regiments of infantry, three of cavalry five dragoons, two hussars, and two regiments of artillery, with a park of fifty pieces of heavy artillery.

The camps near Ostend; the first division under the command of the gen. of division Oudinot, head quarters Schlikens, is composed of five regiments of infantry, one battalion of foot artillery and one regiment of flying artillery. The second division of the camp near Ostend is under the command of Gen. Friant, and contains five regiments of infantry, one battalion of foot artillery, and one regiment of flying artillery. The camp near Dunkirk contains, under the command of gen. Davoutte, twelve battalions comprising the third division of reserve attached to the camp of St. Omer. The garrison of Dunkirk consists of six thousand men, infantry, two thousand cavalry and dragoons, and three hundred artillerymen. The commander is La Bretonniere.

At Calais are quartered five thousand men of different armies; at Boulogne twelve hundred; and on the coast, from Calais to Boulogne, are encamped ten thousand men.—All these troops are under the command of gen. Soult. These troops do not include the crews belonging to the national flotilla, of which admiral Bruix is commander in chief. Admiral Verhul commands the centre, Charles Eveque the right, and Bompard the left.

The troops encamped in the isle of Walcheren under the command of gen. Monnet, consist of ten regiments of infantry, one of dragoons, three battalions of heavy artillery, and one regiment of flying artillery.

The camps at and near Utrecht contain ten regiments of infantry, French troops, and three regiments of infantry, Dutch troops; one French regiment cuirassiers, six squadrons of French dragoons or hussars, one regiment of Dutch cavalry, and four battalions of French artillerymen, with a park of forty pieces of cannon, heavy artillery, besides twenty-five pieces of light artillery.

The camp near Brest contains twelve regiments of infantry, three of cavalry nine squadrons of dragoons or hussars, three battalions of artillery, with a park of sixty pieces of cannon. Augereau is the commander in chief. Three hundred British subjects constitute his *corps des guides*. The fleet at Brest continues under the command of admiral Truguet, and Caffarelli is the maritime prefect of that town. The fleet at Isle d'Aix continues under the command of admiral Villeneuve. At Rochefort, admiral Martin is the commander.

The troops encamped in and near La Vendee are commanded by generals Gouvoin and Le Grange, and consist of eight regiments of infantry, mostly veterans, and five squadrons of light troops, besides five hundred *gens d'armes d'elite*. The head quarters are at Saintes.

The troops are every where regularly paid, and in high spirits, though they do not speak with the same boasting confidence of the conquest of England, as last year. Even wishes of peace are heard in their camps.

Letters from Italy say, that a number of ammunition waggons have passed through Rome for the army in Naples and that thirty pieces of cannon are expected from Milan, destined for the army. Numbers of persons are daily leaving Naples for Sicily, and some imprisonments have taken place. It is even said, that the private secretary of the queen has been arrested, and that her majesty intends to embark for Triest meaning to pass the summer with her daughter the Empress of Germany.

It is reported, that Gen. Jourdan will be recalled from Italy, should it be necessary to form an army upon the Rhine. Others give the command of this army to gen. Bernadotte. The command in Italy, some destine for Massena; whilst others say that general Mortier, the late commander in chief in Hanover, has already been appointed to that command.

[*La Clef des Cabinets.*]

The pope has permitted the king of Naples to give the direction of six colleges for the education of children of noblemen to the care of Jesuits. The Sicilian Jesuit, father Angelini, is recalled from Russia, to be the director of this interesting undertaking. It is said that our emperor has ordered citizen Portalis to prepare a plan for erecting one college in each senatory, where the children of the members of the legion of honor are to be educated, and where the instructors are to be of the Jesuit order, which will again be revived in France. Persons destined for clerical orders are even to be instructed by them.

(*Journal des Defenseurs.*)

THE SECRET FRENCH POLICE.

