NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

[It is a fact, which cannot have escaped the notice of literary men, that most of the works which have been lately written in Europe on morals, lay down principles, which in their application inevitably tend to convince the mind of the preference of republican, to all other descriptions of political institutions. Indeed we believe it to be an incontrovertible fact that science, physical or moral, but particularly the latter, wherever it diffuses its light, makes men in principle republican. We are not, however, to expect in countries, held in subjection by despotic governments, an explicit avowal of opinion. But, without such avowal, the indications to which we now refer, are complete attestations of the truth of our remark. Of this number we present our readers with the following extracts from *Dugald Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.* Mr. Stewart is Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburg, and the treatise from which this extract is made, was written some years since.

It will be found by the reader peculiarly interesting, from the exposition it contains of the objects, and means used to attain them, of the *Economists of France*, of whom the celebrated Turgot was among the founders.]

"The art of government differs from the mechanical arts in this, that, in the former it is much more difficult to refer effects to their causes, than in the latter; and, of consequence, it rarely happens, even when we have an opportunity of seeing a political experiment made, that we can draw from it any certain inference, with respect to the justness of the principles by which it was suggested. In those complicated machines, to which the structure of civil society has been frequently compared, as all the different parts of which they are composed, are subjected to physical laws, the errors of the artist must necessarily become apparent in the last result; but in the political system, as well as in the animal body, where the general constitution is found and healthy, there is a sort of *vis medicatrix*, which is sufficient for the cure of partial disorders; and in the one case, as well as in the other, the errors of human art are frequently corrected and concealed by the wisdom of nature. Among the many false estimates which we daily make of human ability, there is perhaps none more groundless than the exaggerated conceptions we are apt to form of that species of political wisdom, which is supposed to be the fruit of long experience and of professional habits. "Go;" (said the chancellor Oxenstiern to his son, when he was sending him to a congress of ambassadors, and when the young man was expressing his diffidence of his own abilities for such an employment;) "Go, and see with your own eyes, *Quam parva sapientia regitur mundus!*" The truth is, (however paradoxical the remark may appear at first view,) that the speculative errors of statesmen are frequently less sensible in their effects, and, of consequence, more likely to escape without detection, than those of individuals who occupy inferior stations in society. The effects of misconduct in private life, are easily traced to their proper source, and therefore the world is seldom far wrong in the judgment which it forms of the prudence or of the imprudence of private characters. But in considering the affairs of a great nation, it is so difficult to trace events to their proper causes, and to distinguish the effects of political wisdom from those which are the natural result of the situation of the people, that it is scarcely possible, excepting in the case of a very long administration, to appreciate the talents of a statesmen from the success or the failure of his measures. In every society too, which, in consequence of the general spirit of its government, enjoys the blessings of tranquility and liberty, a great part of the political order which we are apt to ascribe to legislative sagacity, is the natural result of the selfish pursuits of individuals; nay, in every such society, (as I already hinted,) the natural tendency to improvement is so strong, as to overcome many powerful obstacles, which the imperfection of human institutions opposed to its progress.

From these remarks, it seems to follow, that, although in the mechanical arts, the errors of theory may frequently be corrected by repeated trials, without having recourse to general principles; yet, in the machine of government, there is so great a variety of powers at work, beside the influence of the statesman, that it is vain to expect the art of legislation should be carried to its greatest possible perfection by experience alone.

Still, however, it may be said, that in the most imperfect governments of modern Europe, we have an experimental proof, that they secure, to a very great degree, the principal objects of the social union. Why hazard these certain advantages, for the uncertain effects of changes suggested by mere theory; and not rest satisfied with a measure of political happiness, which appears, from the history of the world to be greater than has commonly fallen to the lot of nations?

With those who would carry their zeal against reformation so far, it is impossible to argue; and it only remains for us to regret, that the number of such reasoners has, in all ages of the world, been so great, and their influence on human affairs so extensive.

"There are some men," says Dr. Johnson, "of narrow views, and grovelling conceptions, who, without the instigation of personal malice, treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical; and look upon every endeavour to depart from the beaten track, as the rash effort of a warm imagination, or the glittering speculation of an exalted mind, that may please and dazzle for a time, but can produce no real or lasting advantage.

"These men value themselves upon a perpetual scepticism; upon believing nothing but their own senses; upon calling for demonstration where it cannot possibly be obtained; and, sometimes, upon holding out against it when it is laid before them —upon inventing arguments against the success of any new undertaking; and where arguments cannot be found, upon treating it with contempt and ridicule.

"Such have been the most formidable enemies of the great benefactors of the world; for their notions and discourse are so agreeable to the lazy, the envious, and the timorous, that they seldom fail of becoming popular, and directing the opinions of mankind."

