

The Herald.

Wednesday, November 9, 1870.

king without cause or crime, because the people will not that he should reign. Again, possession of immemorial rights which among men and nations has, until now, consecrated the just title of the holder—this has been violated with such signal audacity, and such ostentatious contempt, that no right, no prescription, no possession, can give title against those who can back their aspirations by sufficient violence. Lastly, a principle of profound deception has been sanctioned in a Plebiscite, freely exercised in the midst of an invading army. This is pregnant with a future. The principle that a disaffected minority encouraged by sedition, acting secretly from without, and supported by a foreign invasion, may renounce its allegiance and depose its legitimate sovereign, has been installed among the axioms of political justice and of public morality. I will not pursue this subject. On the head of the public writers who, day by day, have glorified these principles, because they were of use to pull down the Pope, shall rest the undivided responsibility of this Gospel of Rebellion. They have preached it loudly, confidently, and scornfully; and wherever the English tongue is known these words have gone out to the uttermost ends of the earth. But there are ears listening, and eyes reading not far off, to whom this Gospel is glad tidings indeed. They are learning it well, and the teachers of these things must answer, and I fear pay for it. If I were to have spoken a title of what they have written, I should be accused of sowing sedition with both my hands.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS.

The Dublin Freeman says, "Intelligence from the capital, since it has been proclaimed in a state of siege, has been extremely difficult to obtain, and owing to the long and devious routes by which despatches are forwarded, when they can be got at, the news is necessarily old. Still the city is not wholly cut off from communication with the outer world, which is kept up by means of balloons and such underground telegraphs as are capable of being utilized. A balloon mail service has been organized with a regular tariff of charges for the transmission of letters of a certain weight and size. The journey is uncertain and the risk great, but many have been found willing to undertake it, and as a proof of the success which has attended the enterprise, only one balloon out of half a dozen or more has been brought down by German bullets. Balloon postal cards, very much resembling our own halpenny postal cards, have been brought into use. But for these balloons we should probably have no news from the interior of Paris, which would be to us as a city of the dead.

Strongly fortified within and without, garrisoned by a brave and chivalrous people, who, knowing that the honor of France is in their keeping, have staked their lives upon the cast, and will stand the hazard of the die," sternly girded for the fight and determined to hold out to the bitter end while an ounce of powder or a loaf remains, with a spirit of heroic resistance animating the entire population, at least Paris shows an united front to the enemy. Even if ultimate victory does not reward their heroic devotion, its gallant defenders will have earned fresh renown for the Queen City, in sustaining a siege which will doubtless come to be regarded as one of the most remarkable in history, the crowning struggle in a war of gigantic dimensions. The rumors of disturbances within the city have been proved to have been wholly destitute of any foundation in fact; on the contrary, reliable testimony has been borne by independent witnesses to the order which everywhere reigns, and the determination of all parties to hush their animosities until after the departure of the Prussians. An inner line of defence has been formed of barricades, so that if the worst should come, the people will take to street fighting, and stand their ground to the very last. Everything, in fact, that practical science and forethought could do to render the preparations for the siege, when once it became inevitable, was done by the Government of the National Defence. On the other hand, the besiegers have immense difficulties to contend with, and that they are being strangled, is a consideration plain from what has occurred recently. The threat attributed to Count Bismarck of burning the town should it hold out longer than a month rather than the German troops should have to endure the rigors of a severe winter before its walls, may be only so much tall talk, or may indicate a serious design (after Bazailles and Strasburg) one could not expect much humanity or respect for the treasures of art from the Germans), but at all events it clearly shows that the difficulties have already made themselves apparent. The German troops are cut up from the hardships of a severe campaign; that sickness rages in their ranks to a fearful extent we know, although they have taken some pains to conceal the ravages which it made on the march; without the shelter of tents they have to look forward to encountering very trying weather, for in Paris fine weather seldom lasts beyond September, and October is very often a wet raw month. They are in the heart of a country where every man is bitterly hostile to them. They have got to take a large city that they would take a million of men to effectively surround with troops, and they are opposed to an army consisting of a large number of trained soldiers who have seen action, and a host of fresh vigorous levies well drilled, animated with the best possible spirits, and becoming daily more inured to war.

