another more favorable to liberty, is that which I have in view. We will suppose that the society had passed through a process something like that which has been described; that it had its origin in the rude state, at which period the people were equal and free, but had submitted to such a government as they were, in that state, competent to; that they had had, in their progress, struggles for liberty, and experienced changes of various kinds, until, by the increase of population, and other causes adverted to, they had finally been reduced under despotism. We will suppose also, that they had remained for centurials in that state, until the extension of commerce, improvement in agriculture, and in the arts and sciences, a new era had arrived; that the mass of the people had become more intelligent; that many among them had acquired great wealth and consideration by their manners, talents and services, which had exalted them by the just standard of merit above any in the privileged orders. A change in this state, by the overthrow of the existing despotism, and the establishment of a free government, could be accomplished only by a revolution and by force. Are a people thus circumstanced competent to such a change? Are they capable of surmounting the difficulties which they would have to encounter in the effort, and to maintain the government should they succeed, after its establishment? These questions involve considerations of high importance to the whole human race. They bear, however, in the first instance, more especially on Europe.

That a government founded on the sovereignty of the people with a wise organization and distribution of its powers, is practicable over extensive dominions and very populous communities, is certain, provided the state of society throws no impediment in its way. What that state must be, to give effect to such a government, has already been fully explained. All that is necessary is that the inhabitants generally be intelligent, that they possess some property, be independent and moral, and that they organize a government by representation into three branches, a legislative, executive and judiciary, under a wise arrangement, and vest in each the powers competent to its objects. If such a people were possessed of the sovereignty, and were left free under such a government to the operation of internal causes only, having the whole force in their hands, if united and competent, how is it possible that they should fail? It happens, however, that all the most distinguished communities of modern Europe, those which are most advanced in civilization and improvement of every kind, are placed under governments of the monarchic character, many of which are despotic. The institution of free governments in those countries could not be wrought without a struggle. Those in power would not voluntarily submit, nor could the government be maintained afterwards, without en-
as an example of the governments and of the state of society of this epoch, I shall postpone what I have to say on it until I reach that stage. Of the second, of recent date, I was present and an attentive observer of its most difficult conjunctions. As this epoch forms one of the most interesting events of the modern world, some attention is thought to be due to it in this sketch.

I arrived in Paris on the 2nd of August, 1794, a few days after the fall and execution of Robespierre, and I saw the revolutionary government in operation in its subsequent stages; under the convention; under the directory and the two councils; under the consuls; and I was present when it finally terminated under the Emperor. I was anxious to trace to their sources the causes which produced the very extraordinary occurrences which marked that great struggle. I was a friend of the French Revolution, not as an enemy of the Bourbons, for as a citizen of the United States, I was always grateful to them for their services in our Revolution, and lamented the extremity to which the cause had been pushed by their execution. I was the friend of that Revolution as the friend of liberty, in which avowed character I was sent to France as the representative of my government and country. I was therefore an interested spectator as to the cause to which I wished success, but respecting those on the theatre, who acted in its support, and whose merit I could judge only by the view which I took of their conduct, I was altogether impartial.

It was a movement instructive to mankind in regard to the dangers incident to an effort, by an old and populous community, which had been long ruled by despotism, to divert that power and establish another of one. The movement was in truth revolutionary, and under circumstances which put all the passions in motion under the strongest excitement, without any balance in the system, especially in the early stages, which could give it a proper direction. It was impossible that such an effort should be made without encountering the most serious difficulties arising from internal as well as foreign causes. A monarchy so long established and deeply rooted, could not be overthrown without the concurrence of a large majority of the people, and the collection of such a force as would crush all opposition. Nor could its overthrow fail to leave in full activity the most conflicting elements of which a society can be composed. If civil war in its most formidable shape did not ensue; discontent, which would pervade all the adherents of the former government would still exist and show itself in a variety of ways in the progress of the revolution. Foreign wars would be inevitable, for as the governments of all the other great powers were monarchical, it would be natural for those at their head to conclude that if the monarchy of France should be overthrown, a like fate would befall them. Some time would also elapse before a regular government could be established, and in the interim, the popular movement would control everything. All these difficulties occurred, under circumstances which called into activity, and put to the severest trial, all the faculties and resources, mental and physical, of the nation. The whole people moved, as it were, in a body, and gave proofs of a devotion to liberty, of patriotism and gallantry in the field, which were never surpassed by any other nation. It is not my intention to enter into the details of this great struggle. I shall simply make those comments on it, founded on occurrences which passed under my own view, and others that are well authenticated, which belong to the subject on which I treat.

