

Citizens Representatives,

I have not been able to receive the messenger of state dispatched by the Council of Elders to the Executive Directory. Four of the members have sent in their resignation—the fifth is in custody by the order of Gen. Buonaparte. There no longer exists a Directory.

Health and respect,

(Signed)

LEGARDE.

The Council decreed that this letter should be sent to the Council of Five Hundred.

After the interval of about a quarter of an hour, a tumultuous movement was manifested in the Council. The arrival of General Buonaparte was announced. He requested permission to speak, having important information to communicate.

There was instantly a profound silence.

Buonaparte—"Representatives of the people, you are not in a common crisis; you tread upon a volcano ready to destroy you. Yesterday Paris was in the most profound tranquillity. I have united all my brethren in arms in the execution of the measures which you have adopted.

"I have given proofs of my devotion to the republic, and the country has not had a more zealous defender than I have proved myself. This day, however, I am surrounded with calumny, and covered with reproach and obloquy.

"I hear circulated around me the words Cromwell, military government, &c. Had I wished to establish a military government, I should have long since attempted that enterprise. Since I have returned to Paris, I have been solicited by some factions to seize upon the authority of the state. I declare even that propositions have been made to me by Barras and Moulin, to overthrow the government, and to assume the direction of affairs—I resisted these insinuations because I was of no party, of no coterie—I communicated these projects to several representatives. I united my sentiments to those of the Council of Elders, and I have only accepted the command entrusted to me, with the view of resigning it after having triumphed over the enemies of the republic. Think not then that you see in me a vile intriguer—I know no great coterie but the French people.

"But I declare the representatives of the French people must not be divided: on the contrary unite your wisdom, and whatever your firmness shall decide, I shall see faithfully executed. I shall be but an arm devoted to the safety of the republic; the safety of liberty and equality."

Engler—"And the constitution."

Buonaparte—"The constitutional! Is it now a ground of security to the French people? You violated it on the 18th Fructidor; you violated it on the 22d Floreal; you violated it on the 30th Prairial. It is nothing but an empty sound, which serves the purpose of every faction.

"All the rights of the people have been violated. It is time that you should defend them against every attack. Consider what ought to be done for the protection of liberty. If you do not save it; you and your children will be disgraced in the eyes of posterity.—You are accountable for its safety. Act, and if the execution of your decrees be opposed, I shall appeal to my brave companions in arms, and to my fortune."

Buonaparte left the council. A message from the council of Five Hundred stated that it was constituted by a majority.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

November 10.

About six o'clock the Council of Five Hundred constituted themselves, the majority of the members having repaired to the hall of the sitting.

Lucien Buonaparte took the chair, and invited the Council to resume the deliberations.

Boulay de la Meurthe made in the name of the committee of five, a report on the plan which had been referred to them.

The Council of Elders," said he, "in ordering the removal of the Legislative body to St. Cloud, had for its object to arrive at a favourable goal for the maintenance of their liberty. They have been convinced that there existed great vices in the organization of the constitution. The representatives of the people must candidly avow, that experience has itself proved, that there exist in our organization, vices, which from its establishment, have never ceased to produce distractions in the republic, and with respect to the security of the constitution, it has hitherto failed in its object. Facts have proved this. Some months after it was put into execution, the Directory were obliged to make the 18 Fructidor, and soon afterwards the 22d Floreal, which was also made necessary by the nature of the choices made at the elections. Thus there was a necessity of proceeding from violation to violation, as it were by shocks. It is time to consider of improvement, which produces the necessity of a provisional and intermediate state, which will prepare the means of making the people enjoy their rights in their full extent."

Villetard, reporter from the committee, proposed the following resolution:

The Council of Five Hundred, considering the situation of the republic, declares that the business is urgent, and adopts the following resolutions:

Article 1st. There is no longer any executive directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uni-

formly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning.

[Here follow the names of 61 members.]

2d. The legislative body creates provisionally an Executive Consular Committee, composed of citizens Siéyes and Roger Ducos, Ex-Directors; and Buonaparte General.—They shall bear the name of Consuls of the French republic.

3d. This committee is invested with the full powers of the Directory, and specially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorized to send delegates, with a power limited according to its own power.

5th. The legislative body is adjourned to the 29th of February. It is to meet at that period in full power at Paris.

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

7th. They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as writers, Diplomatic Agents, Delegates to the Executive Consular Committee, and in all other similar 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 committees appointed by the two Councils, will, in conjunction with the committee of the executive consulate, determine upon all subjects 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 order above mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the constitution which experience may have shown to have been inconvenient or vicious.

12. These 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 committees, 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 extraordinarily 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 upon in all the communes of the republic.