With respect to this sceptical disposition, as applicable to the present state of society, it is of importance to add, that, in every government, the stability and the influence of established authority, must depend on the coincidence between its measures and the tide of public opinion; and that, in modern Europe, in consequence of the invention of printing, and the liberty of the press, public opinion has acquired an ascendant in human affairs, which it never possessed in those states of antiquity from which most of our political examples are drawn. The danger, indeed, of sudden and rash innovations cannot be too strongly inculcated; and the views of those men who are forward to promote them, cannot be reprobated with too great severity. But it is possible also to fall into the opposite extreme; and to bring upon society the very evils we are anxious to prevent, by an obstinate opposition to those gradual and necessary reformations which the genius of the times demands. The violent revolutions which, at different periods have convulsed modern Europe, have arisen, not from a spirit of innovation in sovereigns and statesmen; but from their bigotted attachment to antiquated forms, and to principles borrowed from less enlightened ages. It is this reverence for abuses which have been sanctioned by time, accompanied with an inattention to the progress of public opinion, which has, in most instances blinded the rulers of mankind, till government has lost all its efficiency; and till the rage of innovation has become too general and too violent, to be satisfied with changes, which, if proposed at an earlier period, would have united in the support of established institutions, every friend to order, and to the prosperity of his country.

These observations I state with the greater confidence, that the substance of them is contained in the following aphorisms of lord Bacon; a philosopher who (if we except, perhaps, the late Mr. Turgot) seems, more than any other, to have formed enlightened views with respect to the possible attainments of mankind; and whose fame cannot fail to increase as the world grows older, by being attached, not to a particular system of variable opinions, but to the general and infallible progress of human reason.

"Quis novator tempus imitatur, quod novationes ita insinuat, ut sensus fallant?

"Novatur maximus tempus; quidni igitur tempus imitemur?

"Morosa morum retentio, res turbulenta est, æque ac novitas.

"Cum per se res mutentur in deterius, si consilio in melius non mutentur, quis finis erit mali?"

The general conclusion to which these observations lead, is sufficiently obvious; that the perfection of political wisdom does not consist in an indiscriminate zeal against reforms, but in a gradual and prudent accommodation of established institutions to the varying opinions, manners, and circumstances of mankind. In the actual application, however, of this principle, many difficulties occur, which it requires a very rare combination of talents to surmount: more particularly in the present age, when the press has, to so wonderful a degree, emancipated human reason from the tyranny of ancient prejudices, and has roused a spirit of free discussion, unexampled in the history of former times.

That this sudden change in the state of the world, should be accompanied with some temporary disorders, is by no means surprising. While the multitude continue imperfectly enlightened, they will be occasionally misled by the artifices of demagogues; and even good men, intoxicated with ideas of theoretical perfection, may be expected, sometimes, to sacrifice, unintentionally, the tranquility of their contemporaries, to an over ardent zeal for the good of posterity. Notwithstanding, however, these evils, which every friend to humanity must lament, I would willingly believe, that the final effects resulting from this spirit of reformation, cannot fail to be favourable to human happiness; and there are some peculiarities in the present condition of mankind, which appear to me to justify more sanguine hopes upon the subject, than it would have been reasonable for a philosopher to indulge at any former period. An attention to these peculiarities is absolutely necessary, to enable us to form a competent judgment on the question to which the foregoing observations relate; and it leads to the illustration of a doctrine to which I have frequently referred in this work; the gradual improvement in the condition of the species, which may be expected from the progress of reason and the diffusion of knowledge.

Among the many circumstances favourable to human happiness in the present state of the world, the most important, perhaps is, that the same events which have contributed to loosen the foundations of the ancient fabrics of despotism, have made it practicable, in a much greater degree than it ever was formerly, to reduce the principles of legislation to a science, and to anticipate the probable course of popular opinions.— It is easy for the statesman to form to himself a distinct and steady idea of the ultimate objects at which a wise legislator ought to aim, and to foresee that modification of the social order, to which human affairs have, of themselves, a tendency to approach; and, therefore, his practical sagacity and address are limited to the care of accomplishing the important ends which he has in view, as effectually and as rapidly as is consistent with the quiet of individuals and with the rights arising from actual establishments.

In order to lay a solid foundation for the science of politics, the first step ought to be, to ascertain that form of society which is perfectly agreeable to nature and to justice; and what are the principles of legislation necessary for maintaining it. Nor is the inquiry so difficult as might at first be apprehended; for it might be easily shewn, that the greater part of the political disorders which exist among mankind do not arise from a want of foresight in politicians, which has rendered their laws too general, but from their having trusted too little to the operation of those simple institutions which nature and justice recommend; and, of consequence, that, as society advances to its perfection, the number of laws may be expected to diminish, instead of increasing, and the science of legislation to be gradually simplified.

(To be continued.)

One Dollar Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber, a Negro Boy named JACK, about sixteen years old: had on when he went away a red flannel jacket and blue cloth trowsers. Whoever apprehends him and brings him to the subscriber, shall receive the above reward.

GEORGE ANDREWS.

July 22. 3t

Two Dollars Reward.