Each government formed an epoch peculiar to itself, and characteristic of the crisis which had occurred. Extraordinary agitation marked its early stages, of which the government under the Convention gave the most signal proofs. That body formed the government, because, by its acts, the public actions were sanctioned; but it was rather as the organ and the instrument of the popular feeling and will under the excitement which prevailed, than a calm and deliberative assembly, acting according to its own judgment. The people might be said, and especially until the fall of Robespierre, to rule, en masse, and under the greatest possible disadvantages. The government was in effect united with the sovereignty in the people, and all power, legislative, executive, and judicial, concentrated in them. The popular sentiment was ascertained, not from a meeting of the whole people of France in one body, for that was impossible, but from movements in different quarters—Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons, and elsewhere, under local excitements, and without deliberation. Of this sentiment, thus proclaimed, the Convention was the instrument, and at its head was a leader who yielded to the worst passions which could animate the breast of an ambitious competitor for power. Two parties were formed in it, at an early period, one of which was called the Mountain, and the other the Plain. The former was distinguished for its violence and cruelty, the latter for its moderation and humanity. Both were friends to liberty and the Revolution, but they differed as to the means of accomplishing it; and it was that difference, combined with other causes, which gave to each the character it held. Jacobin societies were established from the commencement of the Revolution, through France, at the head of which stood that in Paris, and by which the impulse was given to the others. In the early stages those societies promoted with just views the success of the Revolution, but they afterwards became instrumental to the greatest enormities. Between the Mountain party and this society in Paris the most perfect harmony and concert existed, and which extended in consequence to all
the other societies. Robespierre became the leader of the Mountain party, and likewise of the Jacobin society in Paris, and by him, or by his instrumentality, the distinguished members of the party of the Plain, and other illustrious friends of the Revolution, were cut off. The extent to which those enormities were carried, by cutting off innocent persons who took no part in the contest, women as well as men, sapped the foundation of the Revolution, and will always be viewed with horror. This atrocious individual was at length overwhelmed, and led to the guillotine, by which he suffered the fate he merited.

On my arrival at Paris at this awful moment, I beheld a state of affairs of which I had before seen no example, nor anything which in the slightest degree resembled it. Our Revolution exhibited a very different spectacle. The movement of the people with us, in every stage, was tranquil, and their confidence in their representatives unlimited. No animosity or rivalry was seen among them. If any had previously existed, it ceased at that great crisis. We had no distinct hereditary order in the community; no hierarchy. We had but one order, that of the people; nor had we any citizen among us who did not rest on his merits and the opinion entertained of it by his fellow-citizens at large. The whole body, therefore, clung together on the purest principles, and the most simple and perfect form. But on the theatre then before me, all the conflicting elements to which I have referred were in full activity, the effect of which was visible on every object which presented itself to view. The adherents of the monarchical government were anxious to overthrow the existing one, and active in promoting that result. The nobility, who had been cast down, were generally of that class, all of whom were degraded, and most of whom had suffered by the Revolution. The hierarchy formed a corps equally numerous and active. Their lands had been wrested from them and sold, or were at market. All these classes acted in concert, but being overwhelmed, moved as it were under the mask. The people contributed their part to this disorderly and frightful spectacle. The Convention was, for the moment, comparatively calm, as was the city, but the tranquillity was of a character to show that the passions which had produced the late storm were rather smothered than extinguished. Other explosions were dreaded, and confidence, even among those who had been most active on each side, seemed to be, in a great measure, withdrawn. The Mountain party still held the majority in the committee which were charged with the executive government, and that party was not entirely crushed in the Convention.

My own situation was the most difficult and painful that I had ever experienced. Our treaty of commerce of 1778 had been set aside, and many of our vessels seized and condemned, with their cargoes, in violation of it. Some hundreds of our citizens were then in Paris, and the seaports of France, many of them imprisoned, and all of them treated more like the subjects of their enemies, than the citizens of a friendly and allied power. An hostile attitude was assumed toward our government and country, and was seriously menaced. Of this disposition I felt, personally, the most mortifying effect, my recognition being delayed and likely to be refused. I saw distinctly that no impression could be made on the Committee of Public Safety, and was fearful if I should acquiesce in the delay of my recognition, the ill will toward us which pervaded that body would be extended generally to the Convention, and throughout the nation. On full consideration I was satisfied that the injuries already received would not be redressed, nor greater averted, without making an appeal as it were to the real government, the people, through the nominal one, the Convention, and by means thereof to bring the cause fairly before the nation. I knew their object was liberty, and that they had caught the spirit in our struggle, by the part they had taken in it, many of whom had carried it home, and infused it into the great body of the people. Our eyes are naturally turned to an illustrious individual who lately visited us, who fought and bled in our cause, and whose services in its support can never be too highly appreciated or liberally rewarded. I knew that there stood at the head of our government one, who by his devotion to that cause, and the services he had rendered to it, was entitled to, and held in the highest veneration by the French people; and was persuaded, if I brought before them convincing proofs of his good wishes for their success, supported by that of the other branches of our government, that the hostile spirit which had been manifested towards us by the French Government, would be subdued, and my recognition immediately follow. It was on this principle that I addressed the convention, and with the desired effect, having been received by that body itself on the next day. That such should have been the state of affairs, as to compel me to resort to such an expedient, is in itself a sufficient proof of the disorder in which the Government of France then was, and of the difference between it and all settled governments, whatever be their form.

