

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

The *Constitutionnel* says that a *Te Deum* is to be sung at the Cathedral of Notre Dame for the result of the vote on the *plebisite*, and preparations have been already commenced in the sacred edifice for the purpose. The planks and coverings of the grand entrance have been removed, and the sculptures are now exposed to view. The upper part of the front of the building is to be covered with hangings. Inside a rich dais is to be erected near the choir, and under it will be placed the prie-dieu and chair of the President of the Republic. At each side seats are to be reserved for the constitutional bodies.

A considerable number of operatives and artists are occupied in repairing and decorating the apartments of the Palace of the Tuilleries, which have until now remained in the same condition they were in immediately after the 24th February, 1848. It is stated that festivities on a large and splendid scale will be given there next month; and, as a matter of course, the President of the Republic will before long establish his residence there.

A shrewd Scotchman, who has been long settled in Paris as an extensive general merchant and chemical manufacturer, says, in a letter to a friend in this country,—"We have all great hopes for the future from the 'grand coup d'état' of the 2d, and hope it may induce you to come over next year. Trade is augmented very much, and every sort of shares has risen; and there can be no doubt of the future prosperity of France, freed as it now is from the incubus of Socialism."

STATE OF PARIS.—During the past week the streets of Paris have been crowded in all directions with promenaders, and in some parts the passages were nearly blocked up. The shopkeepers, who had been complaining for some time, now admit that a notable improvement has taken place. The manufacturers also appear in good spirits; many of them are compelled, in order to supply their numerous and increasing customers, to make their men work after hours, and, generally speaking, they all anticipate a more than usually long and profitable season.

The *Emancipation* of Brussels says:—"The French government receives numerous adhesions every day. Amongst the important men who have abandoned their old ideas to support the new government, is cited the Duke Pasquier, ex-President of the Chamber of Peers, and one of the political lights of France."

BELGIUM.

Some diplomatic notes have been exchanged between France and Belgium, and there was reason to fear at one time that the relations would cease to be friendly; but everything is again in a fair train. The French government, it seems, was offended at the too great attentions paid by M. Rogier, the Belgian minister, to M. Victor Hugo and some other refugees; but assurances have been given that no facilities shall be afforded to them to plot against the French government; and that if they should do this, or attempt by means of the press in Belgium to attack Louis Napoleon, they shall be immediately ordered out of the country. The Belgian minister in Paris has had a long interview with M. Turgot, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and everything indicates that there will be no interruption of friendly relations with Belgium. The conduct of King Leopold has been such as to command respect. He does not attempt to conceal his sympathy for the Orleans family, but he frankly accepts the new position of things in France. It is even said that when it was intimated that M. Thiers was coming to Brussels, he expressed a hope that in the present state of things the ex-Minister would not solicit an interview.

SPAIN.

The Royal Infanta was christened on the 21st, and received the names of Isabella, Maria, Christina Dominica, &c.

ITALY.

AFFAIRS OF ROME.—Letters from Rome of Dec. 20th mention that the demagogues had placarded a revolutionary proclamation published by their clandestine press, in which they invite the brethren and friends of Rome and Italy to fly to France to succour the threatened Republic and the holy cause of liberty. They add, that Hungary and Poland are sending numerous battalions for the support of Socialism; that all "the peoples" are "solidaire," and that they must not remain with their arms folded in presence of the noble efforts of the French democrats; that would be the crime of treason against humanity. The author of this revolutionary appeal, placarded during the night, and removed early in the morning by the police, is suspected to be a certain Petrocchi, a young student at the University. He has, at all events, quitted Rome, or withdrawn himself from the search of the police. It appears that his father, the advocate Petrocchi, who was under arrest in consequence of complicity in the revolutionary plots, had also quitted his residence. This disobedience to the orders of authority renders him liable to six years of imprisonment, if he is apprehended. The police on the evening of Dec. 19th, surprised a certain number of demagogues at the *café* of the Teatro Valle. All persons found in the establishment were searched. Five individuals, who had about them revolutionary writings or compromising correspondence, were placed under arrest.

