

Written and communicated by me, to the council of Five Hundred and the Executive Directory; it shall be printed, posted up, and transmitted to all the communes of the republic by extraordinary couriers.

The Council of Elders also decreed the following address to the French people:

THE COUNCIL OF ELDERSTO THE FRENCH NATION.

Frenchmen,

The Council of Elders exercises the right delegated to it by the 102<sup>nd</sup> article of the constitution, regarding the resilience of the legislative body. It exercises this right in order to suppress the factions which aim at subjugating the national representation, and in order to restore internal peace. It exercises this right, in order also to restore that external peace, which humanity and your lengthened sacrifices demand. The common safety, and common prosperity are the objects of this constitutional measure. They shall be accomplished. And do you, inhabitants of Paris, remain tranquil; the presence of the legislative body will soon be restored to you. Frenchmen, the results of this day will soon show whether the legislature be worthy and capable of preparing the means of your happiness. Live the people, by whom, and in whom, exists the Republic.

The present address shall be printed, proclaimed, and posted up, along with the decree transferring the resilience of the legislative body, and as forming a part of it.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

Sitting at St. Cloud—November 10.

*Lucien Buonaparte, President.*

In pursuance of the Decree passed yesterday by the Council of Elders, the sitting was held in the Green House of the old-devastated castle of St. Cloud. The necessary preparation for the reception of the council required the opening of the sitting till 2 o'clock.

A violent and stormy debate took place. The President sat on his chair, but could not preserve order. Several members rose to demand the reason of the removal of the legislative body, but were silenced by the clamours of the assembly. Tranquillity being at length restored, a secretary read a letter from Barras, in which he gives in his resignation.

While some of the members were making observations on this letter of Barras, the doors of the hall opened.

General BUONAPARTE appeared, accompanied by an escort of between twenty and thirty persons, and walked up towards the President.

A vehement agitation arose among part of the members, who darted precipitately from their seats towards Buonaparte, surrounded him, and pushed him back with violence. In the midst of this tumult a person was heard vociferating the cry of "Outlaw him! Outlaw him!" One or two voices were heard exclaiming: "This is the moment to save France!"

A member attempted to stab him with a dagger, but the blow was ward off by a grenadier.

Buonaparte stepped back firmly, and ordered the grenadiers to withdraw. He went along with them out of the hall.

The tumult increased to the most violent pitch. All the members quitted their seats, and walked through the hall in disorder, conversing with the greatest warmth and vehemence. The Tribune was cleared up by a crowd of members.

By degrees order was restored.

*Mr. President.—* The exasperation which has appeared in this assembly doubtless is a proof that the love of the republic, that the passion for liberty enlivens every heart. But in seeing the general disregard of the legislative body appear in this hall, you ought not to have suspected him of any odious design. You ought not thus to have inured the laurels of a man who has rendered signal services to his country. He came to inform you of the critical situation in which the republic is placed. He came to discharge the duty which the character with which he is invested impels on him. I move that every enquiry be now calculated to remove the disquietude of the Council.

*A member with vehemence.—* Buonaparte has tarnished his glory. I desire him to apologize, to the exasperation of republicans, and of every Frenchman.

Another member, "I move that the Council should instantly decide by far in favor of that plan of meeting, and the place or the two sessions shall extend."

Bertrand, "When the council of Elders transferred the national representation to St. Cloud, they exercised a right which by the constitution belonged to them. But when they appointed a commandant of the guard of the legislative body, they exceeded the rights and the powers; they openly infringed the constitution. I move that you annul this nomination as illegal and unconstitutional, and that you instantly decree that gen. Buonaparte is not commander of the legislative body."

"Seconded! Seconded! Bravo! Bravo!" exclaimed a number of voices.

Faforet, "The first object that ought to engage your attention is your independence; your safety: the publicity of your deliberations. What! The council of elders have ventured openly to violate the constitution by appointing the commandant of your guard. What! They have removed you to a village?"

"They have sent us to deliberate in the midst of armed men! It is not that I dread the brave defenders, by whom we are surrounded, their bayonets are terrible only to the enemies of liberty. But I contend that Buonaparte is not com-

mandant of the legislature. (He is not, he is not,) exclaimed a number of members.) I move that a messenger be sent to the council of elders to request them to repeal their decree, and permit us to return to Paris, and far from dreading the soldiers by whom you are surrounded, I move

that you decree that the whole army, before, by which we are surrounded, is the guard of the legislative body."

Bravo, Bravo! exclaimed a number of members rising and waving their hats. Vivent les défenseurs de la patrie! Vivent la constitution! General Buonaparte, "We are only crossing and contradictory propositions, without coming to any decision: I move that you begin by declaring the appointment of Buonaparte to be unconstitutional," (yes, yes,) was reformed from several parts of the hall.)

Lucien Buonaparte left the chair, and proceeded to the tribune; Caillaux prefaced in his head.

"I entreat the council calmly to reflect," said L. Buonaparte, "on the commotion that has manifested itself—it may not be needless to repeat . . . [here he was interrupted by a loud voice who said—"do not attempt to amuse us!"]

"I propose," continued L. Buonaparte, "That you summon the general who commands your guard to appear before you."

"We do not acknowledge him," exclaimed several members.

