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THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

A DEFENCE
OF
REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.

LETTER EIGHTH.

True principles of a Republican Government.

It is with great truth that Montesquieu, while he makes *fear* the principle of a despotic, declares *affection* that of a free government. In a republic the love of country, correctly understood, must be the motive that unites the people to each other and to their government.

It is here, however, necessary to remark that radical mistakes have been committed by writers on government, and by none have greater mistakes been committed than by Montesquieu himself. Observing a certain connection between particular sentiments embraced by the ancient Greeks and Romans and their forms of government, he has, with too little reflection, most unphilosophically inferred, that such a connection is universal. Hence, because the Romans and Greeks were the most virtuous people of antiquity, and also the freest, he infers that liberty cannot exist without virtue. And because in those celebrated republics the *amor patriae* was carried to a pitch of enthusiasm, he considers such a lofty sentiment as essential to the existence of republics. But this representation, however correct in relation to those nations, is unjust as a general delineation of mankind. The subsequent history of nations proves that it was not the government of those nations, independently of other causes, that formed their characters. It was not a republican government that made them warlike, ambitious, and conquering nations; for the history of modern times shews that nations under such governments, have been characterised by a pacific policy. Indeed this appears to have been the opinion of Montesquieu himself, who expressly says, that "the spirit of monarchy is war and enlargement of dominion: peace and moderation is the spirit of a republic." A republican government elevated the national character, excited talents into activity, and even created them on an emergency; but it was the peculiar circumstances of the times, and causes hidden from observation, that made Greece the mistress of the arts, and Rome the mistress of the world.

The enthusiastic patriotism felt by the citizens of those republics would never have been carried to such a pitch, had it not been for these causes. It is, therefore, irrational in theory, and unjustified by facts, to state it as a general principle that the preservation of republics at this time depends up inspiring the people with the same lofty pride, and romantic attachment to country that were cherished with so lively a zeal by those nations.

So far from this being the case, it may be affirmed, that any nation, which should, in the present state of the world, actuated by the same sentiments, pursue the same path with those nations, would be soon destroyed by the resistance of other powers, which can no more be compared with the world Rome conquered, than the European can be compared with the enervated Asiatic.

In Rome the love of country was always united with a contempt for and hostility to every other nation; doubtless, under the impression that the best evidence of a love of country was the destruction of her enemies, and that all nations were enemies that did not contribute to her glory. Modern republics, resting the glory of a nation more on its happiness than the extent of its empire or the prowess of its arms, find their principal employment in protecting themselves from the aggression of other states.

With us the love of country is a rational sentiment. It produces attachment to our own institutions because they advance our happiness; without rendering us blind to the virtues of other nations, or jealous of their power. It inspires us with affection for our rulers, because chosen by ourselves for our own benefit. Such a sentiment is the true basis of a republic. Every thing else is romantic and useless. It requires no extraordinary causes to maintain it, as did the *amor patriae* of ancient times. It seems, indeed, to spring up spontaneously in the heart, and to be the natural offspring of common sense.

Such a sentiment, habitually cultivated by every citizen, will have three great effects. It will produce a general spirit of content among the citizens; it will impart energy to the government and facilitate the execution of the laws; and it will render the nation respectable among the powers of the earth. The influence of these circumstances upon individual and national happiness are inappreciable.

Contrast the effects of these principles with those of other governments. In absolute and monarchic governments every thing is rested upon the application of force. Now, there is an universal aversion in men to coercion. However agreeable particular acts may be to them, they recoil against them when force is used in their execution. Obedience of course becomes an involuntary act, and is seldom viewed as a moral duty. Hence laws are violated without respect, when violated with impunity. They lose that sacred character which constitutes the best security for their observance. Besides, such is the degeneracy of all such governments, that the interest of rulers becomes, in a great degree, distinct from that of the people, from which a conviction of oppression springs up that renders the government and laws unpopular. The inevitable effect of this conviction will be a spirit of dissatisfaction; an enervation of the government; an obstruction to the execution of the laws; and a diminution of the respectability of the nation in the eyes of foreign powers.