LEGHORN, Dec. 20.—Henry Stratford Canning, his brother Edward Stratford, and Lord Aldborough, have had the sentence of death commuted to ten years' imprisonment for the former, and six years for the latter. Charles Stratford has been set at liberty.

AUSTRIA.

It is said that the Austrian government intends to take advantage of the French *coup d'état* to carry

out its project of a reduction of the army to a large extent; and will thus set the example to other countries whose finances are more or less impaired by great military establishments, although not to the same extent as those of Austria. The Austrian Government hopes, by reducing its army, and by the daily-increasing resources derived from Hungary, which yields to the revenue ten times what it did four years ago, when the nobles contributed scarcely anything to the expenses of the state, to bring itself round. It has been resolved, however, to try a foreign loan—for the Rothschilds are of opinion, that, as the danger of 1852 is passed, Austria may raise money by loan abroad to meet her most pressing exigencies. One good sign in Austria is, that the depreciation of the paper-money is much less than it was a month ago.

It is rumored that the digest, which the Cabinet and the Reichsrath have been so long digesting, will soon appear, accompanied by an Imperial manifesto; but we are inclined to believe that nothing will be done until things have acquired some stability in France.

VIENNA, DEC. 24.—The *Lloyd* of to-day thus concludes an article on the French *coup d'état*:—"In a short time France and Europe at large will feel that the French President has gained a victory of which every supporter of Conservative principles on the face of the earth will be able to take advantage."

The *Times* correspondent says—"If I am not misinformed, the Emperor of Russia has unequivocally expressed his approbation of Louis Napoleon's recent conduct by sending him an order which is usually only given to Sovereigns, that of St. Andrew."

A general improvement in commercial matters seems to have taken place in France, as unusually large orders have been received from Paris and Lyons for fine wool and raw Italian silk.

PRUSSIA.

BERLIN, DEC. 26.—The *Prussian Times* states that the difference respecting the boundary lines between the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig was likely to be referred to an arbitration of some Governments not concerned in the question, and that the election will be from the three Governments of Naples, Portugal, and Spain.

The Austrian squadron is still cruising in the Adriatic. The Arch-Duke Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, is on board the *Venus*.

SWITZERLAND.

The *St. Gallen Zeitung* states that Louis Napoleon has re-purchased the Castle of Arenenberg, in Thurgau, which was formerly the property of his mother. The sum of 200,000 francs has been paid by the President.

The *Constitutionnel* quotes the following letter, dated Bern, 22nd ult.:—

"Foreign diplomacy has been surprised by a most unexpected event. The Minister of France, Count de Reinhard, has just notified to the Federal Council, in the name of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, that if the Canton of Basle-county should carry into effect its threat to expel the French Israelites, France would not permit a single Swiss to remain on her territory after the 1st of January 1852. On receipt of this note the Federal Council met and resolved to send a Federal Commissioner to Leistal, to devise some means of avoiding the crisis that menaces Switzerland."

CONSTANTINOPLE.

M. de Lavalette has received instructions from the French Government not to interrupt his diplomatic communications with the Porte.

The Austrian press makes the following significant remarks:—"France has now less inclination and reason than ever to act in opposition to the wishes of Russia."

ALGERIA.

The *Constitutionnel* gives the following summary of the news from Algeria. The nomination of Gen. Randon to the distinguished post of Governor-General of Algeria has been well received. General Pellissier is about to take the military command of the province of Oran. The accounts from the Kabyle country are excellent. The recent organisation of the Caid at Boghni has fully succeeded. The Lieut. Beaupetre, invested with the function of Caid, had already obtained important results. It is certain that the great confederation of the Zouaouas is much shaken, and that the party in favor of submission is every day increasing. The Arabs are very calm. There is no agitation except to the south of Medeah, in the region of Sahara, into which the false Cherif Onargia, after having failed in his attempts on Tougourt and in the Zebans, has carried his intrigues and his acts of brigandage. This impostor has made two razzias on the tribes who have submitted, but there, as at Tougourt, these disturbances will be repressed by the native forces. The decree just published by the *Moniteur* will produce the best effect in Algeria. It will facilitate the payment by the debtors to the State of the amounts due for the concession of domainial land, and release certain colonists from arrears which they were unable to pay.