The present secret French police is founded upon the same plan as the secret German tribunals, during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the only exception, that it secretly inspects or removes obnoxious or suspected persons; whilst the tribunals secretly condemned, and secretly executed every person incurring their displeasure—In the present French system all forms are laid aside; in the other the forms were more terrible than death itself. Under the present system, persons disappear from society, to be shut up in dungeons, to be transported, or to be shot, without often knowing the cause, equally unknown by the jailor and by their executioners. It is and remains, the secret of government. Formerly the accused were summoned, tried, acquitted, or condemned; had time to prepare themselves for defence, or by flight to escape, if possible, their persecutors. Under the present system, all flight is impossible, escape avails nothing, because the agents of our police are every where in England, as in Russia, in America as in Africa, in Turkey as in the East Indies; they all possess the description (signalement) of the person persecuted; they are informed of his habits, place of resort, and have fac similes of his hand writing. Unknown to each other, these agents act in unison by their reports as by their actions. The duke of Enghein, Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, and others were watched by hundreds of agents for years, of whom not two knew each other. Louis XVIII, at Warsaw, and the Bourbons at London are yet surrounded by numerous agents unknown and invisible to them, as to each other. The transactions of the cabinets of St. Petersburgh, of Vienna, and of Berlin, are as well known to our government, as those of Madrid, Florence, Naples, St. Cloud, the Hague, or of Berne. These agents sit in the Divan at Constantinople, as in the congress of the Americans; and though their sentiments are often opposite, their services meet in the same central point. Not a sovereign, not a minister, not a statesman, not a councellor not a warrier, not a banker, not a merchant, not an author of any reputation, who is not watched by the invisible agents of our secret police, who employ the talent of preachers, as well as those of actors, to serve them; they take the advantage of the popularity of an orator in the senate, as well as the fashionable imbecility of a ballad singer in the street; they influence the decisions of privy councils in a palace; as well as the toast of faction at a public tavern. Their activity is seen in the budget of finances for a state, as well as a subscription for pic-nic or charitable institutions They indirectly decide the marriage of princes, as well as the divorces of subjects. The political, as well as the amorous intriguer, wear often their livery.—The law promulgated, the air sung, the bargain concluded, the treaty signed, the war declared, the peace proclaimed, are more than often their doings. They employ at the same time, and for the same purpose, the devotion of the Christian, and the infidelity of the Deist; the bigotry of the superstitious, and the blasphemy of the Atheist; the intolerance of the fanatic, and the indifference of the philosopher. They penetrate and plot equally in the pagods of the Hindoos, in the temples of the Chinese, in the mosques at Constantinople, in the church of St Peter at Rome, and in the grand synagogue at Amsterdam. The Royal Exchange in London, and the fish market at Paris; the diamond mines at Brazil, and the marble quarries in Laconia; the galleons at Cadiz, and the flower-hall at Naples, are equally visited and inspected by them. It is more difficult to say where they are not than where they are; what transactions escape their notice than those they influence.

Some of the agents of our secret police are paid, others are volunteers; but they all combat under the same banners; they all fight for the same cause, and they are all registered at the same office, in the same register.—Though the volunteers are more numerous than the regulars, the expence of our government for this institution amounts yearly to eighty millions of livres; a large sum, if it was not remembered, at the same time, that tributary kings and nations pay us yearly more than three times that sum; and that we owe mostly to the agents of our secret police the power we have to command such an enormous external tribute.

Foreigners, as well as Frenchman, have done Fouche the honour of cosidering him the parent of our secret police; but they are all mistaken. Its plan was proposed to our cabinet under the monarchy, but laid aside as impracticable. Talleyrand was the person who corrected and improved this plan; and our secret police may therefore, justly be called his natural child. Though our grand judge is a minister of police, Talleyrand presides in the office of the secret police, directs all its operations, rewards, promotes, disgraces, or punishes, its agents. In this place he is the first consul. Regnier, Realy, Fouche, and Hanterive, are his councellors and Desmarais is his secretary. Each of these councellors has his department in Europe as well as in Africa, in Asia as well as in America; he knows nothing more than what concerns his own department; the whole (la tout ensemble) is known to Talleyrand alone: even the female agents of his secret police are under his sole & immediate controul; and the report of Madame Stael, and of Genlis, directing their operations, is without foundation. Passions, more than money, are his means; he always employs and addresses the former; the latter is only used as an auxiliary to silence reason, or conscience, if they should murmur. (*Les Nouvelles a la Main Germinal. An. No. III.*) London.

PARIS.
THE TRIBUNATE.

The speech which Carnot made against the motion for bestowing the Imperial power upon Bonaparte was given shortly in our paper some days since: its importance induces us us to give it a verbatim.

Carnot—"Citizens tribunes, among the speakers who have preceded me, and have supported the motion of order of our colleague Curee, several have anticipated the objections to be made to it, and have answered them with as much talent as temper. They have given an example of moderation which I shall endeavour to imitate, in offering other observations which seemed to have escaped them. Because I oppose their advice, I request they may not attribute to me personal motives unworthy the character of a man entirely devoted to his country. To prevent such an imputation, I desire them to examine scrupulously my political conduct since the commencement of the revolution, and the history of my private life.

I am far from wishing to weaken the praises given to the chief consul. Did we owe no more to Bonaparte than the civil code, his name would deserve to be handed down to posterity. But, in acknowledging the services a citizen has rendered his country, reason sets bounds to the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the liberty of the pubpublic, if he has atchieved the safety of his country, would it be a reward to offer him the sacrifice of that very liberty?

From the moment it was proposed to the French people to vote on the question of making the Consulate for life, no one could have easily supposed that they were only projected to procure for it the highest protection that could be wished; no one could suppose that there remained an after thought, or foresee an ulterior object.

