

As effects similar to those which had been produced, between the 14th and 27th of July, by the people, in conjunction with a part of the government, had, since the 2d of October, been brought about by the army, Siéyes determined to avail himself of the latter. For this purpose, it was necessary to have the assistance of a general, and he cast his eyes upon Joubert, who was put at the head of the army of the Alps, in order that he should first, by means of victories, and the liberation of Italy, gain a great political reputation.

The constitution of the year three, however, was still supported by the two directors, Gohier and Moulins, and by the council of five hundred, and out of doors by the party of the *Manège*. The decided republicans had assembled as a club in that hall in which the first assembly had held its sittings. The new club, formed of the wreck of that of Salm, which had existed before the 4th of September, of that of the Pantheon, which had existed at the commencement of the directory, and of the old society of jacobins, professed republican principles with enthusiasm, but not the democratic opinions of the lower orders. Each of the two parties also possessed a share in the ministry, which had been renewed at the same time as the directory. Cambacérés had the department of justice; Quinette, the home department; Reinhard, who had been placed in office during the ministerial interregnum of Talleyrand, was minister of foreign relations; Robert Lindet, of the finances; Bourdon (of Vetry) of the marine; Bernadotte, of war; and Bourguignon, soon afterward succeeded by Fouché (of Nantes), of police.

Barras, this time, remained neuter between the two divisions of the legislature, of the directory, and of the ministry. Perceiving that affairs were proceeding to a more considerable change than that of the 18th of June, he imagined that the destruction of the republic would bring along with it the restoration of the Bourbons, and he began to treat with Louis XVIII. It appears that Barras, in negotiating for the restoration of monarchy by his agent David Mounier, by no means forgot himself. He espoused nothing through conviction, and never failed to declare himself for the party which had the greatest chance of victory. After having been a democratic Mountainist on the 31st of May; a reactionary Mountainist on the 27th of July; a revolutionary director against the royalists on the 4th of September; an ultra-republican director against his old colleagues on the 18th of June; he now became a royalist director against the government of the year three.

The faction which had been disconcerted by the 4th of September and by the peace of the continent, had also resumed its courage. The military success of the new coalition, the law of the forced loan, and that of the hostages, which obliged each family of emigrants to give securities to the government, had induced the royalists of the south and west to take up arms. They reappeared in bands which became every day more formidable, and which recommenced the petty but disastrous warfare of the *Chouans*. They expected the arrival of the Russians, and believed in the speedy restoration of monarchy. This was the moment for a new contest between all parties. Each of them aspired to the inheritance of the expiring constitution, as was seen at the end of the conventional session. In France they are warned by a sort of political odour that a government is dying, and all parties immediately fly to the prey.

Happily for the republic, the war changed its aspect upon the two principal frontiers of the higher and lower Rhine. The allies, after having acquired Italy, attempted to penetrate into France through Switzerland and Holland; but their progress, until then victorious, was arrested by generals Massena and Brune. Massena advanced against Korsakof and Suwarrow, and in a series of grand combinations and consecutive victories, during twelve days, running first to Constance and then to Zurich, the Russians were repulsed and forced to retreat, and the coalition was thus disorganized. Brune also defeated the duke of York in Holland, and compelled him to re-embark, and to renounce his attempt at invasion. The army of Italy alone was less successful: Joubert, its general, was killed at the battle of Novi, while

charging the Austro-Russian army. But notwithstanding the defeat of Novi, this frontier, which was at a great distance from the centre of events, was not passed, but was skilfully defended by Championnet. The republican troops were themselves likely very soon to be in a situation to cross it; for after having been for a moment beaten, they began to resume their superiority at every fresh conflict, and once more commenced their career of victories. Europe, in giving by its repeated attacks more exercise to the military power, rendered it every day more formidable.

