NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

VOL. III. WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. No. CCCCLXVI.

FIVE DOLLS. PER ANN. MONDAY, OCTOBER 17th, 1803. PAID IN ADVANCE

GENERAL DUMOURIER.

As this personage has of late become the subject of conversation, a sketch of his life and adventures may not be unacceptable to our readers. It is taken from a French publication, the authors of which, it is but fair to remark, are not very partial to the heroes of the French revolution.

"Charles Francois Dumourier was born at Cambray on the 26th January, 1739. He is the descendant of a family who held a place in the Parliament of Provence. He had the first elements of his education at the College of Louis le Grand; but afterwards continued his studies under the superintendance of his father, who in 1758 initiated him into the service in the army of Mr. d'Etrees. The following year he was promoted to the rank of Cornet in the regiment of d'Escars, and was wounded in 1759 at the battle of Emsdetten. He received another wound on the eve of the battle of Klosterkam, where he was made prisoner. He was next promoted to the rank of Captain, and in 1763 was reformed, and received the cross of St. Louis. Being of a restless and turbulent disposition, he panted after the new scenes of life: he went into Italy, and offered his services successively to the Genoese and to Paoli, who at that time were contending for dominion over Corsica. Being refused by both parties, he proceeded to Corsica to try his fortune on his own bottom, and attached himself to one of the enemies of general Paoli, with whom he was defeated before Bonifacio. After having for some time carried on his intrigues in Corsica, he returned to France, and proposed plans for the occupation of Corsica, but was treated by the government as an adventurer. He then went into Spain; visited the frontiers of Portugal, and in 1763 published a work respecting that country, entitled *Essay upon Portugal*; in 1768, when the conquest of Corsica was resolved upon, he succeeded in getting himself employed in the army destined for that service. He was raised to the rank of Colonel, but he picked quarrels with most of the generals, particularly with Mr. de Marboeuf, on account of his intermeddling disposition, which led him to direct every thing, or to disapprove of every thing. In 1770, when the French government was anxious to intermeddle in the affairs of Poland, he was sent thither to play the political intriguer with the confederation of Bar, with a view to exasperate them against Russia. He made a campaign against Russia in 1771, and immediately after returned to France, where in 1772, he published a work upon the service of light armed troops. In 1773, he was sent to Hamburgh upon a mission relative to Sweden; but his vanity having prompted him to overstep his powers, he was arrested and sent to the Bastile. During his confinement, he composed several works; and after the expiration of six months, he was transferred to the castle of Caven; but upon the demise of Louis XV. he obtained his liberty. In 1778, he succeeded in getting appointed governor of Cherbourg; and proposed ten different plans for attacking the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Isle of Weight.—When the project was formed of attempting a descent upon England, he was to be employed in the division of St. Malo; but, as the expedition did not take place, he returned to Cherbourg, and directed his attention to the works carrying on in that harbour. In 1788, he was made brigadier of the king's armies: and in 1789, he went to Paris and published a small pamphlet on the state of the politics of the day; but though he espoused the principles then in favor, he did not succeed in getting the appointment of a deputy. He returned again to Cherbourg, and was chosen commander of the national guard of that town, and appointed governor of Lower Normandy. The next year he got admitted among the Jacobins at Paris, and wrote several pamphlets, one of which was an attack upon the friends of the negroes. But despairing to arrive at any place of importance, he took the part of the deputies, and fatigued the patience of the king, the queen, and the ministers, with his endless projects. He next betook himself to Brabant, but not being welcomed as warmly as he expected by the leaders of the Brabant insurrection, he returned to resume his intrigues at Paris, with the court, and endeavored to form a connexion with Mirabeau, whom he had previously attacked in his pamphlet. At the time of the escape of the king to Varennes, he wrote to Barrere, informing him that he would collect together all the troops under his command, for the defence of the assembly. He insinuated himself into the favor of the deputy Jesonne in La Vendee, by whom he was most lavishly panegyrized. On his return to Paris he continued to flatter the jacobins more than ever, and was appointed governor of Alsace under Luckner. But he gave up that situation for the place of minister of foreign affairs, on which he entered the 15th April, 1792. During the short time he held that situation, he was chiefly employed in railing against the house of Austria, and succeeded in getting war declared against that power. He soon after made an exchange of that department for the place of minister at war, which he held only for four days, having given in his resignation as soon as La Fayette came in the name of his army to complain of all the ministers. He next passed from the army of Luckner, where he served as lieutenant general, to the army of Arthur Dillon, where he disobeyed every general successively, and exerted every possible means to supplant them and get into their place. He was soon furnished with a favorable opportunity, Dillon having immediately after the 10th of August administered again the oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king, Dumourier availed himself of the circumstance to disgrace him, and got possession of the command both of his army and of that of La Fayette, which had just retreated into Brabant. Being now at the head of all the forces on that frontier, he undertook to oppose the Prussians, the Austrians, and emigrants united, who had just made themselves masters of Longwi and Verdun, and who were advancing towards Champagne. He took post at Grandpre, and occupied the defiles of the forest of Argonne; but the defile of Lacroix-aux-bois being forced by the Austrians on the 15th August, he fell back upon St. Manhoult, and pitched his camp at Hettes. There he amused the enemy with conferences, after which every thing conspired to determine the retreat of the Prussians; and Dumourier did not dare, or was not willing (it is supposed he entered into a convention to that effect with the Prussians only) to harrass them in their retreat to the frontier. In the course of October he returned to Paris, and in concert with the executive council formed the plan of a winter campaign. On the 15th he assisted at a sitting of the jacobins, when he harangued the assembly, and received the red cap and the fraternal embrace. "Dumourier," says Prudhomme, "was then courted by all parties. Robespierre publicly embraced him at the Jacobins. He was observed sometimes at the theatres, escorted by Danton and his adherents, and other times feasted at the Talma's, the player, by the Girondists. On a decree of accusation being moved against him, he was defended by Danton, Lacroix, and Marat; and not long after, he was panegyrized by Brissot and his friends. Every party was anxious to employ Dumourier as an instrument, while he only waited the death of the captive King, to come at the head of his troops to present the young l'Orleans to the people as another Germanicus."

