FOR THE STAR.

CIVIS, No. III.

HAVING shewn, that the conduct of the President was correct in endeavoring to unite the general question of impressment, and the satisfaction due for the attack on the Chesapeake, in one final an arrangement; and that the reparation on that occasion demanded, was the least, that national honor could accept. I shall now make a few remarks on the *sincerity* of *both* governments, as it regarded the late negociation. On the part of the United States the attempt was honest and sincere; not merely because war is at all times vexatious and destressing, but because by negociation consequences as beneficial might be attained as could possibly result from the most prosperous and successful war. Nor was this all—the blessings of twenty years peace had enabled the United States to discharge a large portion of her debt; and such was her increased importance as a commercial people, that she now ranks as SECOND among the nations of the earth. These, uniting with other causes, were solemn pledges of the sincerity of our government; for with Americans war has no charms—conquest no allurements; free and independent ourselves, we seek not the subjugation of others; and enjoying the blessings of equality without licentiousness, no possible change of government can increase our happiness.

The sincerity of the president is further manifested; because the *extent* of the satisfaction demanded in the case of the Chesapeake, was scarcely commensurate with the enormity of the offence—to require a disavowal of the deed—to demand the restoration of the men impressed (if the act were unauthorised) were things of course; but other and higher satisfaction was also due—Admiral Berkley might have been demanded, or if not demanded, at least severely punished by his government; and this kind of procedure would have been justified by the laws and customs of civilized nations. Vattel holds this doctrine as correct,* and the case of the lieutenant of the privateer who was executed for firing into the Venetian merchantman, and killing her captain, prove the extent of national law, and the usages of governments in cases of inferior magnitude.

Again—our government was sincere in their attempt to negociate: for when England, the acknowledged aggressor, (before she would negociate) demanded the revocation of a precautionary measure, we so far acquired, as to offer that the revocation of the proclamation should have the same date with the acceptance of the offered reparation.

This offer could alone have proceeded from the spirit of accommodation, and an ardent desire for peace; for had Mr. Jefferson consulted the etiquette of negociation; had precedent and ancient practice not given way to *real* greatness, his reply must have been—that before his proclamation could be made a subject of discussion; satisfaction was due for the acknowledged aggression that preceded it. That England wished and expected this reply, a doubt can scarcely now be entertained—it would serve to colour her profession of reparation and keep alive for a time her shew of amity; and might perhaps cast on the American government the odium of refusing negociation.

Let us now exhibit the other side of the picture, and take a short view of the sincerity of England. Some time in January, Mr. Rose reached Washington, and considering that his mission was expressly to justify our government for the recent act of hostility committed against it, the farce of negociation was most skilfully opened. "I "am expressly excluded by my instruc-"tions for the adjustment of the differ-"ences arising from the encounter be-"tween the Leopard and Chesapeake, "*as long as the proclamation of the Pre-"sident shall be in force.*"

Had this proclamation of interdict been issued by the President on a dubious ground of quarrel with England, and the mission of Mr. Rose was to inquire where the error lay, this language might perhaps have been tolerated; because it pre-supposes, that the proclamation was *more* offensive and injurious to Great Britain, than the act creating its necessity could be to the United States. If such had been the fact, and England really was the injured party, her demand might have been correct; but a pretence of this nature did not even exist; for Mr. Canning expressly admits; that an "unauthorised act of hostility had been committed against the United States by the orders of admiral Berkley!" And yet her negociator demands such previous concessions as were wholly repugnant to the laws and usages of independent nations. Indeed on this point a most conclusive and apposite answer is furnished by England herself in her Spanish negociation in the year 1770, where Spain *intimated* a demand of the kind here set up by Great Britain—Her reply was, that his Britannic majesty having limited his demand to the smallest reparation he could accept . . . . . came, nothing was left for discussion but the mode of carrying the disavowal and restitution into Execution; reparation losing its value if it be conditional, or obtained by any stipulation whatever from the party injured.

From the nature of this extraordinary demand it may then fairly be inferred, that Great Britain never seriously intended to satisfy the United States for the aggression committed. She knew that without national degradation her request never could be granted; & that the eyes of both Europe and America were anxiously watching the event. In issuing the proclamation the President had exercised an indubitable and necessary act of sovereignty; it was not occasioned by petty resentment or national hatred; but resulted from calm deliberation and serious reflection. It was adopted merely as a measure of precaution against the repetition of injuries disgraceful to those who committed; insulting and oppressive to those who suffered them. To withdraw it then before satisfaction had been received for the cause that produced it; would in effect admit—That England had received, and not given the first cause of offence.