"When cool consideration," observed Lucien, "will have filled in your breasts the extraordinary emotion which you have testified, (murmurs) you will perhaps be sensible of the injustice done to general Buonaparte. Whatever may be the event,

I now, in your presence, lay down on the altar of the country the badge

of the magistracy with which the people had invested me."

On saying these words, he laid down his badge of office on the president's table; upon which the doors of the hall were opened; and twenty grenadiers entered. They advanced towards the Tribune, took L. Buonaparte into custody, and placing him in the midst of them, they conducted him out of the hall.

The council was seized with extreme agitation. Cries, vagaries, and tumultuous confusion arose from the members who suddenly quit their places. Not a word could be distinctly heard.

Grandval, Blin, Delbœuf, Bignon, Sherlock, Couthon, and dozen other members prised toward the Tribune.

Sherlock made an effort to speak, but could scarcely make himself heard amid the tumult. "I moved," said he, "That you call back the president whose resignation you have not accepted."

"He could have done nothing better," exclaimed several members, "than to have given it in."

Meantime, at a distance was heard the sound of drums to the beat of "pas de charge." Some after, for the first time, the doors of the hall were thrown open; and a third time the spectators endeavoured precipi-

tately to escape by leaping out of the seat in me a vile intriguer—I know no great coöperation but the French people.

An officer came forward, followed by a numerous guard, and exclaimed with a loud voice: General Buonaparte orders the Hall to be cleared. Upon which the troops advanced in to the nearer half of the hall; the further part remained occupied by the deputies, who had not returned. The soldiers suspended their march for a moment, in order to afford time for the hall to be evacuated. A dozen of members, among whom was Blin, remained near the Tribune, or at the Bureau, one of them who was at the Tribune exclaimed:

What are you, soldiers? are you any thing else than guardians of the national representation; and do you dare to menace its safety, to encroach on its independence—is it thus then, that you garnish the laurels which your courage had won?"

This harangue was coldly listened to by the soldiers, who advanced into the hall with drum-beatings, the members who stood near the Bureau and the Tribune were at length obliged to yield their places to the soldiers, who took possession of them; as the latter advanced in the hall, the members went out at the opposite extremity; in a word, the hall was completely cleared in a few minutes. It was then five o'clock.

Several members set out immediately for Paris. Others remained at St. Cloud to observe the deliberations of the Council of Elders, and the extraordinary movement among the troops, who filled the square of the palace. From time to time were heard the cries of *Vive Buonaparte, Vive la République!*

General Buonaparte, on leaving the Council of Five Hundred, advanced towards the soldiers and harangued them. He exhorted them to remain calm, and to rest assured that the good cause should triumph. They all answered by shouts of vive Buonaparte!

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6th. During the adjournment of the legislative body, the members shall preserve their indemnity and their constitutional security.

7th. They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as Ministers, Diplomatic Agents, Delegates of the executive Consular Committee, and in all other civil functions. They are even invited in the name of the public good to accept them.

8th. Before their separation, and during the time of their sitting, each Council shall name from among their members a committee of 25 members.

9th. The committee appointed by the two Councils, will, in conjunction with the committee of the executive consulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation and finance.

10th. To the committee of the Council of Five Hundred will belong the right of proposing, and to that of the council of Elders, that of sanctioning them.

11th. The two committees will, also, in the other above mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the constitution which experience may have shown to have been inconvenient or vicious.

12th. Those changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing, inviolably the sovereignty of the people, the republic, one and indivisible, the representative system, the division of power, liberty, equality, and the safety of property.

13th. The executive consulate committee may lay before the other committee their views upon these subjects.

14th. The two committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their sittings will be held at Paris in the palace of the legislative body, and they may convoke extraordianrily for the ratification of peace, or in case of great public danger.

16th. These resolutions shall be printed, and sent by extraordinary couriers to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all the communes of the republic.

Cabaris made a speech, in which he retraced the labours of the different legislative bodies, and of the convention, and also the faults of these different assemblies, as well as those of the present councils. He showed that the present constitution opened the door to continual revolutions, which would end in anarchy, which was always followed by royalty. He afterwards proposed an address to the French people upon the dangers which the national representatives incurred and upon the measures of public safety which were to be taken.

At one o'clock the three consuls came and took the following oath:

"Fidelity to the Republic, one and indivisible, to liberty and equality.

At three o'clock they proceeded to the scrutiny of the nomination of the intermediate committee.

The President then adjourned the council to the 20th of February, at the ordinary place of meeting.

PARIS, November 13.

The consulate entered, the 20th Brumaire, (11th Nov.) on its functions. There will not be a president of it, but a consul for the day. This authority has notified its installation at the national palace of the Luxembourg, to the two legislative committees.

The consulate has been since occupied with nominating to the most important places.

Maret, ex-ambassador at Naples, is appointed secretary general of the consulate.

Gordin, formerly commissioner of the treasury, and since commissioner general of the executive directory, is appointed minister of finance. Alexandre Berthier, minister of war; Cambacérès is appointed minister of justice; Fouche, of police; and Talleyrand of foreign affairs.

The law which regulates the provisional form of the new government was proclaimed last night at Paris with much solemnity. Although every thing continues in apparent calm, the confidantes of the council of 500 do not consider themselves as yet defeated. They hold meetings. They are preparing a pretended protestation; but perhaps they rely more upon some affirmation than their other measures. But the politics of

the 20th of February is to meet at that period in full power at Paris.