The blockading troops are for the most part posted on the heights of Chantillon, Meudon, and St. Cloud, commanding Forts D'Issy and De Vanvres, and quite within the range of their guns. They are, however, screened from the fire of the forts by a succession of woods and gardens which stretch all the way along above Clamart, Meudon, and St. Cloud to the neighbourhood of Fort Mont Valerian. They have been attempting to establish lines of circumvallation, but are narrowly watched by the French troops from the new ramparts, which are only about two miles and a half distant from the German positions. In the recent engagements the enemy have sustained considerable losses without

gaining much advantage, while the French have successfully performed important reconnoitring movements. Still there is no disguising that the position of affairs is critical for the defenders of Paris. Official advices from the Prussian headquarters report that the preparations for a regular attack on the fortifications and shelling of the city are completed. We still, however, cling to the hope that such a misfortune to France and disgrace to Germany will be spared."

According to intelligence received by the Telegraph from its special correspondent, those within the beleaguered city are beginning for the first time to feel the stern realities of the siege. Provisions are daily rising in price and deteriorating in quality. The spirits of the population are depressed by the sense of their utter isolation from the outer world. The hopes of foreign intervention are dying away. The conviction that France in arms has been marching to the rescue of the capital has been rudely shaken, and the dreary suspense of waiting is felt to be so intolerable that even any unsuccessful sortie would be welcomed as a relief to the dull monotony of the investment. The correspondent says—"The provisions stored in Paris, some say are for one, some for two, some for three months. My private impression is that before three weeks have flown we shall not lack very distinct indications from Belleville, Aubervilliers, and La Batignolles that famine is upon us. Be it not forgotten that labor and its concomitant wages are dead in this metropolis. The poor are poorer than ever, for those who live by honest toil can find no work to do, and those who pick up the thousand unconsidered trifles or perform the numberless odd jobs of a great capital are at their wits' end. Chill penny and covetous hunger loom up daily before us like a grim Frankenstein. Even if Paris held stoutly out after the fashion of Toule and Strasburg, what hope has she of being able to resist Bismarck's terms when hunger lays her at her conqueror's feet?"

As for the provinces, I have no longer the slightest faith in the cry that the rest of France is rising like one man. The ideal army of Lyons is now said to have dwindled to two or three regiments, and I shall not be suspected of hardiheartness to France if I deny the probability of any army being formed and organized to the south of the Loire which is in the least likely to exercise any influence upon the siege of Paris. I can come to no other conclusion than that Paris will have to fight the battle out by and for herself. If, as I fully expect, the Prussians are satisfied to close every avenue leading into or out of the doomed city, what matters it whether we are three weeks or three months in learning that we have not a choice but sooner or later to accept M. Bismarck's terms? In the meantime Paris is being starved, and empty of private carriages to such a degree as no one who knows the gay and thoughtless capital in its ordinary lightsome garb could imagine possible. There is only one journal, the Combat, the new-born organ of M. Peter Pyat, which demands that the restaurants and cafes shall be forcibly closed, and that all the citizens and citizenesses in Paris shall take their seats on terms of perfect equality at long public tables where food shall be served out to them at so much per head for those who can afford to pay, and for nothing to those who are starving and penniless. If I mistake not, it will be found that Count Bismarck spoke the truth when he told the various gentlemen whom he has spoken to on this subject that the Prussians had no intention of knocking their heads against the walls of Paris, when sooner or later it was certain that famine would do the Prussian work without the sacrifice of a single Prussian life. We are gradually being strangled."