Whatever may be the ground of all these charges against him, Dumourier returned to his army on the 24th October, and addressed a proclamation to the Belgians, instigating them to revolt against their sovereign. He put his troops in motion on the 28th, and on the 6th November he attacked the Austrians in their camp at Jemappe. Notwithstanding their inequality in numbers, the Imperialists defended themselves with the most determined valor, and yielded the victory only after a long and sanguinary conflict. Dumourier proved on that as on many other occasions, that he rather possessed the art of exciting the courage of his troops, than any superior degree of military skill: there was no splendid manouvre manifested in that action; he merely betrayed the secret knack of sparing his troops by sacrificing the Brabanters who had joined his standard. The advantage he gained at the battle of Anderlech, which he imprudently provoked, was owing to the wound received by general Starai, who commanded the enemy. The next day he returned to Brussels, and on the 22d he defeated the Austrians before Tirlemont after a long disputed battle; after an unsuccessful attack of their rear at Varroux, he put his troops into winter quarters. He then began his attack on the minister Pache, whom he accused of leaving his army unprovided with every necessary article. He afterwards proceeded to Paris, where, in concert with the council of war, he planned the invasion of Holland. He communicated to Miranda all his projects for the campaign, which he frequently changed, and acquainted him with his intention of going to England, to bring that power to a decision respecting war or peace, and to ask them *yes* or *no*, like the Roman ambassador at Carthage. On the 15th Feb. he ordered Miranda to open the campaign by bombarding Maestrecht; and he himself attacked Holland at Breda and Klundert, of which he made himself master. He had previously issued a proclamation, in which he called upon the Dutch to throw off the yoke of the House of Orange, who, he observed, employed the Prussians to enslave them. He flattered himself with most sanguine hopes of conquering the United Provinces; but several reverses blasted these fond expectations. Lanoue was defeated on the 1st of March at Aldenhoven; Maestrecht relieved, and he himself met with unexpected resistance from many places which he attacked. He was then compelled to fall back upon Brussels; and convinced of the dangers that surrounded him from the rapacious spirit of his troops, which had alienated the affections of the Brabanters, he ordered the plate belonging to the churches to be restored, and made an example of several of the officers. He then took the command of the grand army, gained some advantages near Tirlemont, but still continued his retreat. His success as well as his vanity had now made him many enemies; but the attachment which was imputed to him for the Orleans faction drew down upon him the hatred of all those who were eager for the establishment of a republic; and his reverses became at length the signal upon which all those who were hostile to him poured down upon him the whole weight of their resentment. Fully aware of what awaited him, he resolved to risk every thing in order to silence his accusers by a victory; and this is the only motive that can excuse the manner in which he attacked the Austrians at Narvinde. This battle he was, contrary to all expectation, on the point of gaining, when he failed through the pusillanimous conduct of Miranda, who commanded his left. This new check completed the triumph of his enemies, at the head of whom was Marat, Robespierre and Camus. Commissaries were sent from Paris to arrest him; but he foresaw the storm and contrived to escape it. Imagining himself sure of his army, he concluded a truce with Prince Cobourg, resolved to march against Paris, published a proclamation against the terrorists, arrested the commissaries of the Assembly, and delivered them up to the Austrians, who were in concert with him to march against the metropolis. But he soon began to feel that he could not confide in his troops; a few observations by gen. Dampierre were sufficient to make him odious. The towns he looked to far for support shut their gates against him, and it was only with the greatest difficulty he reached the Austrian dominions. The Convention had outlawed him, and offered a reward of 300,000 livres for his head. He retired first to Brussels, where his turbulent spirit did not allow him to remain quiet; he was soon obliged to leave it on account of his writings and speeches against the government. He then took refuge in Switzerland; next went to England, from whence he was soon compelled to depart by an order from lord Grenville. He then wandered about incognito in Switzerland and Germany, and finally took up his abode near Hamburgh. He now again took up his pen, and wrote the history of his life. He was in every respect a true political Proteus; for there was not a faction, except that of the Mountain, for which he had not successively declared himself, from the constitution of 1791 down to 1799, when he declared himself a royalist and a subject of Louis XVIII. There is not a single line in his writings which may not be refuted by another; every where you discover the restless, stirring spirit, to whom obscurity is a torment, and who would stick at nothing in order to emerge into celebrity."