But the insincerity of England in the late negociation rests not alone on her improper demand; other circumstances equally conclusive form part of the testimony against her. When Mr. Rose left London her colonizing orders of November, were not officially published, but only so *contrived* that they must reach America before any final arrangement could be had with her negociation. The ostensible object of these orders was a further retaliation on the French blockading decree of November 1806; but their certain effect, if not their secret purpose, was to frustrate and destroy the pending negociation. Should however, this idea be incorrect, and were the English cabinet really sincere in this mission of peace; their conduct *since* the affair of the Chesapeake is a paradox not to be explained. That act was the closing scene of an oppressive, disgraceful, and bloody tragedy, and loudly demanded exemplary punishment, but the policy and moderation of our government limited their demand of satisfaction to the smallest possible reparation. This doubtless was done, not only as a pledge of our pacific disposition; but that England pending a probable negociation might change or totally abandon a practice out of which the late incident certainly grew. But let me ask—has she pursued this desirable conduct? Let the proclamation of October last determine the question. There it is made the duty of British officers to impress from under our flag, all such, as in *their* judgements are subjects of Great Britain—thus subjecting our merchant vessels to vexations and detention; and in many cases to final loss; and their crews to the sole and absolute disposition of her naval commanders.

It is certain that the principle assumed in the proclamation would at any time have alarmed and irritated the American nation; for although impressments repeatedly had been made from our merchant vessels, and various outrages committed; yet they were considered, rather as the lawless acts of individual commanders, than as the deliberate will of the government. But now the scene was changed, and a right previously unassumed—unknown to Europe, and always resisted by us, was officially claimed; thereby giving sanction to all the enormities before that time perpetrated, whether by design or mistake!

From the proclamation of October, let us proceed to the orders of November—do these furnish any emollient for the wounds of the Chesapeake? or are they calculated to aid the business of negociation? By some of the ablest statesmen in England they are viewed as just causes for war; and all *honest* Americans consider them as destructive to our commerce, degrading to our independence, and insulting to our sovereignty. In obedience to these orders, all American vessels bound to Europe, *(whatever be the nature of their lading)* are compelled to touch at some British *port*, pay a certain per cent on their cargo; and then receive his MAJESTIES PERMIT, to proceed on their voyage!!! If war be the *ultimate* object of Great Britain, these orders contain a fair and candid warning; but to assume the garb of negociation—to affect the spirit of conciliation while they remain unrevoked, is a complication of hypocricy, duplicity and insolence, not surpassed in the history of modern diplomacy.

CIVIS.

Queen-Anne's County, June, 1808.

* *See his law of nations, pages* 223—4.

PHILADELPHIA, June 6.

EVENTS IN SPAIN.

The advices which have been published on the affairs of Spain in the *Aurora*, have been received from an official source, at Madrid, as may be seen from the peculiar nature of the communications, and the translations from the Spanish gazette, have been made for the Aurora exclusively. We note this not to assume any particular merit in publishing translations, but that the readers of this paper may not consider them as mere productions of rumour, or among those fictitious proclamations and decrees with which politicians and statesmen sometimes sport. The following is the decree of abdication of Charles IV.—King of Spain, which is succeeded by another of the same date.

The decrees subsequent to the date which follow, are by the reigning king, Ferdinand VII. whose reign commenced formally immediately upon the abdication of his father.

DECREE,

BY CHARLES IV. &c.

As the indisposition with which I am afflicted, no longer permits me to support the weighty burden of the government of my dominions, and as it becomes necessary for the restoration of my health, that I should enjoy in a more temporate climate the tranquility of private life, I have determined, after the most mature deliberation, to abdicate the crown in favor of my heir and well beloved son the prince of Austrurias. Therefore it is my royal will, that he be acknowledged and obeyed as king and legitimate sovereign of all my kingdom's and dominions. And to the end that this my royal decree of free and spantaneous abdications may have its full and due effect, you are to communicate it to the council, and to all those whom it may regard.

Aranjuez, 19*th March*, 1808.

BY ME THE KING.

To Don Pedro Cevallos.