PARIS AS SEEN BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE TELEGRAPH.—General Schloeb, like most Bavarian officers, was very kind in the long run, and gave us leave to go in single file, one by one, to the ridge, where stands a little summer-house, surrounded by trees, like a small pagoda, or Swiss cottage—a Parisian gazebo, in fact. Mr. Landells and I went first, and at the far edge of the wood, where an avenue has been erected, we looked over Paris lay at our feet in marvellous beauty. We were engaged in making out places through our glasses when from Montrouge flew out a puff of smoke and two bangs, which came close together when a shell is fired at and bursts in a line with you, warned us that either the French were keeping a very bright lookout, or that they saw something else disagreeably close to us to vex them, but the explosion and fragments were quite near enough to serve as a notice to quit, and we retreated to the tower, but not before we had a good look all over Paris from Mont Parasse, Pere la Chaise, Notre Dame, the Invalides, with its newly-gilt dome, the Tuileries, Pantheon, to the Arc de Triomphe, and could see the people and soldiers inside the works, and in the streets behind Issy. Our other friend and Dr. Hassel appeared, guided by Captain Brix-Forsler, of the Staff, and we mounted the tower, or gazebo, which consisted of several stories, with glass windows, and had many traces of occupancy by French soldiers, and at every stage the view of the city became more beautiful and entrancing, for it was a sunny, though not a very clear day, owing to the dust raised by a strong east wind. This same wind induced the French to send up a balloon—some say Godard's—which was captured by the Prussians, with important despatches, but how or where I do not know. I do not suppose there was a chase and combat in the sky. Words cannot describe the charm of the spectacle. As I was peering through my glasses at the salient of Vanvres an officer with a glass to his eye standing on the embrasure and giving directions to the gunners. He was looking through his spates in the ditch below, and looked up too. My companions had already descended, and when I got down I told them what was occurring, and just as I was speaking the report was heard, the shell burst in the wood on the left, and I do not hesitate to say I kept close to the tower as it came along, and in another second bang again, and the iron fragments hummed through the air

beyond. The Bavarian officer standing by the tower explained the position and told of the forts, related how surprising the sight of Paris was at night, and then cautioned us to walk singly about 100 yards apart, proceeded from the shelter of the little plantation towards the fort. Whiz came a round shot, this time right over the work. "The French are waking up," he said. "They have had their dinner and are in good spirits." Dr. Hassel went next, and as he turned towards a covered way a shell, which seemed to my somewhat tutored ear to be making right at the top of my head came from Vanvres or Montrouge, and so I politely bowed to give it free way, and was glad that it went on its way rejoicing, and burst down among the vines on the far slope of the hill. The interior of the redoubt was well worth the trouble, and presented a scene of such activity that before this letter reaches you the French may fire away to their hearts' content, but cannot hurt it. The fosse is broad and deep, with fine sharp and counterscarp—palisades in the bottom—and the casemates and bomb-proofs give promise of fine construction. But Paris—that was the sight of all! And to see it thus.

THE WAR.

"Count Bismarck's terms for an armistice," says the Dublin Freeman, "were such as no Government dare propose to a nation with a heart to feel and courage to make that feeling known. When negotiations for a temporary cessation of hostilities fail, there is no hope of a permanent peace. And so France, in all her difficulty, has girded herself up to combat Germany, in all her strength. But there is hope yet for the French Eagle. It is true that Toule has surrendered, that Strasburg has fallen; but Metz still holds out, Phalsburg is almost untouched, Verdun is far from exhausted, and Metziers has not yet been invested. The great cities are free from the taint of invasion. Lyons and Orleans must be taken, and Rouen must fall, ere yet the Germans can rest in singleness of purpose before the walls of Paris. In fact the military occupation of France must be an accomplished fact before the Prussian King can look on the great siege as his final effort. We dare not faintly hope that an army will now meet him in the field. There seems no ground for supposing that such an opposition is contemplated. But winter drove a greater conqueror than King William from a city already taken, and brought disaster on a campaign which had been signalled by some of the greatest victories in universal history. The German armies are composed of the broad-winners of Germany. The nation must be utterly wasted by the worst of all foes, inaction, if the present hosts winter in France. Besides, there is a deal of misapprehension, as to their real position. In addition to their gigantic work in the country, the Germans are some miles from the walls of Paris, at that point where they are strongest. The skirmishes of the 19th and 20th were in opposition to the German line of siege. This has now ceased. General Trochu has ordered all the troops back to the city. He clearly means a line of defence only. A moment's consideration will show the prudence of this measure.

