerned in that vessel upwards of 500,000 dollars, in the short space of 33 days.

Port of Boston, Oct. 24.

"*Look Out Hill, Gloucester, Oct. 21.*

"At day light moderate and cloudy, wind NNE. a frigate to the S. E. 6 lea. dist. standing to Ed. At 10, she bore away and stood to S. W. At 11, discovered a schr. to the Ed. running into the Bay. At Meridian, the ship out of sight. At 1, P. M. the schr. tacked to Ed. At 4, lost sight of her. A lumber loaded sch. passed by, to Wd. At sun set, wind S. E. and rainy, nothing in sight."

NEW-YORK, Oct. 26.

The editors of the New York Gazettee are indebted to a Dutch Gentleman, of this city for further translations from Amsterdam papers to the 28th of August, received by the U. S. corvette John Adams, from the Texel.

MADRID, July 27.

Our Grand Inquisitor had been appointed. The choice of H. M. has fixed itself on Monsigneur Mier Campillo, Bishop of Almira. Our finances in America are the subject of our most lively emotions, the zeal of the clergy is not sufficient to provide for all our wants, and the transporting of the necessary forces, to re-establish tranquility in our colonies, is a confideration, which is subjected to great inconveniencies.

Saragossa has been the Theatre of numerous fatal events. Many Frenchmen that had remained in that city, have been obliged to quit the same. Some of them have arrived at Oleron.

July 21.—H. M. has issued the following decree:

"On the proposal, of the junta for the navy, we have resolved, to create a Court of Justice, attached to the council of the Navy, which will be called Admiralty, and whereas we are much satisfied with the well known talents, discretion and prudence of our beloved Uncle, the infant Don Audoia, it is our pleasure that he adopts the title of Admiral-General of Spain, and of both Indies; that he enjoys all the advantages and emoluments which are thereunto attached, and that he proposes to us the names of the persons, of whom the Admiralty is to be composed, &c.

July 29.—It is said that one of our ministers of state, is to render himself at the congress of Vienna, where the discussions about the chief interests of the European Household, require the presence of a person of consequence, on the part of Spain, which must appear as a power of the first class.

Don C. Arazago, has been appointed Captain General of Guipascoa.—This chieftan commanded the Spanish army at the battle of Ocanna.

Don Philippo de Saint Marco, has been appointed Captain General of Gallicia. He has contributed much to the defence of Saragossa.

The proclamations of Villavicencia, at Cadiz has by no means tranquilized the minds of the inhabitants.

It is said that our affairs in Mexico are ameliorating. We will be most happy, if the zeal of our vice kings, can find means without the assistance of the mother country, to quell the insurections. Because we have the grief to witness, that our troops destined to be embarked testify the greatest reluctance.

August 4.

The order of Malta, that is the Assembly of of Spanish Knights, has charged its prior of Castilia, to H. M. protection, to obtain the means to rise more spendid than ever from its ashes.

August 5.

His Grace the Duke of Hayar, so distinguished by his Love for Letters and by his Birth, has been charged with the Ambassade for France.

No doubt exists about the treaty of Peace with France having been ratified; the conditions however are not made public.

August 6.

The proclamation issued at Cadiz by the Capt. Gen. Villaricencia, does not produce all the effect which had been expected therefrom.—A rigorous blockade both by sea and land ought to be established, to prevent the introduction of the claims of king Charles 4. He since the last four months erected political structure: has unfortunately not got a solid basis to rest on. The disorder of the finances, the collision of political sentiments, the situation of America, are the causes of uneasiness.

August 9.

His majesty has been pleased to abolish the torture for Criminals, and has forbidden all higher and lower courts of law, to use that kind of infliction on any person, for the sake of drawing a confession. H. M. commands at the same time, that healthy prisons must be erected, to prevent that prisoners do not receive a primature punishment; he further recommends that prisoners should be put to labor.

The principal members of the Cortes, that have been loaded with disgrace by H. M. are still imprisoned; it does not appear that their trials will come on soon. It is said they demonstrate much constancy and firmness.

It is said that Don Blazius Ortolaza and the Reverend Father Del Atalaya, have lost some of their fatal influence. Our ministers seem to be desirous to act in community, to prevent the consequences of that dangerous system, which had been at first adopted, namely, that of untying the passions of the populace, and to build a security thereon, instead of leading to a virtuous, and a sound policy corresponding end.

Bologna, August 6.

The greatest uncertainty reigns in this city about the fate of our country. There are still British and Austrian Commissioners here.—They are merely occupied with settling our military station. What engages at present our attention, is, that the formerly Royal Palace is getting in readiness to receive a person of high rank. The Ponesta has ordered plate, linen, and all other requisites to be carried thither.—Room has been made in the stables to place 8