In fact we see rapidly succeed each other a crowd of institutions evidently monarchical; at each of them we are desired to assure uneasy minds of the safety of liberty, and to protest that these institutions are only for the preservation of liberty.

Now at last we discover in a positive manner the end of all preliminary measures.

We are called upon to pronounce on the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchical system, and of conferring the imperial hereditary dignity on the first consul.

I voted formerly against the consulate for life: I will vote still against the re-establishment of monarchy, as I think I am obliged to do so by my character of tribune;—but I still shall do so with the caution necessary to avoid reviving party spirit; I will do so without personality, without any other passion than a feeling for the public good, remaining still with the conscious pride of having made my utmost exertions in defence of the popular cause.

I again declare my readiness to submit to the existing laws, even when they displease me the most. Many a time have I been the victim of my devotion to them, and shall I now begin to follow a contrary course? I declare then in the first place, that in opposing the proposition, the moment that a new order of things shall be established, and shall have received the assent of the mass of the citizens, I will be the first to conform to it in all my actions, to give to the supreme authority all the marks of respect required by the constitutional hierarchy. May all the members of the great society, declare themselves as sincerely and as disinterestedly as I have done.

I will throw nothing into the discussion of the preference which should generally be given to such or such a system of government over such or such another. There exists on this subject volumes without number; I will limit my enquiry to a very few words, in terms the most plain and simple, of the particular cause in which circumstances has placed us.

All the arguments till this day on the re-establishment of monarchy in France, reduce themselves to this; that without it there cannot exist the means of securing the stability of the government and public tranquility; of avoiding intestine discords, of uniting against our foreign enemies; that the the republican system had been vainly tried in all ways possible, that there resulted from all efforts, only anarchy, a prolonged revolution, without end renewing itself, the perpetual fear of new disorders, and in consequence an universal and deep desire of seeing re-established the ancient hereditary government, and changing only the dynasty. It is to this I wish to answer.

I shall first observe that the the government of one person is no settled pledge of stability and tranquility, the duration of the Roman empire was not longer than that of the republic. Intestine troubles were still greater, crimes were multiplied, republican pride, heroism, and all the manly virtues, were replaced by the most ridiculous pride, the vilest adulation, the most unbounded cupidity, and the most absolute indifference to the national prosperity. What remedy would the hereditary nature of the throne apply? Was it not considered as the legitimate inheritance of the house of Augustus? Was not a Domitian the son of Vespasian, a Caligula of Germanicus, and a Commodus the son of Marcus Aurelius?

"In France, it is true the last dynasty lasted for 800 years, but were the people less vexed? What intestine dissentions? What foreign wars undertaken for pretences and rights of succession, which the alliances of that dynasty with foreign powers gave rise to? From the moment a whole nation espouses the interest of one family, it is obliged to interfere in a multidude of events, which, but for that, would be of the utmost indifference to it.

"We could not in truth, establish among us the republican regime, though we tried it under different forms, more or less democratic: but I must observe, that of all the constitutions which have successively been made without success, there is not one which was not born in the bosom of faction, and which was not the work of circumstances as imperious as they were fugitive. Hence they were all vicious—but since the 18th Brumaire, there has been an epoch, unique in the annals of the world, to meditate free from storms, to found liberty upon a solid basis, acknowledged by experience and by reason.—After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte might have chosen between the republican system and the monarchical: he could have done all he wished, he would not have met with the slightest opposition.

"The depot of liberty was confided to him; had he filled the expectation of the nation, which had deemed him alone capable of resolving the grand problem of public liberty in great states, he would have covered himself with unexampled glory.

"It is too true that before the 18th Brumaire, the state was rapidly fallen, and that absolute power drew it from the brink of the precipice; but what are we to conclude from that? What every body knows; that political bodies are subject to maladies; that can only be cured by violent remedies; that a temporary dictator is sometimes necessary to save liberty. The Romans who were so jealous of their freedom, had nevertheless acknowledged the necessity of that supreme power at intervals; but because a violent remedy has saved a sick person, are we to administer to him a violent remedy every day? The *Fabii* the *Cincinnati*, the *Cammilii*, saved the Roman liberty by absolute power—but it was because they laid down that power as soon as they could; they would have put a period to the existence of liberty by the very act of keeping that power; Cæsar was the first who wished to keep it—he fell a victim; but liberty was annihilated forever. Thus all that has been said hitherto upon absolute power, prove only the necessity of a temporary dictator in a crisis of the state, but not the necessity of a permanent and immoveable power.