It were quite hopeless to try to dislodge the enemy with anything like permanent success. Men are wanting, but every advance can be checked by fire and sortie. This is far the safer plan. It means little or no French loss and incessant harassing of the enemy. In such engagements as have taken place the French have been altogether successful. On the 22nd they took nine guns, twelve mitrailleurs, and put 12,000 men hors du combat. No misrepresentations can now be put upon the French people. They stand in presence of the naked truth. The published accounts of the engagements outside Paris are reliable, and so far they favor the French cause. The people of Paris have had noble examples in this disastrous contest. Strasburg, fallen at last, and Metz still in arms, are tantamount in men's admiration to permit a faint resistance in the capital. Union has succumbed to sheer force. Trochu, at worst, can never be as formidable as the defender of Strasburg. A handful of people must shrink where half a million of grown men would be mighty. From all sides we learn that arms daily find their way to the capital; and although no army is spoken of we believe time and Trochu will do much to make the Germans repent that Bismarck rejected all attempts at peace. A nation like France is not put down swiftly. There are many Urichs in the army; and there is a greater than Strasburg in France. The light is not now for this regime or that; it is for the bare life—for French honor and French existence. Let Trochu, with his comparatively immense resources, but prove true to his command, and the haughty conqueror who has inexorably refused peace may in turn become the suppliant and rejected.

PRUSSIA.

An Englishman at the German Head Quarters writes to the Telegraph an account of a recent interview with Count Bismarck. He says, within the last few days, Bismarck has been officially visited by Mr. Malet, the Second Secretary of the Legation in Paris, who came on a mission from Lord Lyons. Mr. Malet came to ask on what terms the German Government would consent to make peace, and also whether it would enter into any direct communication with M. Jules Favre. The Count answered in a friendly tone, but very summarily and decidedly. We do not want money, he said; we are rich and we do not care about large indemnities. We do not want ships, Germany not being at present a naval power, nor having any especial naval objects in view; but we know very well that we shall leave behind us in France an undying legacy of hate, and that, happen what may just now, France will, at once, go into training. For that reason she looks forward to a day when, without an Emperor to keep her in check, and without the effete feebleness and wastefulness which the Imperial regime has brought upon her, she may wreak vengeance on Germany. Accordingly, what we now insist upon is, that we shall have Metz and Strasburg. We do not care to have them dismantled, but as they are, and as they

are we shall keep them for a bulwark against French invasion, making them stronger than ever they were. We do not want ships, but Metz and Strasburg we must have. As for knocking our heads against Paris, we don't do it. That is not our plan. We have seventy thousand cavalry, and we will starve Paris out, by cutting her railways and cutting off all communication. All this is clear enough, but in some respects the most important and instructive part of the Count's remarks came towards the end of the conversation. He assumed that Prussia would gain all her objects, treating the acquisition of Metz and Strasburg as a fact accomplished; but he added, "What I now fear is the effect of a Republic in France, upon Germany itself. That is what the King and I most fear, for no one knows so well as we do what has been the influence of American Republicanism in Germany." The Count evidently alluded not only to the theoretical tendencies of the Germans, but to the effect of communications from those of the Fatherland who colonized the United States, and became thus naturalized to republicanism. "If," he continued, speaking of the French, "they fight us with a propagandist republic, they will do us far more harm than they can do us by force of arms."

Count Bismarck's fears, as expressed above, have already shown themselves in their full activity. Free utterance of opinion in Prussia, is dangerous at the present moment, it never was a very safe proceeding, even in peaceful times, but now the pious Monarch, who has been wading through human blood to the chin, for the accomplishment of his theories, all the while banking Heaven for the luxury thus afforded him, will not allow a syllable to be uttered by a subject in contradiction of his views. What, asks the Spectator, is the Prussian home administration thinking of? Here is the celebrated old Democrat, Herr Jacoby, who was so often elected by Berlin, arrested at Konigsberg, and imprisoned "by order," it is said, "of the Council of War," whatever that may be, for a most sensible and temperate statement of the reasons against the forcible annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, contrary to the will of the people of these provinces. Herr Jacoby had asked whether the people of Alsace and Lorraine are more "soulless chattels, of whom we may take possession without any form or ceremony," carrying the Konigsberg meeting unopposed with him, and by way of reply he is himself thrown into prison. Apart from the tyranny and injustice of this policy, it is possible that the Prussian Government is not sensible of the enormous advantage to be gained by its victories that for the future it may afford to let the ultra-Liberals talk as they please, without wading them into a solid danger, we fear, of Herr Jacoby finding many enthusiastic crowds of German listeners, if he were allowed to say what he likes on behalf of the freedom of Alsace and Lorraine. But these are dangers that if these petty tyrannies are pursued, and if these petty tyrannies return, and return at a time when the Prussian Government, no longer clothed in the halo of great victories, will be compelled to fear for its own power.