ROYAL DECREE IN FAVOR OF D. PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Notwithstanding my chief secretary of state, Don Pedro Cevallos, for several reasons which he has made known to me, has resigned his commission into my hands, I have not thought proper to accept of the same, since I have just cause to believe, notwithstanding his marriage with the first cousin of the prince of peace, Don Manuel Gedoi, he has never, concurred with the sentiments and unjust designs attributed to that person, and respecting which I have ordered the proper investigations to be made. Confiding then in his honourable principles and attachment to his sovereign whereof I ought to avail myself, it is my will that this my royal appointment be made public for the information of all my subjects. You will attend to the same for its due accomplishment.

BY THE KING.

To the marquis Caballero.

Madrid, 19 *April.*

His majesty has been pleased to address to his excellency the president of the council the following decree of the 6th instant.

Having thought proper to appoint as president of my supreme council of exchequer the Marquis Caballero, late secretary of state and of the department of favour and justice, in consequence of his signal services, and more particularly of the merit he has displayed in the late occurrences in the reign of my august father. And in like manner to permit Don Antonio Olaguer Solis, lieut. gen. of my forces, to retire from the office of secretary of state and of the war department, in which he has served to my satisfaction. Moreover, I have thought fit to appoint Don Sebastian Pinuela y Alonso, secretary of favour and justice of the council and state of Castile, to the office of secretary of state and public affairs; and to that of secretary of state and war department, Don Gonzald O'Farrell. You will make this communication to my state and privy councils.

MADRID, 12th APRIL,

On the 8th inst. his majesty was pleased to address the following decree to all the councils for their information, and other purposes, for which it is intended

Knowing that the emperor of the French and king of Italy, is shortly expected to arrive at this capital, it is my intention to go and meet his imperial majesty, in order to afford him a convincing proof of my esteem for his august person, as well as of my ardent wishes to consolidate more the bonds of amity and close alliance, happily subsisting between the French empire and this monarchy, for the reciprocal benefit of both nations. I shall therefore proceed for Burgos, the day after to-morrow, being the 10th of the month.—And although my absence will be of short duration, I have resolved on account of the present circumstances, to invest with the necessary authority, my beloved uncle, the infante Don Antonio, in whom I repose full confidence in virtue of the bonds of consanguinity uniting him to my person, as well as the noble qualities for which he is distinguished, in order to discharge the weighty and urgent affairs of government, which may occur during my absence, wherein he will previously attend to the advice of my secretaries of state, &c.

On the 14th April the king reached Victoria, which is 240 miles from Madrid. The emperor left St. Cloud on the 2d April, and on the 4th was at Bordeaux.

We copy the following from the New York *Public Advertiser*, a paper conducted with firmness and intelligence, which neither assumes more than it performs, nor undertakes more than it is competent to execute—with this estimate, however, we do not entirely concur; as to a *general result* perhaps it may be near the case, but in what concerns the votes of Pennsylvania, the *Public Advertiser* is absolutely misinformed, at no time was there a suspicion that there were *more than two* of the citizens nominated for electors partial to Mr. *Clinton*; and it is well known that these will abide by the sentiments of their constituents; what those sentiments are the public already partly know from the sentiments published in various parts of the state, & which will soon generally appear. Liberties have been taken also with the name of the venerable *Charles Thompson*, that good man entertains an entire respect for Mr. *Clinton*, but it may be permitted to those who are intimately acquainted with him, and who know his sentiments on the best policy of the U. States, to say that he is in favor of that candidate who is most likely to pursue the policy of the present administration, and that he thinks Mr. Madison that man.

On another point also we differ from the Public Advertiser—the federalists will set up *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, who, poor man, appears, like *James Ross*, destined to be the perpetual stalking horse of federalism. *Aurora.*

FROM THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Probable estimate.—Cheetham yesterday gave an estimate of the probable votes for president in the different states. In this he made governor Clinton the successful candidate by *two* votes more than the constitutional majority—no man who has the least acquaintance with the state of politics in the United States, can read this production of Cheetham without admiration of his impudence, or contempt of his folly. The following statement is founded on correct information, derived from the most respectable political characters of the several states—and it will be pleasing to those who, sincerely attached to the republican cause, wish to behold its complete triumph over the arts of ambition, apostacy and intrigue.

It is ascertained that there will be three republican candidates for the office—Messrs. Madison, Munroe and Clinton. The first is the candidate of the republican party, and has been nominated in the *regular way*; the second is supported by a little factious junto in Virginin, headed by John Randolph, and the third is the favorite of James Cheetham! It is also well known that unless the federalists support a man of their own party, their votes will be given to Mr. Clinton. In the subjoined calculation, we have arranged all the federal votes under Mr. Clinton's name, presuming that the federalists will not nominate a candidate.