Whereas, in a republican government, little coercion is used. The affection of the people for the government will be the pledge of a prompt and ready acquiescence in its measures. Those measures, emanating from the people, must be agreeable to them; or if they should prove disagreeable, they will be soon laid aside. Occasional dissatisfaction there will undoubtedly be; but that cannot long exist where all power resides in the people, who appoint their legislators for short periods. There can be no impression of hostile interests between the people and their rulers. They are absolutely as to efficiency one and the same. "A nation that is happy at home will be respected abroad*," if that nation possess natural resources adequate to a resistance of unjust aggression. As there is in such a community but one opinion, there will in periods of danger be but one arm.—Events have, accordingly, already proved that, whatever divisions may arise among us with regard to internal measures, there will be none as to defence agai... all external violence.

*Madison.

LOOKING GLASSES.

CONVEX Mirrors, girandoles, toilet glasses, elegant prints, prints and window glass, lampblack, cabinet ware. Printing Ink of a superior quality, &c. &c. for sale on reasonable terms for cash or approved paper at Mr. William Worthington's Pennsylvania Avenue, near the West Market, by

JOHN M'ELWEE.

October 10. 3t

THE Subscriber presents his compliments to the members of Congress, informing them that he offers his services at the ensuing Session as *Serjeant at Arms*, he begs to refer those who are not acquainted with him to the members from Virginia, particularly Cols. Taylor, New, and John Trigg, for his ability to discharge the duties of this office.

THOMAS POLLARD.

IT is ordered that Walter Story Chandler, Trustee of the estate of Israel Loring, an insolvent debtor, sell at public auction and convey the property of the said debtor on the third Monday of October next for the best price that can be got for the same, for cash, as to all sums less than one hundred dollars, and a six months credit on bond with good security and interest from the day of sale, as to all sums amounting to, or above 100 dollars. Giving notice by pubblic advertisement in the Washingron Federalist and National Intelligencer, once a week for four weeks ptevious to the day of sale. By order of William Cranch, esq. assistant judge of the circuit court of the district of Columbia."

I hereby certify that the aforegoing is truly taken from the original filed and recorded in my office.

URIAH FORREST, Ck.

Agreeably to the above order, I shall offer at public sale on the premises, on Monday the 17th of October next, at 12 o'clock, part of two lots in the city of Washington, numbered 6 and 7, in sq. 78 the property of said Loring. On which is a good brick dwelling house a stone house and stable, all new and in good repair. This property will be sold at six months credit on bond with approved security; and the title made on payment of the purcharse oney.

mW, S. CHNADLER, Trustee.

Sept 23. 1aw4w

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Further Extracts from Denon's travels.

"To return to the objects of curiosity. The vaults of Saccara had just been opened, and more than five hundred mummies of the ibis had been found in a sepulchral cave. Two had been given me, and I could not resist the desire of opening one of them, so citizen Geoffroi and myself sat down alone at a table, with all the necessary means of research before us, and myself, with my pencil in my hand.

"There is a considerable variety in the degree of care bestowed in embalming these birds, so that in fact nothing but the earthen pot in which the whole is contained is common to all. This difference and pains bestowed on mummies taken from the same cave, proves that the price of the work varied considerably for these birds as well as for men, & consequently that it was done at the expense of individuals; and also it may be presumed that the embalmed birds had not all been fed in temples, or colleges of priests, in reward of services rendered by the whole species.

"If the same had been the case with these birds as with the god Apis, a single individual would have sufficed, and these pots would not be found by thousands. We may then suppose that the ibis, as it destroys all reptiles, was in great veneration in a country in which these noxious animals abound at a certain time of the year; and, like the stork in Holland, this bird growing tame from the good reception which it met with every where, each house had its own winged inmates of this species, to which, after their death, the honours of sepulture were given according to the means of the inhabitants. Herodotus relates, that he was informed that in the earliest times of the records of the country, the ibis abounded every where, but that in proportion as the marshes of upper and lower Egypt were drained, the birds retired to the lower province in quest of their food; which agrees well enough with the report of modern travellers, that they are still seen occasionally in the lake Menzaleh. If the number had so much diminished even in the time of Herodotus, it is not surprising that its existence at present has been considered as almost problematical.