It seems, says the Manchester Guardian, that the rulers of Prussia not only are unable to hear with patience the warnings and restraints of foreign opinion against their impudent policy of imposing extravagant humiliation on France, but they think it consistent with right to silence the voice of political morality and prudence in their own country, by the exercise of an instrument substantially equivalent to that of a veto. Under the old regime the divine right, this is carrying Mr. Lowe's already extravagant doctrine of the duty of non-resistance to a still more extreme. Not only must neighbors abstain from discussing the question of moral right raised by projects of aggression and acquisition lest they give offence, but the utterance of independent opinion among important political sections within the country, must be suppressed by the police lest it weaken the arm of the Government in carrying out the designs upon which it is intent. We see in this practical avowal a sign of exceedingly poor promise for the justice and enlightenment of the influence which we are told, are about to prevail in Europe; and we hope, rather than fear, that we may all discern in it a bad augury for the tranquility and contentment of Germany, under the arbitrary sway of a Government by whom such principles are avowed.

THE IMPERTURBABLE STRATEGIST.—Reminders find their way through private correspondence and otherwise of increased impatience on the part of the Crown Prince of Prussia to have the sanguinary combat brought to close. Even the hard and arbitrary nature of his father is said to have wined and dined on the last and greatest occasion of his "wonderful luck." An eye-witness of the scene has described him during the latter part of the day at Sedan as greatly agitated by the spectacle of horror around him. As the doomed host gave way, Bismarck rubbed his hands and muttered a few words of exultation. The veteran Moltke, seated on a camp stool with a map of the game on his knees, remained wholly absorbed in the execution of his plans and the success of his combinations, occasionally speaking, as if to himself, when a wreath of smoke hung longer than usual over a distant bend of the hills "they must have come up by this time," in allusion to some column or squadron which had its orders in the morning to be at a given point by a given hour. And it looked, in the words of him who watched the imperturbable strategist gazing at his chart of destiny, as if he were some prophetic watch, the slow unzipping of the fate he had foreknown. Moltke's presence and premeditation have come to be regarded with a sort of wonder and awe among the legions whom he and he alone has moved at will on the stupendous chessboard. The King, who has perhaps seen more of him during the last two months than any other person, is completely enthralled by his influence, and implicitly carries out his smallest bidding. But it is understood that in political matters the General does not interfere.—Manchester Guardian correspondent.

The announcement in Paris of the fall of Metz, and of the propositions for an armistice, furnished the Reds with an occasion for a demonstration, which they made quite formidable and for several hours held the city of Metz, with many members of the Committee of Safety as prisoners. The mob was at length dispersed by the soldiers.

The surrender of the French Emperor and the whole of his army at Sedan, has had its counterpart in the capitulation of Bazaine, and his army at Metz. Both facts astounded the world, and both are almost equally inexplicable. A strange fatality seems to have hung over everything connected with the unfortunate Emperor. He himself left the scene with less of dignity than the world was inclined to give him credit for. His Generals have done nothing worthy of the estimation in which they were held. The unaccountable strategy of one disposed of a gallant army, and the equally unaccountable tactics of another delivered over the strongest fortress of France, and a numerous army to the enemy. How to account for such disasters without going out of the common range of causes, we know not; they are facts without precedents in the history of wars. Accounts of Bazaine's surrender inform us that his army comprised three Marshalls of France, sixty-three Generals, six thousand officers, and one hundred and seventy-three thousand troops—making in all a force somewhat superior to the army of the Prussians. Allowing for the effects of famine which we are told was beginning to make itself severely felt around Metz, it is still to us a matter of wonder, how an army equal in numbers to that of the besieger, could not cut its way out by some means. French disasters have been accounted for by the huge masses of men that were opposed to them. The French were overwhelmed, we were told, but in every conflict their enemies were as five to one. Here, however, at Metz, where their foes were in somewhat equal number, the same dreary tale of disaster has to be repeated. Allowing further, for the demoralization of the French troops in the latter days of the blockade, why, it can be asked, was this disorganization allowed to set in? With forces so nearly balanced, a willing and experienced leader could surely have broken the line which girt him in, and made good his escape. Bazaine surrendered the army and fortifications of Metz—called by Napoleon "the bulwark of France"—on the same conditions as the Emperor had asked for himself at Sedan, after which he drove off in his carriage to join his imperial master in captivity. It may be that the brave Marshal will have something to say to all this—some explanations to make which will change the complexion of the case; but as the transaction reaches us now, it wears a startling aspect of suspicion.