STRAYED about a fortnight ago, from the Plantation of H. J. STIER, Esq. near Bladensburg, a small black cow, has a slit in one of her ears. Whoever will bring the same to Mr. H. J. Stier's plantation shall receive the above reward, or one dollar for giving such information as that I may get her again.

J. M. VANHORNE.

July 22, 1801. 3t

Conrad & M'Munn

HAVE opened houses of entertainment in the range of buildings formerly occupied by Mr Law, about two hundred paces from the Capitol, in New Jersey avenue, leading from thence to the Eastern Branch. They are spacious and convenient, one of which is designed for stage passengers and travellers, the other for the accommodation of boarders. There is stabeage sufficient for 60 horses——They hope to merit public patronage.

City of washingron, Nov. 24, 1800. tf

Washington, July 15, 1801.

At a meeting this day at Mr.

Rhodes's Hotel, of several of the subscribers to a MARKET, to be built on Pennsylvania Avenue, agreeably to advertisement, the following resolutions were adopted, viz.

1st. That Edward Eno be authorised to collect the subscriptions.

2d. That William Brent be appointed Treasurer.

3d. That James Hoban and Clotworthy Stephenson be appointed a committee to engage Contractors to carry into execution the building according to a specification and plan left at the Commissioners Office.

W. THORNTON,

In behalf and at the request of the subscribers

VARDEN & CARPENTER,

TAYLORS,

Gratefully acknowledge the favors of the public, whilst carrying on business opposite Mr. Stille's Tavern, and inform, that they have removed to the next house east of Mr. Tunicliff's Hotel; where gentlemen and ladies will be served in a stile of fashion and elegance which it has ever been, and ever will be, their study to execute, and they presume, equal to the most populous cities in the Union.

Regimental and Ladies Habits made in the neatest manner.

May 15, 1801. wtf

BROHAWN AND BOYS,

BEG leave to inform the citizens of Washington, that they have taken Mr. N. Young's wharf, very conveniently situated to the Capitol and President's Square; where they have opened a LUMBER YARD, and expect to go pretty largely in that line of business; and in about two or three weeks will have a general assortment of the first quality of groceries that can be procured in Baltimore

Washington June 24, 1801.

N. B. Any gentleman wishing to apply for bills of scantling of any size or dimensions, may obtain them at the shortest notice by applying as above. tf

LOTS FOR SALE,

In the City of WASHINGTON.

THE SUBSCRIBER offers for Sale a number of valuable Lots beautifully situated between the Capitol and the Eastern Branch. Also a few Lots to be let on lease for ninety-nine years, in the vicinity of the Navy yard.

WILLIAM PROUT.

City of Washington. December 12, 1800. tf

N. B. A few Tons of good Meadow Hay, one Kiln of Bricks, and some Cord wood.

W. P.

FOR RENT,

The House I now occupy, on

Square No 142, near the President's house, for six months from the first of August next. Possession will be given at that time.

NICHOLAS KING.

July 20, 1801. ep2w

Nail Manufactory,

ALL kinds of Cut Nails for Sale by Wholesale and Retail at the Factory on F Street, and at the Hardware Store of the Subscriber, where persons building and all others wishing to purchase may be supplied with any quantity at the most reasonable rates.

JOHN JACK.

Washington Feb. 4, 1801

TO BE RENTED,

THE store lately in the tenure of Doctor Gallaspy and Co. Its situation for business is preferable to any other in the City, being on the Pennsylvania Avenue, between the President's House and the Capitol, and within a few yards of the spot on which is to be immediately erected the market house.

JOSIAS W. KING.

At the Capitol.

May 29, 1801. eptf

The schooners Dolphin & Kitty,

now lying at Mr. Young's Wharf will constantly take freights every three weeks from this to Annapolis or Baltimore. For terms apply to BROHAWN and BOYS.

Washington July 15, 1801. ‡

NEW BOOKS.

JUST received by the sloop Highland, capt. Hand, from Philadelphia, and now opening at the store of Rapine, Conrad and Co. corner of south B street and New Jersey, Avenue; a very handsome assortment of books, amongst which are,

De Valcourt, by Mrs Bennett, author of Welch Heiress, Beggar Girl, &c. &c.

Nocturnal Visit, 2 vols. by Maria Regina Roche, author of the Children of the Abbey, &c

The Girl of the Mountains, 2 vols. by Mrs. Parsons, author of "Women as they are."

Rash Vows; or the effects of enthusiasm, by Madame de Genlis.

The Farmer's Boy, a rural poem, by Robert Broomfield.

The life of Catharine the Second, Empress of Russia, 3 vols.

Dawin's phytologia; or the philosophy of agriculture and gardening.

Also a general assortment of law books, and miscellaneous history, stationary, writing and wrapping paper, &c. &c all which they will dispose of on the most reasonable terms.

N. B. Bookbinding in all its branches, with neatness and dispatch.

Washington, May 15,