INDIA AND CHINA.

BOMBAY, DEC. 3.—A new riot has taken place among the Mussulmans at Bombay, but tranquility is now restored. The forces of Sir C. Campbell met with no opposition. The same is the case with the Kohat forces. The troops stationed at Mooltan had received orders to be ready for immediate service. It is reported that the reigning dynasty had abdicated the throne of China, but this rumor is considered rather premature.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND HIS POLICY.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

Sir,—I have been mixed up with French parties and French politics. Before the fall of Louis Philippe

I foresaw and predicted a catastrophe, and the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon has found me equally prepared.

I am sure that for the last three years—the English public has been singularly wrong in its estimate of facts and its anticipations of the future. The dominant ideas with it and with the press were dislike of the Republic, dread and horror of the Socialists, sympathy at first, injustice afterwards, towards the majority of the Legislative Assembly, and blindness to the character, the designs, and machinations of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The perfidy of that arch-traitor is too patent now to be denied, although there are parties who, in public and in private, from ignorance or from interest, gloss over it.

I believe that it is of the first importance to our material interests to appreciate the real nature of the present crisis, and to exert that moral force of opinion which, when justly formed and rightly exercised, is not absolutely powerless, even against half a million bayonets.

If ever a party has been hardly treated by writers of all classes in this country it is that of the modern French Republicans. They comprise a great portion of the courage and the larger part of the principle of the nation. Come what may, it will survive, and whatever nasty or despotism is fated to rule France will always have to count with it. After the opprobrium lavished upon those Republicans, what crime have they committed? Did the revolution of 1848 massacre peaceful citizens, pour volleys of musketry and grape into the mansions of the Boulevards, shoot its prisoners in cold blood, and organize a reign of terror? It did nothing of all this, for it suffered Louis Philippe to escape—it left its worst enemy, Thiers, unharmed; it abolished the punishment of death for treason, and it held out a more cordial hand to England than we had ever grasped before, or, perhaps, are likely to grasp again. Will National Guards under the new régime be permitted to fill excursion trains to London, or will another Lord Mayor and a posse of aldermen intrust themselves to the "sabre and the vote," which now reign at the Hotel de Ville? The Republic did one other act of magnanimity—struck off the proscription of the Bonapartes, for which they had rewarded it.

I do not defend the extravagancies of Socialism, but Socialists and Republicans are not convertible terms; and be the former what they may, their errors are those of imperfect reasoning, which time, the exercise of political rights, experience, and reason itself would correct. And it must not be forgotten that a market has been made of the fears of Frenchmen, and of the ignorance of Englishmen, in the denunciation of the Socialists. Was it proposed to diminish the duties on consumption, to reduce the army, to organize anything like a tax on property, to modify the harsh bankruptcy laws, to attempt a Poor Law—to imitate, in fact, that legislation which almost all parties here approve of—and the hue and cry of "Socialism" was instantly got up against the unfortunate Republicans. Had Sir Robert Peel been in the French Legislature he would certainly have been hunted down as the worst of Socialists. Socialism, in fact, has been and is at this very moment the "raw head and bloody bones" of those in power, raised to terrify the timid and the ignorant into voting away their liberties.