But nothing was changed at home, where divisions, discontent, and uneasiness remained as before. The contest between the moderate and the ultra republicans had become still more decided. Siéyes pursued his projects against the latter. He attacked the jacobins on the anniversary of the 10th of August, in the Champ-de-Mars. Lucien Buonaparte, who had obtained great influence in the council of five hundred, by his character, his talents, and the military importance of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, presented a frightful picture of *terror* to the assembly, and declared that France was in danger of its return. About this time, Siéyes effected the removal of Bernadotte; and Fouché, with his concurrence, closed the assembly of the *Manège*. The multitude, to whom it was only necessary to present the phantom of the past, in order to inspire it with dread, ranked themselves, in their apprehension of the return of the system of *terrors*, on the side of the moderate party; and the ultra-republicans failed in an attempt to get the country declared in danger, as at the end of the legislative assembly. Siéyes, after having lost Joubert, looked around for a general who would enter into his designs, one who would protect the republic, without becoming its oppressor. Hoche had been dead more than a year; Moreau no longer possessed the public esteem, on account of his equivocal conduct towards the directory before the 4th of September, and of his sudden accusation of his old friend Pichegru, whose treason he had concealed for more than a year; Massena was not at all a political general; and Bernadotte and Jourdan were devoted to the party of the *Manège*. Siéyes, finding himself in this situation of poverty, adjourned his political measure for want of a man.

Buonaparte, while in Egypt, had learned the state of France. His expedition, of which I have given you the chief incidents in my former letter, and which, therefore, I will not here repeat, had been brilliant, but had produced no results. After having beaten the Mamelukes, and put an end to their domination in low and in high Egypt, he had advanced into Syria; but his failure in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre had compelled him to return to his first conquest. There, after having defeated an Ottoman army on the banks of Aboukir, so fatal the year before to the French fleet, he decided upon quitting this land of fame and of banishment, that he might render the new crisis in France subservient to his elevation. He left general Kléber in command of the army of the east, and crossed the Mediterranean, which was covered with English vessels, in a frigate. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October, 1799, and made a rapid and triumphal progress from the coast of the Mediterranean to Paris. His expedition, which had the appearance of a fabulous story, astonished all France, and added still more to a reputation which the conquest of Italy had already raised to a great height. These two enterprises had distinguished him from all the other generals of the republic. The remoteness of the theatre upon which he had fought had already allowed him to prepare the way for his career of independence and authority. A victorious general, an acknowledged diplomatist, the founder of republics, he had treated all interests with address, all creeds with moderation. Preparing his plans of ambition at a distance from the capital, he had taken care not to make himself the partisan of any system; and he had so managed all parties, as to effect his elevation with their consent. Ever since his victories in Italy, he had entertained thoughts of usurpation. If the directory had been vanquished by the council on the 4th of September, he proposed to march against the latter with his army, and seize the protectorate of the republic. Finding, after the 4th of September, that the directory was too powerful, and

each other their projects of resistance. The young general, followed by a few grenadiers, traversed the courts and the apartments, and prematurely yielding to his natural character, he said, like the twentieth king of a dynasty: "I will have no more factions: there must be an end of them. I positively will have no more of them." About two o'clock in the afternoon the councils assembled in their respective halls, to the sound of instruments which played the air of *la Marseillaise*.

As soon as the session opened, Emile Gaudin, one of the conspirators, ascended the tribune of the five hundred, and proposed a vote of thanks to the council of the ancients for the measures which it had adopted, and that its opinion should be requested as to the means of saving the republic. This motion became the signal of the most violent tumult: cries arose against Gaudin from all sides of the hall. The republican deputies besieged the tribune and the chair in which Lucien Buonaparte presided. The conspirators Cabinis, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Chazal, Gaudin, Lucien, &c. grew pale upon their seats. After a protracted commotion, amid which no one could be heard, order was for a moment restored, and Delbred proposed that they should renew the oath to the constitution of the year three: no voice being raised against this motion, which at such a juncture was vital, the oath was taken with a burst of enthusiasm, and a unanimity which endangered the conspiracy.

