

From a late London paper.

ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT WAR.

As stated by Mr. Erskine.

The most faithful and just account of the origin of the present disastrous war, was given by the eloquent Mr. Erskine, in his defence of Mr. Horne Tooke. It has been reported by Mr. Gurney, with a fidelity that does credit to his talents in his profession as a short-hand writer. We extract it as a proof of the perfection to which he carries his art of following a most animated speaker; as well as to impress on the minds of our readers the true principles of the war.

Gentlemen, "IT happened that when France threw off the galling yoke of arbitrary monarchy, which had been attended with such infinite evils to herself, and which had produced so many calamities to Great Britain, a very general exultation pervaded this country: and surely it was a natural theme of exultation to the inhabitants of a country which had given light and freedom for ages to the world, to see so large a portion of the human race suddenly emancipated from a bondage not only ignominious to France, but dangerous to this island.

"They recollected the deluging wars which her ambition had lighted up, and the expensive burthens which our resistance to them had entailed upon us; they felt also, in the terrible disasters of France, a just pride in the wisdom of our forefathers, and a wholesome lesson to the present age and posterity not to degenerate from their example. They saw France falling a victim to the continuation and multiplication of those abuses in government, which our wise progenitors had perpetually mitigated, by temperate and salutary reformation; and they saw therefore nothing to fear from the contagion of her disorders: her arbitrary state, her superstitious church, had undergone no alterations; and for want of those repairs which the edifices of civil life require equally with material structures, they crumbled suddenly into dust; whereas, by the fortunate coincidence of accident, as much as by the exertions of wisdom and virtue, our condition had been slowly and progressively meliorated; and our religion purified and reformed; the condition of civil life had changed and bettered under their influence, and the country had started up even amidst revolution, with superior security and illustration.

"Gentlemen, these reflections were not merely the silent, but the avowed expressions of some of the first persons in England, on the first burst of the French revolution, and I verily believe, the same sensations diffused themselves widely throughout the kingdom.

"Very unfortunately, gentlemen, for France, for England, for Europe, and for humanity, this sensation, the natural result of freedom and independence, was not universally felt; very unfortunately the powers of Europe would not yield to an independent nation the common right of judging for itself in its own concerns, nor in prudence leave it to the good and evil of its own government. All Europe combined against France, and levied war against her infant constitution. The despots of the earth, with whom the King of Great Britain had no common interest, trembling for their own rotten institutions, and looking to the wrongs and sufferings of their subjects, drew the sword (as was natural for despotism to draw it) to dispute the right of a people to change their ancient institutions. This very combination, assimilated with the patriotism of France, the public spirit of England; since our own revolution was supported upon no other foundation than the principle which was not only denied, but was by violence to be exterminated; and many persons, therefore, notoriously attached to the British government, expressed their reprobation of this conspiracy against the freedom of the world.

"This honest and harmless enthusiasm however, met with a very sudden, and in its consequences an unfortunate check. A gentleman, of the first talents for writing in the world, composed a book, I am bound to believe with an honorable mind, but a book which produced a more universal, and more mischievous effect than any which perhaps out own or any other times have produced.

"When Mr. Burke's book upon the French revolution was first published, at which period our government had taken no active part against it, no man assimilated the changes of France to the condition of our country; no man talked of, or figured in his imagination, a revolution in England, which had already had her revolution, and had obtained the freedom which France was then struggling to obtain. Did it follow, because men rejoiced that France had asserted her liberty, that they thought liberty could exist in no other form than that which France had chosen? Did it follow because men living under the government of this free country, considered and reprobated the dangerous precedent of suffering the liberty of any nation to be overborne by foreign force; did it follow from thence, that they were resolved to change for the accidental and untried condition of France, the ancient and tried constitution of our own country? I feel within myself that I can rejoice, as I do rejoice, in the liberty of France, without meaning to surrender my own, which, though protected by other forms, and growing out of far more fortunate conjunctures, stands upon the same basis, of the right of a people to change their government and be free. Can any man in England deny this? Yes, gentlemen, Mr. Burke has denied it; and that denial was the origin of Mr. Paine's book. Mr. Burke denied positively, and in terms, that France had any right to change her own government, and even took up the cudgels for all the despots of Europe, who, at the very time, were levying a barbarous, scandalous and oppressive war, to maintain the same proposition by the sword.