"Herodotus relates, that the priests of Heliopolis informed him, that on the retreat of the waters of the Nile, clouds of winged serpents arrived by the vallies which separate Egypt from Arabia, and that the ibis went out to meet and feed on them; and he adds, that he had never seen these winged serpents, but that he had gone into the vallies, and had seen their skeletons in innumerable quantity. I think (with submission to the patriarch of history) that it was not necessary to create this fable of dragons from Arabia, in order to render the ibis a valuable animal to Egypt, which produces of itself so many noxious reptiles; but the respectable Herodotus was a Greek, and fond of the marvellous.

"The serpent, though not winged, is still the object of some sorcery in Egypt. I was with the commander-in-chief one day, when the Psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appear to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: "Can you tell us," said the general, "whether there are any serpents in the palace, and if there are, can you oblige them to come forth from their retreats?" They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to the proof: on which they searched all the rooms, and presently after they declared that there was a snake in the house; they then renewed their search to discover where he was hid, made some convulsions in passing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where, indeed, we actually found one. This was a true Comus's trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

"Being always curious to observe the means by which men command the opinions of others I regretted that I was not at Rosetta at the procession of feast of Ibrahim, in which the convulsions of the Psylli form the most entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loss, I addressed myself to the chief of their sect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the Franks; I flattered him; & he promised to make me a spectator of the exaltation of one of the Psylli, as soon as he should have blown into his spirit, as he expressed it. From my curiosity he thought I bid fair to be a proselyte, and he proposed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand master spits in the mouth of the neophyte, this circumstance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myself to go through this trial; so I gave my money to the high priest, and he promised to let me see one of the inspired.

"They had brought with them their serpents, which they let loose from a large leather sack in which they were kept, and made them erect their bodies and hiss, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally caused their anger, for as soon as they were returned into the sack their passion ceased, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was also curious to observe, that, when angry, the neck for six inches below the head was dilated to the size of one's hand. I soon saw that even I could manage the serpents perfectly well without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked that the Psylli, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, seized it on the back of the head with the other: I did the same with one of the serpents with equal success, though much to the indignation of the performers themselves. After this, they proceeded to the grand mystery: one of the performers took a snake, which he had previously disabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate was destroyed; he then grasped it with the appearance of passion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the spirit, that is to say, after uttering some mysterious words, blew into his mouth; and at the instant, the other was seized with a sacred convulsion, his arms and legs distorted, his eyes seeming to start from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilst the two attendants, appearing to commiserate his sufferings, restrained his struggles with difficulty, and snatched from his hand the serpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As soon as the snake was removed, he remained as if stupid; but the chief approached him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling.

"In these countries the sect Psylli boasts a very high origin: it was particularly prevalent at Cyreuzica; and the god Knuphis, or the architect of the universe, according to Strabo and Eusebius, was adored at Elephantina under the figure of a serpent.

"From the time of the serpent of Eden to that of Achmin, mentioned by Savary, this reptile has enjoyed uninterrupted celebrity: after having tempted our first mother, the apple was taken away from him; when making a circle with his tail in his mouth he has become the symbol of eternity; when coiled round a staff, he is the god of health; the Egyptians by twining two of them round a globe, have represented, perhaps, the equilibrium of the system of the world; the Indians put him in the hands of all their divinities; we have made him the representative of justice and prudence; the Jews have had their brazen serpent; the Greeks that of Elermis and the Python; and in latter times, the Mussulmans have their harrii, the deflowerer; and yet so many illustrations have changed nothing of the nature of this wise animal; he continues to court obscurity, and avoid the light, and never raises his head to more than half his height. Why, then all this celebrity, and this religious observance unanimously bestowed on this reptile?"