Buonaparte, being informed of what was passing in the council of five hundred, and seeing himself in great peril of desertion and defeat, presented himself before the council of ancients. If the latter, which inclined towards the conspiracy, was led away by the enthusiasm of the younger council, he was lost. "Representatives of the people!" said he, "you are placed in no ordinary circumstances; you are upon a precipice. Yesterday, when you summoned me to notify the decree of removal, and intrusted me with the execution of it, I was at ease: I immediately assembled my comrades; we flew to your assistance. Well, to-day I am overwhelmed with calumnies. They talk of Cæsar, they talk of Cromwell, they speak of military government! If I had wished to oppress the liberties of my country, I should not have submitted to the orders you gave me; I should not have had occasion to receive this authority from your hands. Representatives of the people! I swear to you that the country has not a more zealous defender than myself; but it is upon you that its safety depends. The government no longer exists: four of the directors have delivered in their resignation, the fifth (Barras) has been placed under *surveillance* for security; the council of five hundred is divided; the council of ancients alone remains. Let it adopt the necessary measures; let it but speak, I am here to execute them. Let us save liberty, let us save equality." A republican member (Linglet) then rose and addressed him: "General, we applaud what you say: swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year three, which can alone maintain the republic." It had been all over with him if this proposition had been hailed with the same enthusiasm as it was in the council of five hundred. It however surprised the council, and Buonaparte was for a moment disconcerted. But he soon resumed: "The constitution of the year three! you no longer have it. You violated it on the 4th of September; you violated it on the 11th of May. The constitution! it is invoked by all factions, and it has been violated by all; it cannot be a means of safety to us, because it no longer possesses the respect of any body: the constitution being violated, we must have another compact, and other guarantees." The council applauded the reproaches which Buonaparte addressed to it, and rose up as a sign of their approbation.

Buonaparte, deceived by the easy success which his demeanour had obtained for him in the council of ancients, imagined that his presence alone would appease the stormy council of five hundred. Thither he repaired at the head of some grenadiers, whom he left at the door, but in the interior of the hall, and he advanced alone with his hat in his hand. At the sight of the bayonets the whole council rose by a sudden impulse. Conceiving that

his entrance was the signal of military violence, they all joined in the cry, Outlaw him! Down with the dictator! Many members rushed towards him, and Bigonet, seizing him by the arms, "What are you doing, rash man!" said he; "retire, you violate the sanctuary of the law." Buonaparte turned pale, became perturbed, retired, and was carried off by the grenadiers who had served him as an escort.

The tumultuous agitation of the council did not cease with his disappearance. All the members spoke at once; every one proposed measures of public safety and defence. They overwhelmed Lucien Buonaparte with reproaches; he justified his brother, but with timidity. After many efforts he at last succeeded in getting to the tribune, and inviting the council to judge his brother with less rigour. He assured them that he had no design against liberty; he recalled his services: but many voices were instantly heard to exclaim, He has destroyed all the merit of them: Down with the dictator! Down with the tyrants! The tumult then became more violent than ever, and they demanded the outlawry of general Buonaparte. "What," said Lucien, "you would have me pronounce sentence of outlawry against my brother?"—"Yes, yes, outlawry, that is for tyrants!" Amid this confusion it was proposed, and put to the vote, that the council should be permanent, that it should instantly repair to its palace in Paris; that the troops assembled at St. Cloud should form part of the guard of the legislative body; and that the command of them should be given to Bernadotte. Lucien, astounded by all these propositions, and by the *outlawry* which he imagined was adopted like the others, quitted the chair, ascended the tribune, and said, in the greatest agitation, "Since I have not been able to obtain a hearing in this assembly, I lay down, with a deep sense of outraged dignity, the ensigns of the popular magistracy." At the same time he took off his cap, his cloak, and his scarf.

In the mean time, Buonaparte had experienced some difficulty in effecting his retreat from the council of five hundred, in order to recover himself from his perturbation. Little accustomed to popular scenes, he was sensibly affected by the repulse he had so unexpectedly received. His officers surrounded him; and Siéyes, who had more revolutionary practice than himself, advised him to lose no time, but instantly to employ force. General Lefèvre immediately gave orders to bring off Lucien from the council. A detachment entered the hall, proceeded to the chair which Lucien again occupied, took him into their ranks, and returned with him into the midst of the troops. As soon as Lucien came out, he mounted on horseback by the side of his brother, and although deprived of his legal character, he harangued the troops, as president. In concert with Buonaparte, he invented the fable, so often since repeated, of poniards being raised against the general in the council of five hundred, and he exclaimed, "Citizen soldiers! the president of the council of five hundred declares to you that the vast majority of the council is at this moment under the dread of some representatives, who with daggers besiege the tribune, threaten their colleagues with death, and carry on the most dreadful deliberations!—General, and you, soldiers, and all ye citizens! you will only acknowledge as the legislators of France those who are willing to repair to me. As to those who remain in the Orangery, let them be driven out by force. Those brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!" After this furious incentive, addressed to the soldiery by a conspiring president, who, according to custom, calumniated those whom he wished to proscribe, Napoleon took up the speech. "Soldiers!" said he, "I have led you to victory; may I rely upon you?" "Yes, yes! Long live the general!"—"Soldiers! there was reason to believe that the council would save the country; it has, on the contrary, given itself up to discord: the factious endeavour to excite it against me. Soldiers! may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes! Long live Buonaparte!"—"Well then, I will bring them to reason." He instantly commanded some superior officers who surrounded him to clear the hall of the five hundred.