I do not and cannot defend the majority of the National Assembly. Their sympathies were always against the Republic—their policy to undermine and overthrow it. Louis Napoleon and they were in partnership; and from the moment of his election they combined to crush Republican feeling, to harass and oppress the Republicans themselves, and by every artifice, calumny, and violence to render them contemptible and odious. Together they planned and executed the expedition to Rome; together they consigned to beggary and ruin the primary teachers, and committed education to the Jesuits; together they degraded the University and subjected it to those same Jesuits; together they burked universal suffrage, of which they both were born, because, disgusted with their reactionary measures, the electors of Paris had given a vote against them; together they postponed the laws on the communal organization, the municipal bodies, and the National Guard, and falsified in them the elective principle; together they practised all sorts of illegalities, sanctioning the worst abuse of preventive arrests, arbitrary imprisonments, sham plots, and police conspiracies; together they displayed the grossest partiality in allowing or prohibiting the sale of journals in the streets; together they passed the law on signatures to entrap and crush the journalists; and together they kept whole departments of France in the state of siege for nearly three years on the most flimsy of pretences. Let the majority look back and ask itself for whose profit it forgot its duties, outraged justice, and violated the constitution which it invokes in vain.

I turn to Louis Napoleon. In exile and in youth a Socialist writer—a volunteer in the patriot army of Italy—a companion of the looser section of the English aristocracy—the hero of the conspiracies of Strasbourg and Boulogne—the breaker of his word to Louis Philippe—the prescriber of the Monarchy—the recalled of the Republic—he had given, indeed, few gages to order, to honor, or his country, when he became its citizen.

The Republican constitution was framed, the respective powers of the legislative and of the executive departments were distinctly and carefully defined, the subordination of the President and the duration of the Presidency were as distinctly declared; and, knowing all this, Louis Napoleon became a candidate for the office with its obligations, was elected, and solemnly swore to observe them "in the presence of God and man." On two different occasions he volunteered to renew that sacred promise, and on a third he declared in a message to the nation that he should "set his honor" on the keeping of it. Words, oaths, and honor—where are they now?

He had scarcely passed the threshold of the Elysee when he commenced his game. That game was to madden the Republicans by outrages, and to make their excesses, real or pretended, the bugbear of the timid and the servile; to hold up the Socialism that he goaded into violence in *terrorem* over the majority, and to lead it to commit itself irrevocably with the nation in its reactionary course; to make that majority believe he was indispensable to it, and France that he was equally indispensable to her. His calculation was, that in spite of the constitution he had sworn to, his re-election would be got by the majority's connivance.

But never from the first was that re-election the term of his ambition. Like his uncle, he, too, had his star, and that assured him empire. At the very time that he was practising on the credulity and fears

of the Majority, he was sapping the respect for Parliamentary government by the ignominious dismissal of the Barrot Ministry, his contemptuous Messages, "hand and will," and by bounding on the journals in his pay against all parties but himself. His progress in the departments, his bearing, his addresses were those of an Imperial Pretender—his Society of the 10th of December, an organized band of hired ruffians, were instructed to cry wherever the opportunity was possible, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and his intrigues with the army took a definite shape. Men of all opinions in the National Assembly became seriously alarmed, but were paralysed by their mutual distrust of each other, and opposed no material resistance to him.—They imagined that legality was a surer shield than it has proved.

The banquets to the sub-officers, the champagne, the toasts, and the reviews, disclosed a continuity of purpose and a determination to debauch the soldiery that opened the eyes of all. Still men could scarcely bring themselves to think that he would dare the last extremity of perjury and treason, or that the chivalry of France could be purchased by cigars and sausages. The discipline of General Neumayer probably prevented his return as Emperor from the plains of Satory.

Changarnier and his lieutenant were dismissed, and a heavy blow was struck at the Assembly. The Republicans dreaded the majority and their captain almost as much as Bonaparte, and the military power of the Parliament was annihilated.