"It is from the nature of their government that republics want stability; it is because being hastily begotten in the bosom of tempests, they are always stormy in their nature. One alone was the work of philosophy, organised in tranquility, and that republic exists full of wisdom and vigor. It is the confederation in American which presents us this phenomenon; and every day their prosperity receives accessions of strength which astonish other nations; thus was it reserved for the new world to teach the ancients that men may submit peaceably under the regime of liberty and equality. Yet, I dare to lay it down as a principle, that when we can establish an order of things, without having to fear the influence of factions, as the first consul could have done chiefly after the peace of Amiens, as he can do now, it is less difficult to form a republic without anarchy, than a monarchy without despotism; for how can we conceive limitation which is not illusive, in a government whose chief has all the executive power in his hands and all the patronage?

Men have spoken of institutions proper to produce this effect: but before they propose the establishment of the monarch, ought they not to have previously evinced and shewn, to those who were to vote upon the question, that similar institutions were in the order of possible things; that they are not these metaphysical abstractions with which the contrary system is reproached; hitherto nothing has been invented to temper the supreme power, but what are called intermediate or privileged corps. But is not the remedy worse than the evil;—for absolute power only takes away liberty; whereas the institutions of privileged corps take away at once liberty and equality, and though as in the old times great dignities should only be personal, we know full well that they would always finish, as the great fiefs of former times, by becoming hereditary.

"Undoubtedly there would be no hesitation in the choice of an hereditary chief were it necessary to have one. It would be absurd to draw a parallel between the first consul and and the pretenders of a family fallen into just contempt, and whose vindictive and sanguinary dispositions are but too well known. The recall of the house of Bourbon would renew the frightful scenes of revolution, and proscription would infallibly extend to the property and the person of almost all the citizens; but does the exclusion of that dynasty infer the necessity of a new one?

Do we hope by raising that new dynasty to hasten the happy event of a general peace; Would it not rather be a fresh obstacle; have we begun by ascertaining whether the other great powers of Europe would adhere to that new title? And if they do not adhere to it, shall we take up arms and compel them? And after having made the title of consul inferior to that of emperor, shall we content ourselves with being consul for foreign powers, and emperor only for the French? Was liberty then shewn to man, only that he might never enjoy it? Is it incessantly to be offered to his wishes as a fruit which cannot be touched without death? Has nature who made that liberty so pressing a desire to us, wished to treat us as a step-mother? No, I cannot consent to consider this good so universally preferred to all others, without which all others are nothing, as a simple illusion. My heart tells me that liberty is possible; that her government is easy and more stable than any arbitrary government, any oligarchy.

"Yet I repeat; always ready to sacrifice my dearest affections to the interests of our common country, I shall content myself with having poured forth once again the accents of a free mind; and my respect for the law will be the deeper, because it is the fruit of long miseries, and of the reasons which imperiously commands us to unite as a fasces against the implacable foe of all of us—that enemy ever ready to foment discord, and to whom all means are lawful provided they end to their object of universal oppression and dominion over the whole extent of the ocean—I vote against the motion.

The most detailed reply to Carnot was that of Garron Nizas, which we shall give to-morrow.

FRANCE.

In the London "Sun," of the twenty-sixth of May, is the following extract of a private letter from Paris.

"Do not imagine that the addresses of the prefects express the opinion of the departments of the people, more than the addresses of the generals, the sentiments of the officers and soldiers, concerning the hereditary imperial dignity in the Bonaparte family. No, the former, as well as the latter, have either been extorted or bought from individuals, whose ambition or cupidity will write any thing, or subscribe any thing, and who have formerly addressed Robespierre as they now do Bonaparte; and as they will do hereafter Louis XVIII. should he be restored to power. The mass of the French nation is tired of the war, and disgusted with the Revolution; but at the same time, as totally indifferent about Bonaparte, as about Moreau, or any other great man who has figured in the Revolution.

"Though they want spirit or patriotism to assert their rights, and to publish their opinions, they have sense enough to see, information enough to judge, and experience enough to know, that the return of order and tranquillity depends entirely upon the return of the Bourbons; and that neither Senatus Consulta, decrees of the Tribunates, or commanded Addresses, can ensure the rank of the Bonapartes any longer than Napoleon's life; and that those very persons, who have now been the first to proclaim the Hereditary Sovereignty in his family, will then come forward as the first pretenders to his dignity, to the exclusion of his relatives, persons foreigners in France, and who have performed nothing to be tolerated and less to be elevated for.

"Here exists a faction, which Bonaparte calls a faction of Generals, of which Massena and Macdonald are regarded as chiefs, but to which neither Jourdan, St. Cyr, Berthier, nor even Murat, are strangers. The latter, tho' related to the Bonapartes, detests, as cordially, Joseph, Lucien, and Louis Bonaparte, as Massena himself, but policy causes him to keep upon good terms with Napoleon, who in his turn, sees him without confidence, and employs him from necessity only, not knowing really to whom otherwise to trust the important place of Governour of Paris. This faction of Generals is regarded by