"This work brought forward again, after a long silence, Mr. Thomas Paine, who was indeed a republican beyond all question, but who had become so in consequence of the same corrupt and scandalous attempt to beat down by force the liberties of a nation; he became a republican in consequence of the similar and lamentable contest between Great Britain and America: and it is rather a curious cir-

cumstance, that this very Mr. Burke, who confided Mr. Paine as a man not to be reasoned with, but only to be answered by criminal justice, and who condemns as a traitor every man who attempts to name him, himself expressed his approbation of the very same doctrines published by Mr. Paine, when Mr. Burke himself was pleading the cause of a nation determined to be free; not the cause of a foreign nation which had always been independent, but the cause of colonial America, in open war and rebellion against the crown and parliament of Great Britain. Mr. Paine, during the same crisis, wrote his book called Common Sense, addressed to the Americans in arms against England, exciting her to throw off the yoke of the mother country, and to declare her independence.

"Gentlemen, from having defended Mr. Paine, upon his trial for writing his latter work, which Mr. Tooke is accused of having approved, I am, of course, intimately acquainted with its contents, and with those of his former writings: and I take upon me to say, that every offensive topic against monarchy, and all the principles of the rights of man, now regarded with such horror, are substantially, and in many instances almost verbatim, to be found in the former publication.

"When Mr. Paine wrote his Common Sense, acts of parliament had declared America to be in a state of rebellion, and England was exerting every nerve to subdue her; yet, at that moment, Mr. Burke, not in his place in parliament, where his words are not to be questioned, but in a pamphlet publicly circulated, speaks of his book Common Sense, by name; notices the powerful effect it had upon the mind of America, in bringing them up to emancipation; and acknowledges that if the facts assumed by the author were true, his reasonings were unanswerable.

"In the same pamphlet, several parts of which I have stated to the former jury, he declared, that he felt every victory obtained by the king's arms against America, as a blow upon his heart; he disclaimed all triumph in the slaughter and captivity of names which had been familiar to him from his infancy; and, with all the splendor of his eloquence, expressed his horror that they had fallen under the hands of strangers, whose barbarous appellations he scarcely knew how to pronounce.

"Gentlemen, I am not censuring Mr. Burke for these things; so far from it, that they sanctify his character with me, and even prevent me from approaching him but with respect. But let us, at least, have equal justice. Whilst these writings continue the object of admiration, and their author is held forth as the champion of our constitution, let not Mr. Tooke stand a prisoner at the bar of the Old Bailey, for having, in time of profound peace with France, and when every speech from the British throne breathed nothing but its continuance, expressed only the same detestation of the exertions of foreign despotism against freedom, which the other did not scruple, in a similar cause, and in time of open war, to extend to the exertions of his country.

"To expose further the extreme absurdity of this accusation, if it be possible further to expose it, let me suppose that we are again at peace with France, whilst the other nations who are now our allies, should continue to prosecute the war: would it then be criminal to congratulate France upon her successes against them? When that time arrives, might I not honestly wish the triumph of the French arms? and might I not lawfully express that wish? I know certainly that I might, and I know also that I would. I observe that this sentiment seems a bold one! but who is prepared to tell me I shall not? I will assert the freedom of an Englishman; I will maintain the dignity of man; I will vindicate the glory in the principles which raised this country to her pre-eminence amongst the nations of the earth; and as she shone the bright star of the morning, to shed the light of liberty upon nations which now enjoy it, to may she continue in her radiant sphere, to revive the ancient privileges of the world, which have been lost, and still to bring them forward to tongues and people who have never yet known them in the mysterious progression of things."

[Republished by request.]

From the Aurora of May 19.

SIR,

I have lately been favored with the perusal of a bill which has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate, entitled, "an act to ascertain and fix the military establishment of the United States," and also of certain amendments which have been proposed to it in the Senate.

This bill contemplates a reduction of our present establishment to one brigade of about three thousand men, and to be so organized as to form a complete military establishment, against which, if it be not too small, there does not appear a single well founded objection—it is in fact the only well digested plan which has existed in the United States since the year 1787. The proposed amendments are calculated to destroy that regularity and order which the bill would necessarily introduce, and if adopted, will inevitably perpetuate that confusion and disorder which has existed in the legion of the United States ever since its formation. On those who think that 3000 men are too large a command for a Brigadier General; that Brigades are not necessary in the formation of a Major General's command; or that the present commander of the Legion, is the only man in the United States who is fit to command an army, the foregoing observations can have no effect: I will therefore, sir, for the information of such in particular, and of my countrymen in general, submit the following facts, and I pledge myself that whenever the character in question shall come forward and request an investigation of his conduct upon fair and honorable ground, I will then resume a visible existence, and in my own proper person and character maintain and support them, viz.