We cannot, therefore, wonder at the Provisional Government of France denouncing Bazaine as a traitor. Naturally enough, also, the other Generals of the Empire who still retain commands throw them up. The suspicion of being accomplices of the "man of Sedan," rests upon all of them. Whether, when cleared of the growths of Imperialism, France may not yet put forth a vigor which will drive back her invaders, remains to be seen. Gambetta tells the people "that there exists one thing which neither can nor will capitulate, that is the French Republic." We trust that no more capitulations are in store for the French people. They have been within the last few months subjected to enough of them to satisfy any reasonable enemy, though not the praying monarch or his arrogant minister. Some have surmised that Bazaine gave up Metz in order to facilitate peace negotiations. The very opposite effect is likely to follow. The people exasperated by the treacheries to which they believe they have been subjected, will naturally fall back on the belief, that when led by able men and true, they are yet able to grapple with their misfortunes and retrieve the situation. For the sake of France and the generous French people, we trust such will yet be the case. Paris has in General Trochu, an able defender, and one who understands his countrymen well. Had his voice been listened to, France might not today be mourning over the great disasters which have overtaken her. The Ruler of France heeded him not. His action may now convince that ex-Ruler, that he acted unwisely when he did so.

LAST Saturday's Patriot sets up pretensions to logical science. He heads his leader with a logical term, misquoted and misapplied. Logicians call a certain species of sophism reasoning in, not within a circle. An example will show best what the term imports, and a glance at the argument in last Saturday's Patriot will show the misapplication of the term. Anyone who would seek to prove that the Patriot was stupid because it was edited by Mr. Laird, and again, that Mr. Laird was stupid because he edited the Patriot, would be said to argue in a circle. With respect to the argument itself, it was adopted, as we said, at the time, from the Units Catholicus, of Turin, and it also appeared in the London Tablet. The conductors of these journals possess such intelligence, that we would far prefer the most ordinary dictates of their common sense to the most recondite utterances of Mr. Laird's logic. The Patriot further says, that he cannot understand a newspaper supporting liberal principles and progress, yet protesting against Liberalism. We never imagined he could.

LOSS OF THE CAMBRIA.—The following is a summary of McGartland's narrative of the loss of this ship:—The voyage from New York was generally fortunate notwithstanding unpleasant weather prevailed most of the time, until the night of Wednesday, the 19th, between 10 and 11 o'clock. The Cambria was then under sail and steaming rapidly. Suddenly, when all was apparently going well, she struck on Instraill Island, a small rocky island, ten miles west of Donegal and thirty west of Londonderry. The vessel instantly began to fill through large holes stove in the bottom, and the fires were soon extinguished. It became evident that the steamer was hopelessly lost, and efforts were therefore directed to save the lives of the passengers, who were massed upon the deck. Four boats were crowded with passengers and launched and put off from the sinking steamer. McGartland entered one of these, and he saw the gunwale of the boat, which had righted. He succeeded in getting in the boat, the weather was very heavy, and he thinks there is no doubt that all the boats were swamped, and that he is the only survivor. Almost instantly upon getting into the boat, it capsized and he lost all consciousness. On reviving he found himself in the sea, grasping the gunwale of the boat, which had righted. He succeeded in getting in the boat, the weather was very heavy, and he thinks there is no doubt that all the boats were swamped, and that he is the only survivor. Almost instantly upon getting into the boat, it capsized and he lost all consciousness. On reviving he found himself in the sea, grasping the gunwale of the boat, which had righted. He succeeded in getting in the boat, the weather was very heavy, and he thinks there is no doubt that all the boats were swamped, and that he is the only survivor. Almost instantly upon getting into the boat, it capsized and he lost all consciousness. 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