From this period the power was transferred to the party of the Plain, who held it the residue of the term of the government by the convention. The conduct of this party corresponded with its well-known principles. It looked to the cause, and pushed it forward with zeal and perseverance, and as I thought with perfect integrity. It sustained also its character for moderation and humanity, for I saw in its progress, in the trial of some of the leading members of the Mountain party who had survived, and were denounced before it, a disposition rather to forgive, than avenge the injuries
it had received from that party. Several attacks were made on the convention during the rule of this party, by popular movements in Paris, particularly by those of Germain, Prrial, and Vendémiare, which were met with firmness, and repulsed by the force arrayed on its side. These movements were either excited by foreign powers or by members of the Mountain party. Among the important objects which now engaged the attention of the convention, was the formation of a constitution, in which it succeeded by the institution of the government of the Directory, and the two Councils, to which the power was transferred on the 31st of October, 1795. The proceedings under this government assumed a different character from that which had been acquired by those under the convention. They were more tranquil and orderly, and the government itself, in all its departments, more operative and efficient. The people confined themselves more within the limit of their appropriate duties, as the sovereign power of the state, and left the government more free to perform those which belonged to it, as their representative and responsible organ. The government of the Consuls was a step toward monarchy, in which it terminated in the imperial form.

In the progress of this Revolution I beheld, with great interest and satisfaction, the wonderful effect which it had, from year to year, by the agency of the people in the government on their intelligence and capacity for self-government. I noticed this in my first mission, during my residence in Paris, from 1794 till 1797; and I was more sensibly struck with it on my return to France in 1803. It was by the patriotic zeal and devotion to liberty of the whole French people, that the most gallant exploits were performed; that the modern world had witnessed; that all the surrounding nations had been repulsed, and many subdued, so that in truth the Revolution was accomplished when the last change took effect. Satisfied I am, had those who had gained great popularity, by the eminent services which they had rendered, looked to the cause a few years longer, and not to themselves, the Republic might have been saved. The people had much improved in their capacity for self-government, yet their emancipation from the opposite extremes had been too sudden, and the interval too short for them to have become, in all respects, competent to it. They were devoted to the Revolution, and were grateful to those who had signalized themselves in its support, especially by gallant exploits in the field, and by victories over the powerful armies which assailed them. The names of those commanders became identified with the cause, and in their elevation without making the proper discrimination, they looked to its support, rather than to its overthrow, and thus their best propensities, as well as their frailties, were practiced on and made instrumental to that result. In making this remark, I indulge no feeling of personal hostility to Napoleon Bo-

naparte, in whose favor the change was wrought, and who was the principal actor in it. No one thought more highly than I did of his gallantry in the field, and of his talents as the commander of his army, and personally I had no cause of complaint against him, for in my second mission to France, when he was at the head of the Consular Government, I was treated by him with kindness and attention. I look only to the change, and to the causes which produced it.

An enlightened and virtuous people, who are blessed with liberty, should look with profound attention to every occurrence which furnishes proof of the dangers to which that cause is exposed. The effort was made by a great nation, distinguished for its improvement in civilization and in all the arts of civilized life; advanced to the utmost height in every branch of science that the human intellect has attained, and respected for every useful as well as polished acquirement throughout the civilized world. Having witnessed personally that effort, in the extent that I have stated, I have thought that a brief notice in this place of its progress and fate might have a good effect, and have, therefore, given it.

I will now proceed to notice such societies as may be formed by emigration of a portion of the inhabitants from civilized communities into another country, with the establishment of new governments over them in such country. I shall note some prominent distinctions between governments established by societies in this and the other state, to show the advantages which the latter have over the former, as well as the capacity to institute free governments, as to preserve them.

Of this class, that is by emigration, there may be two of different character. The emigrants may take possession of a new territory, and institute an independent government of their own, such as they prefer, or they may emigrate under the protection and authority of the parent country. Of the first kind, the state of improvement to which the science has been carried is the natural limit of any human institution. Prudent men will be more disposed to adopt institutions under which they have lived, if of the free class, than to make experiments of untried projects, which are suggested by conjecture and fancy only. Governments thus instituted corresponding in their form with those of the parent countries, and the state of society being the same, would be apt to experience a like fate. If the government of the colony is formed by the parent country by charter, its fate will depend on a variety of circumstances, and particularly on the interest which the parent country takes in the emigration, and the connection which it intends to preserve with the colony; on the spirit in which the emigration is made and the causes which produced it; and on the character of the emigrants. If the institution is made in its great features popular,