The council, after the departure of Lucien, became a prey to extreme anxiety and the greatest irresolution. Some of the members proposed that they should issue forth in a body and seek an asylum in the midst of the people of Paris. Others were anxious that the national representatives should not abandon their post, but should withstand the interference of military violence to the last. During this discussion, a troop of grenadiers slowly entered the hall, and the officer who commanded it apprized the council that it must disperse. The deputy Prudhon reminded the officers and soldiers of the respect due to the chosen representatives of the people, and general Jourdan depicted to them the enormity of such an attempt. The troop remained for an instant undecided; but a reinforcement entered in close column, and general Leclerc exclaimed, "In the name of general Buonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" Cries of indignation arose from every seat in the hall, but they were drowned by the sound of drums. The grenadiers, presenting bayonets, advanced slowly along the whole length of the Orangery, and thus drove the members before them, who still however made the air ring with the cry of "Long live the republic!" At half-past five o'clock of the 9th of November, 1799, there was no longer a national representation.

Thus was consummated this last violation of law, this final blow against liberty; and from this period military government commenced its dominion. The 8th of November was in effect another 31st of May, as between the army and the representatives, except that it was not directed against a party but against the popular power. On that day the revolution expired: but it is right that we should distinguish the 18th Brumaire from the consequences which resulted from it. It might at that time have been supposed that the army was merely an auxiliary of the revolution, as on the 5th of October, and the 4th of September, and that this indispensable change would not solely turn to the advantage of a single individual, who would soon convert France into a regiment, and who would allow nothing to be heard in the world, which until then had been agitated by so great a moral commotion, but the march of *his* army and the communication of *his* will. (1)

LETTER XXXIII.

State of France consequent on the Appointment of Napoleon to the Consulship—A Provisional Government nominated—The Constitution of the Abbé Siéyes entirely changed in the Constitution of the Year eight—Formation of the Government—Pacific Professions of Napoleon—Campaign of Italy, and celebrated battle of Marengo—Peace of the Continent by the Treaty of Luneville and with England by the Treaty of Amiens. A. D. 1799—1803.

THE events which had recently taken place at Paris, and which I have detailed to you, my son, towards the close of my preceding letter, gave rise to much speculation as to their probable results on the liberties of France. From the party of Siéyes to that of the ancient régime, the royalists of 1788, every one was eager to congratulate himself on the future practical advantages of the change which had taken place. The moderate constitutionalists hoped that a defined liberty would be established; the royalists flattered themselves with the expectation of a similar beneficial result; the mass of the people, ill-informed and desirous of repose, reckoned upon the return of order under a powerful protector; while the proscribed and the ambitious anticipated their amnesty or their elevation. During the three months that followed the singular proceedings of the 8th and 9th of November, 1799, approbation and hope were general. A *provisional* government was nominated, consisting of three consuls, Buonaparte, Siéyes, and Roger Ducos, with two

(1) *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, par A. F. Mignet.—*Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy*.—*Memoirs of Talleyrand*, vol. ii.—*Anecdotes Secrètes sur la Révolution*, et *Nouveaux Mémoires des Dérortés à la Guéme*.

legislative commissions who were charged with preparing the constitution, and an order of things which should be definitive.

On the 24th of December, 1799, the constitution of the year eight was published; and it was composed of the wreck of that of the abbé Siéyes, which was now regarded as a constitution of slavery. The government was placed in the hands of a first consul, who had for seconds two consuls with a voice in council. The senate, primarily chosen by the consuls, itself now chose from the list of national candidates the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The government alone had the initiation of laws. This put an end to the body of electors who nominated the candidates of the different lists, the tribunes of the legislators—an end of the independent tribunes, who pleaded the cause of the people before the legislative assembly—an end of the legislative assembly that emanated from the body of the nation, and which was accountable to it alone—and finally, an end of the body politic. In the place of all this there arose, under the new order of things, a consul omnipotent, having the disposal of the army and of power—a general and a dictator; a council of state destined to place itself in the front rank of usurpation; and finally, a senate of twenty-four members, whose solitary function was to abrogate the influence of the people, to choose tribunes without authority, and legislators who should be silent. The spirit of vitality passed from the nation to the government. It deserves to be remarked that, up to this period, all the constitutions had been derived from the social contract; but that subsequently, until the year 1814, they were all derived from the new-modified constitution of the abbé Siéyes.