The illegal revision of the constitution would have served the turn of Louis Napoleon, because the prolongation of the Presidency would have given him time and opportunity. The prefects did all that force and fraud could do to further the petition movement, while the bulk of the majority itself joined in it. We know their fear of Louis Napoleon's designs, and it is impossible to imagine, unless they were indeed the veriest of dolts, that this co-operation was sincere.—Either they dreamt that the revision might be turned to the profit of the Monarchy, or, knowing that the minority could legally prevent it, they hoped that they might safely conciliate the President. However that might be, it is the height of impudence to state, and of ignorance to believe, that the bulk of those who signed the petitions were Bonapartists. The movement was, in the main, monarchial.

Revision failed, and from that moment Napoleon's mind was made up. It is impossible to exaggerate the caution and the cunning which marked each step. Ministerial crises distracted the Assembly, and were meant to render it contemptible. Members in the journals of the Government defied it; reports of *coups d'états* never intended to be realized were spread, to lull into a false security, and to mask the real one when it arrived; well affected regiments were kept in Paris or were drawn to it, while those that were suspected were dragged to the provinces. Bonapartist generals and colonels made the most incendiary appeals against the people to the troops under their orders; change after change in the Ministry of War and in the command of the army of Paris conducted at last to the right instruments—reckless men, of as desperate fortunes as those of the Elysee itself; and when all was prepared, came the long expected appeal to the democracy in the bill for the restoration of universal suffrage. In spite of all warning and all entreaties, the insane leadership of Berryer and Thiers induced the majority to throw it out, though only by two doubtful votes. This decision would have been speedily reversed had Napoleon really desired it.—The rejection was his stock-in-trade of popularity, and he hastened to make the most of it. The last affront and fatal injury was done to the Assembly by tearing down from the barrack walls the declaration of right which the constitution gave it of demanding directly military force for its defence. The Questors' bill, defining this right was thrown out by the Republicans, who, placed between two enemies, decided for the moment Changarnier and the majority the most. Even now it is difficult to say what their conduct should have been, for, though the passing of the measure would have hurried on the combat, and might have prevented the surprise, it would have given a more colorable pretext for violence.

The Responsibility Bill (one of strict right and necessity) was sent down by the Council of State. It was too late. Napoleon saw that the decisive moment had arrived. If that bill was law his instruments might quail before the penalties of treason. The troops, distinctly apprised of their duties, might hesitate when the order came to violate them, and the Assembly would be too well prepared to fall before a *coup de main*. His plan was laid with consummate cunning. Abortive rumours of *coups d'état* fell thick as hail on Paris, till men scarce knew whether to dread or laugh at them; the insults of the Government journals were redoubled, and the day was fixed for the election of a representative. Before that day arrived despatches were sent to all the prefects to be prepared for a Socialist outbreak in the capital on the occasion of the declaration of the poll. Fresh regiments were concentrated in its neighborhood under the same pretence; the garrison was ordered under arms, and the military movements were on such a scale that the *National* inquired on the morning of the 1st "What dark intentions lurked behind them?"

No Socialists appeared, or had ever been expected: the day was one of profound calm; the majority congratulated itself on the triumph of order in the person of M. Devincq; night came, and Paris slept, and before it awoke on the 2nd of December the *coup d'état* was struck.

I shall say nothing of its details, nor of the horrors that have followed. They are written in blood on the memory of France. But can any man doubt, who knows her history for the last three years, that Louis Napoleon has never for one instant, ceased to conspire since the Republic admitted him a citizen—that he marched with the majority while the majority could be made his tools and might become his instruments—that he broke with it as soon as it saw through his designs, and lyingly appealed to the suffrage he had mutilated—that his Presidential reign was one long juggle with the fears of one class by goading another to despair—that he has systematically debauched the army, and effected a treacherous and bloody Revolution by paid Praetorian bands—that he has violated the most solemn, reiterated, and voluntary oaths taken to "God and man," and that he has compassed, a military despotism more debasing and debased, more universal, and more ruthless than France has ever groaned under.

Can this endure? I am not an atheist, and I answer No! The wrath of Heaven does not blast in our days Annanias with the lie upon his lips. The Christian