TO be rented on moderate terms, either separately or together. Three two story brick dwelling HOUSES, in the city of Washington, on north E Street, between 9th and 10th streets west. They are well calculated for private families; and the whole taken together, will answer extremely well for the accommodation of boarders, on a large and excellent plan.

Also a large frame building back of the above. Persons wishing to rent, will make early application to

T. H. GILLISS

At the Navy Office.

August 27. wtN1.

Foreign Intelligence.

DEAL, August 22.

His majesty's Bomb Terror, arrived in the Downs this morning from the coast of France, and brings an account of an attack made on the town of Boulogne, by his majesty's ship Immortalite and the above vessel, last Wednesday night. The circumstances of which are, that the Terror having placed herself near enough to the town to throw in shells, commenced a heavy bombardment, and succeeded in destroying a great part of the Lower town; a party of marine and seamen at the same time landed, set fire to several houses, cut the pile-drivers in the barbour to pieces, and then returned to their ships.

PLYMOUTH, August 21.

Passed up channel, under convoy of a Guernsey privateer, of 14 guns, a French sloop and a Dutch West Indiaman, both deeply laden. Yesterday arrived from Jersey, full of French prisoners, an armed cutter, she came to off the King Buoy, and moored opposite to St. Nichol's Island, and immediately discharged her prisoners in launches, for Sandy Cave bay, to march to Mill Prison; she had only been 24 hours from the island. By her we learn, that their's and the Guernsey privateers are daily bringing in prizes; the prisoners of which are shipped directly, by order of Rear Admiral Sir J. Saumarez, K. B. on board the first armed vessels ready for sea, for Portsmouth, Weymouth, and this port; by which precaution the islands are kept free of a number of persons, who, in a case of invasion, might do a great deal of mischief. The islands are in a high state of defence; and all the prizes are sent out of the way of the enemy, lest any attempt at an invasion should be made previous to their being sold.

LONDON, August 24.

The pecuniary distresses of the monied people in Paris is attributed fully as much to the absence of the First Consul and his court, as to the war. Before the revolution Paris drew its resources from the landed proprietors, proprietors of stock, clergy, lawyers, and the court. The few manufactures of taste and luxury, in which that city excels, added something, but not any considerable sum. During the revolution, at first, the assignats increased the affluence of the capital. Then the expenditures of the assemblies, officers returned from the armies, and the number of strangers who resorted thither for their affairs.

At present there are few landholders spend their revenues in Paris—there are no stockholders nor clergy—the lawyers, manufacturers and the court of the consul are now the great support; but of all these the court and its followers, including the army, are the chief—So that another voyage of two or three months, would almost ruin that wretched capital, which, by the most recent and authentic accounts, has not increased since the revolution, and which, in point of general ease and affluence, has been a very great sufferer.

Although the French Journals are so completely under the influence of their government, that we cannot expect to learn from them the real state of France, or of the preparations which are making against this country, yet we have been so peculiarly fortunate in being favored with private advices from such authentic sources, that we cannot entertain a doubt of the truth of their statements.

We have received letters by the Prussian Galliot which brought to Dover the young ladies who had been at the boarding school at Rouen. These letters mention, that there are hardly any workmen employed on the flotilla, either at Boulogne, Calais or Dunkirk; that the garrison appears greatly discontented with the government; and that not only here, but throughout France, a continental war was expected. Many of the workmen in the dock-yards have been discharged, which has caused a strange turn in the public mind in those parts. When to this intelligence, which we are apt to rely upon as absolutely authentic, we couple the circumstances of the arrival of Dumourier—who is universally reported to have been invited over to this country—and what is still more important, the departure of the French princes from Wanstead House, and their journey to the sea coast—(they are now at Hastings)—we cannot but think so many circumstances combined may lead to an expectation of some changes taking place in France. If the garrisons of the three towns of Calais,