That very heavy charges have long since been submitted to the War Minister against the present commander of our army, and an inquiry into his conduct solicited in the most pointed, manly and officer like manner.

That these charges were submitted by a man of unequivocal integrity and honor, a warm and zealous friend and supporter of the Constitution and government of the United States—an officer and a gentleman.

That the official communications of the commanding General relative to his march from Greenville into the Indian country, and of the action of the 20th of August, 1794, are replete with falsehoods.

That his conduct in the western army has been in many instances partial, oppressive, ungentlemanlike and directly contrary to law.

That he has never introduced the just principles of military discipline and subordination in the army or permitted them to reside there.

That his orders previously to leaving the army in Dec. last are a proof of the last assertion, and will remain a lasting monument to posterity of his entire ignorance of all the great principles of his profession, and in a word,

That whenever a strict scrutiny shall be made into his conduct, it will appear that his boasted successes in the western country about which there has been so much noise and gaseonade, are more the result of accident than of pre-concerted measures; that he has wasted the public property, trampled on the laws and violated every principle of justice, of humanity and of common honesty.

I have no doubt but attempts will be made to vindicate the General against these accusations without inquiring into the truth of them; but I cannot believe that ministerial exertions will again be made to exculpate him, nor will I undertake to determine whether he will adopt his old plan of imprisoning those who dare to think and to speak justly of him, or his more recent scheme of bartering the forfeited lives of traitors and villains for secret information. It is enough for me to say, that tho' I neither fear his malice nor dread his power, yet I shall remain the sole keeper of my own secret until by embracing the above offer he will give me an opportunity of proving to the world what I now declare to be

THE TRUTH.

See an answer to the piece commonly called Stubborn Facts, published 1794.

The remarks on the foregoing To-morrow

Philadelphia, TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 14, 1796. STOCKS. Six per Cent. 17 1/2. Three per Cent. 16 7/8. Deferred Six per Cent. 13 7/8 to 8. 5 1/2 per Cent. 16 1/8. 4 1/2 per Cent. 14 1/2. BANK United States, 47 pr. cent. Pennsylvania, 29. North America, 48 to 50. Insurance Comp. North America, 15 1/2. Pennsylvania, 11. EXCHANGE, at 60 days, 165 to 166 2/3.

By an Artist resident at Mr. Oellers's Hotel,

MINIATURE LIKENESSES

ARE taken and executed in that elegant and delicate style, which is so necessary to render a Miniature Picture an interesting jewel. He will warrant a strong and indispensible resemblance, and he takes the liberty to lay before the public this place his most earnest intention to deserve their patronage by his best endeavors to please. N. B. Specimens are to be seen. May 12.

[The following articles were yesterday omitted in this Gazette, for want of room.]

Foreign Intelligence.

CADIZ, 28th Ventose, April 7. Three millions of false assignats which the English wanted to pass into France, have been stopped at the Custom-House of Cadiz. The Governor has, in every respect, completely seconded the wishes of the Republicans. He has manifested an intention of punishing the Irish houses which directed the movement on board the French fleet.

Citizen Dumaquoir, commander of a vessel, according to letters of the 27th Ventose, has gone to Madrid for the purpose of making in conjunction with our ambassador, complaints to the court of Spain on the conduct of the Irish.

PROCLAMATIONS.

RICHERY Commander in Chief of the Naval forces of the French Republic in the Bay of Cadiz.

The mutinies which appear daily on board of different vessels of the fleet, and the outrages of the law, and contempt of the oath to remain faithful to it, ought not to remain unpunished. It is time at least to prove to the instigators, and to the chief of the rebels, that the days of pardoning are passed, and that those of national vengeance are arrived.

A grand measure is taken. The French Republic though in a foreign country shall cause its laws to be respected. The Spanish Government is interested in the maintenance of good order and subordination.

In consequence orders are given to each captain on the police to be observed on board the vessels of his division; and in the name of the law all good citizens are commanded to obey his orders, and not to involve themselves in the inevitable misfortunes which must result from their disobedience.

(Signed.) RICHERY, Commander, And sealed with the seal of the Republic.

Cadiz, 19th Ventose, March 9.

In consequence of the information which has been given me of the complete revolt of the frigate Friponne, I hereby, in the name of the law, declare to the whole republic and all good citizens that the crew of the Friponne is in a state of revolt against the laws.

Therefore all the individuals who compose that crew, are, from this moment proclaimed rebels.—The captain and etat major of the said frigate are commanded to give no farther orders to the crew, and to consider them no longer as French Republicans. But the wretches tremble, and the national thunder, which always punishes the criminal, is ready to fall on their heads.