The new government, however, was regularly installed. Napoleon was appointed first consul, but he now associated with himself as second and third consuls, Cambacérés and Le Brun. The ex-archbishop Talleyrand, and the ex-Mountainist Fouché were appointed ministers of foreign affairs and of police. Considerable objection was started to the making use of the services of the latter, but Buonaparte wished it and his voice prevailed. "We shall form," said he, "a new epoch—of what has passed, we must remember only the good, and forget the bad." In fact, he now gave himself little concern under what banner persons had hitherto served, provided they now ranged themselves under his own, and that they summoned around it the ancient supporters of royalism or the revolution.

One of the first and most popular measures of Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consular dignity, was to make proposals of peace to England. This offer was made early in the year 1800, in a letter, not written, according to etiquette, by one of his ministers to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, but addressed by him to the king himself, whose patriotic virtues he did not omit to applaud. He mentioned the necessity of peace, and the true glory derivable from it; and expressed his hope that two nations so enlightened as France and Great Britain would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. The reply to this singular document was returned by lord Grenville at the king's command, declaring that his majesty had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe, denied that he either was or had been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory, since he had only endeavoured to maintain, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects; and he added, that it would be useless to negotiate while the French seemed still to cherish those principles which had involved Europe in a long and destructive warfare. The continuation of war was therefore decided; and the consuls issued a proclamation, remarkable for its being addressed to a new class of national feelings. Hitherto France had been summoned to arms for the defence of liberty; the consuls now began to rouse it in the name of honour. "Frenchmen! you desire peace: your government desires it even more anxiously: its first wishes, its constant efforts have been for peace. The English ministry rejects our offers: the English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy, to sever France, to destroy its marine and its harbours, to blot it from the map of Europe; to degrade it to the

the inactive state of the continent too dangerous for him, he accepted the expedition to Egypt, that he might not fall into obscurity and be forgotten. On the news of the disorganization of the directory on the 18th of June, he repaired with all possible expedition to the seat of action.

His arrival excited the enthusiasm of the moderate part of the nation; he received general congratulations, and was emulously sought after by all the different parties, who were equally anxious to gain him. The generals, the directors, the deputies, even the republicans of the *Manège*, waited upon him, and sounded him. They amused him with feasts and entertainments; he appeared grave, simple, observing, and not very eager; he already possessed the familiarity of a superior, and displayed involuntary habits of command. Notwithstanding his apparent want of eagerness, and the absence of overtures, it was manifest that he entertained ulterior designs: without saying it, he allowed it to be divined: for, in order to accomplish a thing, it is necessary that it should be expected. He could not rely upon the republicans of the *Manège*, who wished neither for a stroke of state policy, nor a dictator; and as to Siéyes, his apprehension that Buonaparte would be too ambitious to enter into his constitutional views, was not without foundation. But, through the importunity of common friends, an interview at length took place, which terminated in an alliance. On the 5th of November they arranged their plan of attack against the constitution of the year three. Siéyes undertook to prepare the councils by the *commissions of inspectors*, who had an unlimited confidence in him. Buonaparte was to gain over the generals and the different bodies of troops which were stationed at Paris, and who displayed much enthusiasm and devotion for his person. They agreed to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the most moderate members of the councils; to lay before the councils a description of the public dangers; and, after exhibiting to them the menacing position of the jacobins, to demand the removal of the legislative body to St. Cloud, and the appointment of general Buonaparte to the command of the armed force, as the only man who could save the country. They then proposed, by means of the new military power, to effect the disorganization of the directory, and the momentary dissolution of the legislative body. The morning of the 8th of November was appointed for carrying this enterprise into effect.