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Subscribers, either in arrears, or whose subscriptions soon become due, are respectfully requested to forward the sums due, should no earlier opportunity occur, by the representatives to Congress who will agree to undertake the agency.

It will be understood that a year's payment in advance is always required; and that papers not paid for will be discontinued.

This notice is given to prevent the unpleasant necessity of discontinuing papers at the present interesting period, when a Session of Congress, of, perhaps, unprecedented importance, is about commencing.

THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

A DEFENCE OF *REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.*

LETTER the NINTH.

Republican governments administered with great ability.

A republican government will be administered with greater ability than any other. This will appear from two considerations. In a nation, under such a government, there will be greater talent among the citizens; and the public administration, being selected by a discriminating suffrage, will combine more wisdom and virtue than where either no selection, or an imperfect one exists.

That under a republican government, there is more talent in a nation, is as evident from the reason of things as from the light of experience. Where the government is popular, and where offices of the highest trust are attainable by all, a much larger portion of citizens will qualify themselves for public stations, than under governments where the door of political distinction is open to only a few; where the greater number of these few derive their title not from talent but birth; and where the remaining number are often selected more on account of a happy pliancy of disposition, than on account of that intrepid spirit of independence that conscious talents uncorrupted naturally inspire.

In anti-republican governments the field for the display of talents by those not born to empire is very circumscribed; whereas in republican governments it is vast and almost unlimited. In the former, talent cannot exert itself in any direction without repression; with whatever ardour it may pursue a laudable object, the established powers of the state, in the character of the monarch, or his hereditary advisers, are sure to interpose, and to frustrate it. The king becomes not only the fountain of honor, but likewise of power. He is the sun around which the lesser orbs are suffered to move while they shine with borrowed light; but the moment they exhibit the temerity to blaze with native lustre, they are quickly extinguished, least they should eclipse the centre of the system. A sentiment of servility becomes universal. The highest distinction a subject can receive is the smile of his sovereign, and the highest punishment his displeasure. It follows that among such men the sense of right and wrong is perverted, virtue and vice lose their great distinctions; what is done by the subject is not so much for the good of his country, as to gratify the monarch. Every noble incentive to virtue is destroyed, the rugged independence of a great mind is broken down, the ambition of distinction founded on great talents is annihilated, and men sink into the automata of a mortal, who so far from being a man of talent himself, is often little elevated above the state of an ideot, and still oftener personates the character of a madman. Can such beings (and such beings generally are kings) pompously stiled the fountains of honor, be other than the fountains of dishonor? And can he who is ignorant of the real interests of his country select, with intelligence, those who are enlightened and virtuous, for the administration of her concerns?