Cabanis 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 shewed 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 as the ordinary place of meeting.

PARIS, November 15.

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 Luxemburg, 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.

Gaudin, formerly commissioner of the treasury, and since commissary general of the executive directory for the administration of posts, is minister of finances; Alexander Berthier, minister at war; Cambaceres is appointed minister of justice; Fouche, of police, and Rheinard of foreign-affairs.

The law which regulates the provisional form of the new government, was proclaimed last night in Paris with much solemnity. Although every thing continues in appearance calm, the conspirators 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 assassination than their other manœuvres. But the police is informed of their meetings, and watches them narrowly. The grenadier who saved Buonaparte's life dined with him yesterday. The wife of the Consul made him a present of a diamond worth 2000 crowns.

Some of the deputies whose nomination has been declared null have been arrested. Upon some of them

were seized new daggers all alike. The brother of Arena has been also arrested and sent to the Conciergerie for having wished to assassinate Buonaparte. Geaisieux and Dorlaumont are imprisoned for having cried out that the general ought to be outlawed. Quirot was sent to the Temple. Santhonax, Charles Hesse, (the *si-devant* Prince) and Julian of Toulouse are also there. The prison of Vincennes is preparing for the other arrested persons.

There were last night illuminations in different parts, and couriers were sent off to the different departments to announce the revolution.

It is said that Barras has been arrested and sent to the Temple. Several more arrests have taken place. Daubermœnel and Coustant have escaped. A Marseillais said yesterday at a meeting at Daubermœnel's, "We only want three daggers to put an end to all this."

Yesterday citizens Talleyrand, Rœderer and Volney, were sent for by the consuls, with whom they had a long conference.

A Council of State was created; it is to be composed of these three citizens.

Championnet has, it is said, given in his resignation of the command of the army of Italy, and that it has been accepted by the Consuls.

A board of admiralty is to be formed after the manner of England.

It is said that Moreau is gone to the armies of the Danube and Helvetia.

Massena has effected his junction with Championnet.

PROCLAMATION,

Issued by General Buonaparte, at eleven o'clock on the night of the 19th Brumaire, (November 10.)

On my return to Paris, I found discord reigning among all the constituted authorities, and that they agreed only respecting one truth viz. "That the Constitution was half destroyed and was unable to save the cause of liberty."

All parties came to me, entrusted me with their designs, disclosed to me their secrets, and solicited my support—I refused to lend my support to any party.

The Council of Elders called me before them—I obeyed the call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of liberty, of equality, of property. This plan required a calm and free investigation, unbiassed by any influence or by any fears. Agreeably to this idea, the Council of Elders resolved upon transferring the legislative body to St. Cloud: they charged me with the military force necessary to protect their independence—I deemed it a duty I owed my fellow-citizens, the soldiers, who are perishing in our armies; and the national glory acquired by their blood, to accept that command.

The Councils assembled at St. Cloud: the republican troops watch over their external security; but assassins make terror prevail in the interior. Several deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with pistols and daggers, circulated all around them the threats and terrors of death.

The plans that were to be developed are limited: the majority disorganized, the most intrepid speakers disconcerted, and the proposal and agitation of any wise measure became utterly useless.

I communicate my indignation and my sorrow to the Council of Elders; I request to be allowed to secure the execution of their generous designs; I represented to them the calamities of the country by which they had been suggested; they joined me in new testimonies of their constant determination.

I appeared in the Council of Five Hundred alone, without arms, my head uncovered, such as the Elders had received and applauded me. I went to remind the majority of the intentions by which they were animated, and to assure them that they might rely on their power.

The pistols by which the deputies were menaced, were raised against him who wished to be their deliverer. Twenty assassins darted upon me and aimed at my breast; the grenadiers of the legislative body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran up and threw themselves between the assassins and me; one of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, received a blow of a pistol, which pierced his clothes—they carried me off.

At the same moment, the cries of declare him an outlaw, were heard against the man who wished to defend the law. It was the frantic cry of the assassin against the force destined to rob him of his prey.

They thronged round the president with threats in their mouths, and arms in their hands; they ordered him to put the question of outlawry. I was informed of this, and gave orders to rescue him from their fury, and accordingly six grenadiers brought him out. Immediately after, some grenadiers of the legislative body entered at the *Port de Charge* into the hall, and cleared it.

The factious leaders being thus intimidated, dispersed, and went away. The majority, rescued from their attempts, freely and peacefully returned to the hall of their sittings, and heard the propositions which were to be made for the public safety, deliberated upon them and prepared the salutary resolutions, which is to become the new and provisional law of the republic.

Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognize in this conduct, the zeal of a soldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republic. Views directed to con-