(Signed.) RICHERY.

From the account which citizen Bourreau, commander of the frigate Friponne, has rendered me of the return to order of the crew of the said frigate who were declared rebels to the law of the Republic, by a Proclamation of yesterday at three o'clock in the evening. It is ordered that citizen Bourreau, lieutenant of the fleet, shall resume the command of the Friponne, assemble immediately his crew on the quarter deck, and announce to them that they shall be no longer considered as rebels, if the principal chiefs and instigators of the mutiny are instantly arrested, put into a boat and conducted on shore, to be guarded in a place of security until they shall be sent to France to be tried.

All the crew of the Friponne are held responsible for any obstruction which may be given to the measure, which can alone save them from the rigor of the laws.

(Signed.) RICHERY.

LONDON, April 18.

Mr. Grey gave notice, that as the papers which he lately moved for were before the house, he should on Thursday ten night move some resolutions, the tendency of which would be, if the house should agree to them, a direct imputation, and afterwards an IMPEACHMENT AGAINST HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS for an illegal misapplication of the public treasury.

(London Oracle.)

THE TWO LAST LOANS.

The conduct of the minister has been called in question in a very harsh, and, we think, rather unfair manner, with respect to the loan of eighteen millions, and the King's message to the Parliament which followed it. Men who frequent Clubs in St. James's street, and the Turf at New market, may very naturally consider such conduct as imprudent, and that of a dupe, and looking upon the minister as the Groom who manages the National Racer, may consider him either as a knave, or as a fool.

It has in fact been plainly asserted, that Mr. Pitt should have brought down the message, and then made the loan.—This would have been obtaining a better bargain for the Nation.—It is a matter of surprise, that men who are patriots by profession, and pretend to some political knowledge, and to have some value for national dignity, should advise a minister to become a swindler, or blame him because he is not a black leg. In the eye of national pride and honor, and of morality, such reproaches excite wonder—but let us see what interest says to it.

Had Mr. Pitt once shewn himself capable of raising the funds to obtain a good bargain, every future loan would have been made with a reserve in the mind of the lender for the knavery of the borrower. As it is, the lender knows that he has nothing to apprehend from that cause, and therefore deals honorably, and is contented with a reasonable price, well knowing that whatever changes in general are for him or against him, he may rely on the honor of the minister.

The present loan of seven millions and an half, is already an example of this effect; for the terms are the most advantageous ever obtained. Some even of the opposition papers say, that the loan is a burthen to the lenders, and ought to bear a discount. But it is not on loans only that the bad faith of a minister would have had an effect; for had Messrs. Boyd and Benfield been ruined, or they had been injured in their fortune by such a manoeuvre, both disgrace and loss would have resulted to this country, and infamy would have been the portion of that minister who dared to swindle an individual in the name of the King and Parliament of England.

HAGUE, April 12.

One of the most important debates, that lately engaged our national convention, was that on the liberty of the press, which was occasioned by the complaints of the Common Council and of the committee of Superintendance of Amsterdam against a weekly publication called "The advocate of National Liberty," and published by the representative Valkenaar. But citizen Vreede declared the liberty of the press, the chief support of liberty, and defended it in so able and forcible a manner, that the Convention resolved, that the address of the Common Council and committee of Amsterdam was no object for deliberation.

The provisional representatives of Zealand have, by proclamation, offered a bounty of 110 guilders to all skilful sailors, who voluntarily enlist before the 14th inst. and 90 guilders to every able bodied young man above 14 years old.

The efforts for completely manning the grand fleet, go on without interruption. Several societies have agreed together, to promote, by every means in their power, the recruiting the naval forces, and money is collected in Amsterdam for increasing the bounties to the sailors. The grand fleet composed of 23 ships of the line and 18 frigates, will be ready for sea before the end of this month. The Dutch have never feared the English on equal ground; and next summer will shew, whether the modern Batavians possess yet the spirit of Tromp and Ruyter.

One of the members of the marine committee has been charged to expedite the letters of marque against England.

BY THIS DAY'S MAIL.

NEW-YORK, June 13.

The Charges against Admiral Cornwallis have been already before the public. The sentence of the Court Martial was given in a late Gazette of the United States, being a partial acquittal. The following is a more accurate outline of his "Defence" than has yet been published. In it the charges are met and answered; and the assistance the admiral found in his ingenious and learned counsel, Mr. Erskine, is pretty clearly evidenced.

THE DEFENCE.

The evidence for the prosecution being closed, admiral Cornwallis was called upon for his defence. The admiral said, that being indisposed with a weakness in his eyes, he should request the indul-