Some there are who affirm that kings are always wise and their ministers enlightened. But how false this is, let the history of every monarchy expose! Let the extravagant admiration that attends the singular appearance of an enlightened monarch attest! This surely proves that he is a phenomenon among his fellows. Hence it follows that under monarchies the public good is seldom wisely consulted or faithfully pursued. There are occasional periods when the monarch is a great character; and then we behold the triumph of talent, rendered the more effulgent from the follies and misfortunes and vices of preceding reigns. Then we contemplate the smothered talent of the nation, under such auspices, bursting out into distinction and utility; but its career is soon cut short by the re-appearance, in the shape of a King, of some weak or depraved wretch. The talents and virtues that adorned the throne of his predecessor, deriving its brightest effulgence from the happiness of the people, seek obscurity, or fall victims to regal jealousy or vengeance—Good God! Is it conceivable that a single human being, who has either felt the chains of a tyrant, or heard depicted his outrages upon human rights, should raise his voice or lift his arm in defence of Monarchy? Is it conceivable that nations should hail with frantic idolatry their most terrible scourges? Is it conceivable that minds, enlightened by philosophy, and hearts expanded by philanthropy, on whom God and nature have bestowed the dignities and duties of empire, who know how to make nations happy, and feel the highest rapture in making them so; is it conceivable, that such men can submit to be the instruments and friends and counsellors of tyrants whom they despise?—Yet such is the picture of monarchy!

View, on the contrary, the character of man in republics. There all possessing equal rights, and deriving from them equal happiness, cherish liberty as their dearest possession. In proportion as they value liberty, they hate tyrants. To preserve the one and to avert the other is their perpetual and universal care.—Hence an elevated enthusiasm in their own happiness, and a lofty consciousness of superiority. They who believe themselves great are already in the road to eminence. All the energies of mind are brought into exercise, and this constitutes eminence. In a republic, the government, so far from inhibiting, cherishes a free spirit of free and bold enquiry among the citizens, and lays before them, with a liberal hand, the means of judging for themselves. The discriminating powers of mind are kept in constant exercise. The people sit in perpetual judgement upon the action of their rulers. The rotatory principle, and the change of public favor, call a large number of citizens into the administration. The highest talents of rulers are exercised by great objects, and by that diversity of sentiment inherent in every community; and not a measure of importance emanates from the government that is not critically scanned by the talents of thousands of private men. He, too, who occupies a public station, knows that the only tenure by which he can retain it, is his talents and the proper use made of them.

From this view, it must be evident that in a republic, we are to look for the greatest talents; that there the love of distinction will burn with a brighter and purer flame, than under other systems, because there the field of action is unlimited and the objects of pursuit great and attainable. While, therefore, we observe in other systems the seeds of human debasement, we may hope from this the boldest intellectual energies.

All these remarks are abundantly verified by history. This cannot be better illustrated than in the words of Gordon, a distinguished advocate of liberty.

"The prodigious progress of the Romans in learning had no other cause than the freedom and equality of their government. The spirit of the people, like that of their state, breathed nothing but liberty, which no power sought to controul, or could controul. The improvement of knowledge, by bringing no terror to the magistrates, brought no danger to the people. Nothing is too hard for liberty; that liberty which made the Greeks and Romans masters of the world, made them masters of all the learning in it: and, when their liberties perished, so did their learning. That eloquence, and those other abilities and acquirements, which raised those who had them to the highest dignities in a free state, became under tyranny a certain train of ruin, unless they were prostituted to the service of the tyrant.

"That knowledge, and those accomplishments, which create jealousy instead of applause, and danger instead of reward, will be but rarely and faintly pursued; and for the most part not at all.—No man will take great pains, spend his youth, and lose his pleasures, to purchase infamy or punishment; and therefore when such obstacles are thrown in his way, he will take counsel of self-love, acquiesce in the fashionable stupidity, and prefer gilded and thriving folly to dangerous and forbidden wisdom.

"Ignorance accompanies slavery, and is introduced by it. People who live in freedom will think with freedom; but when the mind is enslaved by fear, and the body by chains, inquiry and study will be at an end. Men will not pursue dangerous knowledge, nor venture their heads to improve their understandings. Besides, their spirits, dejected with servitude and poverty, will want vigor as well as leisure to cultivate arts, and propagate truth; which is ever high treason against tyranny. Neither the titles nor the deeds of tyrants will bear examination; and their power is concerned to stupify and destroy the very faculties of reason and thinking; nor can reason travel far, when force and dread are in the