During the three intervening days the secret was faithfully kept. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, who formed the majority of the directory, of which the last was then president, might, by anticipating the conspirators, as on the 4th of September, have disconcerted their projects. But they thought of their own hopes and not of other persons' schemes. On the morning of the 8th of November, the members of the ancients were convoked in an unusual manner by the *inspectors*; they repaired to the Tuileries, and entered on their session about seven o'clock, under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues, three of the most influential conspirators in the council, presented a most alarming picture of the public situation: they assured it that the jacobins were coming in crowds from all the departments, that they wished to re-establish the revolutionary government, and that *terror* would again desolate the republic, if the council had not the courage and the wisdom to prevent its return. Another conspirator, Regnier (de la Meurthe) proposed that the ancients, who were already giving way, should, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitution, transfer the seat of the legislative body to St. Cloud, appoint Buonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and instruct him to superintend the removal. Either the whole council was an accomplice of this manœuvre, or was struck by a real panic after so precipitate a meeting, and such alarming speeches: however this may be, it granted every thing that the conspirators required.

Buonaparte waited impatiently in his house, in the street Mont-Blanc, for the result of this discussion; he was surrounded by generals, by the commandant of the guard of the directory, Lefèvre, and three regiments of cavalry, which he was about to review. The decree of the council of ancients, which was passed at eight o'clock, was brought to him by a messenger of

state at half-past. He received the congratulations of those who formed his *cortege*, and the officers drew their swords in token of fidelity. He placed himself at their head, and they marched to the Tuileries, where he had no sooner arrived, than he repaired to the bar of the council of ancients, took the oath of fidelity, and named Lefèvre, the commandant of the directorial guard, for his lieutenant.

This, however, was only the beginning of his success; for, although he was at the head of the military power, the authority of the directory and the legislative power of the councils still existed. In the contest which must infallibly ensue, it was not clear that the grand and, until then, victorious energy of the revolution would not prevail. Siéyes and Roger Ducos proceeded from the Luxembourg to the legislative and military camp of the Tuileries, and delivered in their resignations. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, being apprized, though at a late hour, of what was passing, attempted to use their authority, and secure the protection of their guard; but the latter having, through Buonaparte, received intelligence of the decree of the ancients, refused to obey them. Barras became discouraged, sent in his resignation, and set out for his estate of Grosbois. The directory was in fact dissolved; and there was one antagonist less in the contest. The council of five hundred and Buonaparte alone remained in the field.

The decree of the council of ancients, and the proclamations of Buonaparte, were posted on the walls of Paris, the inhabitants of which experienced that agitation which always accompanies extraordinary events. The republicans felt, and not without reason, serious apprehensions for liberty. But when they manifested alarm as to the designs of Buonaparte, in whom they beheld a Cæsar or a Cromwell, they received a reply in the words of the general: "Bad parts, worn-out parts, unworthy of a man of sense, if not of an honest man. It would be sacrilegious to think of attempts against the representative government, in an age of intelligence and liberty. None but a fool would wish wantonly to lose the stake of the republic against royalty, after having supported it with some danger as well as credit." Nevertheless the importance which he assumed in his proclamations was but a bad omen! and he also reproached the directory with the situation of France in a most extraordinary manner. "What have you done," said he, "with that France which I left you so brilliant? I left you peace, I have found war: I left you victories, I have found defeats: I left you the millions of Italy, and I have found nothing but spoliation and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all of them my companions in glory? they are dead. This state of things cannot last: before three years it will lead us to despotism." It was the first time during the last ten years that one man referred every thing to himself, and demanded an account of the republic as of his own estate. One is grievously surprised at seeing a single individual, brought forward by the revolution, thus introduce himself into the inheritance so laboriously acquired by a whole people.

On the 9th of November, the members of the council repaired to St. Cloud. Thither also Siéyes and Roger Ducos accompanied Buonaparte, with the view of opposing the designs of the conspirators. Siéyes, who understood the tactics of revolutions, proposed, in order to secure the success of their scheme, that their chiefs should be provisionally arrested, and that none but the moderate party should be admitted into the councils; but Buonaparte refused to accede to this proposal; for being no party man, and having hitherto only acted and conquered with soldiers, he thought that he could move the legislative body like an army by the word of command. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the council of ancients; the Orangery for that of the five hundred. A considerable armed force surrounded the seat of the legislature, as the mob on the 2d of June surrounded the convention. The republicans assembled in groups in the gardens, and waited for the opening of the session: they were agitated with a generous indignation against the military brutality with which they were threatened, and communicated to