	Mad.	*Mun.*	*Clin.*
New-Hampshire elects by a general ticket, and will give Madisonian electors. - - -	7	0	0
Massachusetts has at present no election laws, nor can her *federal legislature* enact any which is not acceptable to her *republican governor.*—It is *probable* this state will chose electors *by districts.* Her votes may be calculated at 10 for Madison and 9 federal.	10	0	9
Rhode Island elects by general ticket, and will give Madison all her votes. - -	4	0	0
Conecticut is federal.	0	0	9
Vermont, if she continues republican, will give all her votes for Madison. It is *doubtful*, however, what will be the result of her election. All doubtful votes we give to the *federalists.*	0	0	6
*New York elects by legislature. The senate being almost unanimously republican, will be for Madison. But suppose a compromise should take place in favor of Clinton. - - -	0	0	12
New-Jersey. In this state *the legislative Butcher* is almost the only quid. Madison will get the unanimous votes of New-Jersey. - - -	8	0	0
†Pennsylvania. The sentiments of all the gentlemen proposed as electors of this state by the republicans are not known—But it is probable the votes of Pennsylvania will be - -	12	0	8
Delaware is federal, and will give Clinton three votes. - -	0	0	3
Maryland chooses her electors by districts, five of her votes will be for Madison, one for Munroe and five for Clinton, including three federal votes.	5	1	5
Virginia is the back bone of republicanism, and will give Madison *a plumper.*	24	0	0
North Carolina chooses by districts, and will give Madison six, Munroe three, and Clinton five, including three federal votes.	6	3	5
South Carolina, notwithstanding the vile calumnies of Cheetham against her integrity, will give all her votes for Madison.	10	0	0
Georgia is a staunch republican state, and will of course, give Madison all her votes.	6	0	0
Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee are *sound as a roach*, and will zealously support the republican nomination.	16	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Republican votes—For Madison	108	
Munroe	4	
Clinton	12	
Federal votes—For Clinton	52	

Among the federal votes we have arranged those of New-York, which *if for Clinton*, will be so through the assistance of the *federalists.*

Some persons are of opinion that neither Madison, Monroe, or Clinton will obtain a constitutional majority—We think differently—We have not a single doubt that the election will eventuate, at least, as above stated. From the circumstance of our having in every instance given the doubtful votes to the opponents of Mr. Madison, we may safely infer that the aggregate of votes given to him at the election for President will exceed the number above stated. Allowing, however, that there will be no electorial choice, the election of Mr. Madison is still *certain.* In that event, the present congress, whose time of services does not expire until next March, will determine between the candidates. The sentiments of the gentlemen composing that body, are well *known*—and upon a ballot at Washington, the states will stand thus:

For MADISON—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee—14.

For CLINRON—Connecticut, Delaware, and *New-York!*—3

Alas! *poor New-York!* into what wretched company have Masters, Russel and Cheetham led you!!!

Our opinion, (says the editor of the National Intelligencer,) from information derived from various parts of the union, is that *Mr. Madisan will have every republican Electoral vote*, and that the federal electoral votes will not exceed *twenty-one.* We believe that Mr. Madison will command an unanimous republican vote—

Because, it is ascertained that he will *certainly* have a majority, which will necessarily make him President.

Because this fact once ascertained, there will be no inducement to the republicans to divide their votes, while there will be strong inducements to unite them. Guided by patriotic motives, they will deem it a duty to diminish the chances to their adversaries of carrying their political objects by giving to the President elect their undivided support; and they will deem it a still higher duty to shew the foreign world the falsehood of the libel that represents us as a divided people. Knowing that the President is the organ of foreign intercouse, and sensible of his great Constitutional power over our foreign relations, they will feel the importance attached by foreign nations to this election with regard to the adjustment of our differences with them, and will elect the man whose sentiments and measures they approve, and who, they are certain will persist in the same course which has heretofore guided the administration. The importance of their union in this respect will be so self-evident, that they will not permit themselves to be divided. We believe that, in no circumstances, would the republicans suffer themselves to be divided on so important an object: we are confident that under existing circumstances, they will not. Their not having heretofore permitted themselves to be divided, is the best assurance of their union on this occasion.

* From a recent circumstance; we are induced to give the whole number of the electoral votes of this state to Madison.

† We have it from the best authority in Pennsylvania, that that state is firm, and will give a decided vote for Madison.