XXXIX

ANTECEDENTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Character of the Period comprised between 1840 and 1848. Progress of Socialistic Ideas. — The treaty of the Straits marks a sort of halting-point for Europe. During several subsequent years we see hardly any risings or insurrections. The Powers talk of peace, and order reigns in nearly every state. In England the Tories return to power (1841). Prince Metternich continues his "paternal" rule in Austria. The Tsar Nicholas devotes his energies to organizing Russia like an immense barrack, whence can issue against Europe or Asia armies which he believes invincible. Narvaez recasts for Spain a constitution more monarchical than that of 1837.

France, which nearly every year since 1830 had beheld a new Cabinet, no longer has any ministerial changes. M. Guizot, the prime minister, or President of the Council, builds up a conservative party which, convinced that everything is for the best in a social order where it monopolizes the power and honors, believes there is nothing which needs change. A sort of temporary calm is the result. The political agitations of the preceding ten years are followed by the fruitful labors of manufactures and commerce. From one end of Europe to the other nothing is to be heard but the sound of railways in process of construction and of factories which spring up and work with feverish ardor. Financial institutions of all sorts are multiplied. Wealth is accumulated and the Exchange regulates business transactions.

And yet this society with its material interests so prosperous is approaching an abyss, because its leaders in their turn believe in the immobility of the world and forget to ask whether there are not other needs which must be satisfied. While official society was content with the tranquillity which reigned in the street and the activity which showed itself in business, the two already old ideas of national and individual independence were making converts. A new idea had risen at their side in the realization that the lot of the laboring classes must be improved.

In Poland and Italy the Russian and the Austrian were still odious. In Bohemia and Hungary the new study of national history and literature revived memories of autonomy which had seemed to be long effaced. Germany dreamed of her unity and of the fatherland. Some of her princes talked about it, for the sake of rendering themselves popular. To this idea the king of Bavaria erected a Walhalla, a Pantheon of all German glories. At Berlin the head of the Hohenzollern lauded "the German country."

After the nationalists came the liberals, some of whom asked for the liberties which had been promised and others claimed the enlargement of liberties already obtained. The inhabitants of the Romagna demanded from the papal government, sometimes with threats as in 1843, a regular administration with a code of laws. Each year the Rhenish provinces expressed a strong desire for a constitution. Even in the Prussian provinces of the Vistula and the Oder liberal tendencies were displayed which caused uneasiness at Berlin. Turin printed a journal whose very title was significant, *Il Risorgimento* or the "Resurrection"; and Count Balbo published his *Speranze d'Italie* (1843). The ambitions of the French opposition party were equally modest and even more legitimate.

But in the darkness a still more formidable faction was forming, which twice already has flooded Paris with blood, made illustrious victims, laid palaces in ashes, and which will, perhaps, long continue to be the terror of Europe, unless wisdom and energy provide a remedy.

The Revolution of 1789, accomplished by and for the burgher class, seemed complete wherever royal despotism and the privileges of birth had disappeared. This double conquest, equality in the eye of the law and the free discussion of national interests, satisfied the ambition of the middle class, every man of which was accustomed to be the architect of his own fortune and asked nothing of the state except assurance of public order without interference in private affairs.

The application of steam to manual trades and the invention of hand-machines, which were first seen in France at the Exposition of 1845, led to a revolution in the mode

of manufacture and in the very constitution of labor. Small workshops disappeared and gave way to immense factories, to which the railways brought the inhabitants of the country districts in crowds. In a few years the capitals and the manufacturing or mercantile cities of both hemispheres doubled the number of their inhabitants. In the bosom of these formidable agglomerations of humanity industry was carried to a high degree by the powerful means placed at its disposal, and created great wealth and also great wretchedness.

In order to compete, it was necessary to produce much and to produce cheaply. In other words, longer days were required of the workman, but the wages were so diminished as to prevent provision against sickness or cessation of work. Hence arose hardships which the utopians, some of whom were generous souls, proposed to suppress by causing indigence to disappear, as the two great miseries of times past, domestic slavery and serfdom, had disappeared. But instead of proceeding gradually, they undertook to change everything at a stroke. Their panacea might cause a thousand evils without even healing one, because their remedies ran counter to the very nature of man and of society. A convent can exist with community of goods or a religious or charitable association depend upon the devotion of each member to the good of all. But under such conditions no regular society is constituted. The Phalansteries and the Icaria, attempted in France, Belgium, Brazil and Texas, came to a miserable end. But the ignorant populace were not deaf to formulas like the following: "Property is robbery," "Every man has a right to work, even when there is no work to be done, or money wherewith to pay for it," "Wages shall be equal, however unequal the product," "The individual must disappear in a vast solidarity wherein each man will receive according to his needs and will give according to his ability."

These socialistic reveries, which are absolutely opposed to individual liberty, the most imperious need of our days, were destined to be put into political action through the alliance of certain republicans with the new sectaries. The latter, to give realization to their dreams, desired to make the state interfere in everything. But as the government was in the hands of the burghers, the first essential was to take it away from them. The masses trouble

themselves little about political questions which they do not understand. But, listening eagerly to those who promised them prosperity, they were ready to follow on being told that "social liquidation" could be attained only with a government of their own choice. Thus socialism, born under the Restoration amid apparently harmless humanitarian utopias, gave existence to a numerous party which included all the poor, and which the logicians of '48 strengthened by decreeing universal suffrage.

This movement was not peculiar to France alone. As early as 1817 England had had the Chartists, in 1836 the Workingmen's Association, and three years later disturbances in Wales. In 1844 a central association for the welfare of workingmen was formed in Prussia, and grave troubles agitated Silesia and Bohemia. This was the beginning of that war between wages and capital, between the workingman and the employer, which was to break out with violence.

Of this subterranean ferment official society, as is often the case, saw nothing. At least it troubled itself little about an evil from which the classes, accustomed for many centuries to suffering, were now suffering. Up to the eve of February 24, 1848, it was occupied with entirely different issues, yet a few months later it found itself obliged to wage a four days' battle with 100,000 men from the poorer classes.

France from 1840 to 1846. — The history of France during these years lies far more in the obscure facts just mentioned than in those stirring events of the time which a quarter of a century had sufficed to restore to their true proportions. This was a golden age of orators. Much eloquence was expended and only small things were done. A friend of the government summed up in 1847 this policy of mere words. "What have you done with your power?" he asked the ministers. "Nothing! Nothing! Nothing!"

The national feeling had been profoundly wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot as a compensation to French pride caused the sterile rocks of the Marquesas Islands in the Pacific Ocean to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more valuable. France was on the point of seizing it when England took possession of it first. A French officer planted the flag of France upon the great oceanic island of New Caledonia. The ministry had it torn down. The

states of Honduras and Nicaragua asked for the protection of France. Hayti wished to do the same. This protection was refused and the refusal was apparently inspired by England. Though France acquired the Society Islands, her commercial interests in those regions were not great enough to necessitate an imposing establishment. The acquisition of Mayotte (1843) was a wiser operation, because that islet provided French ships a better haven than the island of Bourbon could afford them and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. At Tahiti an Englishman named Pritchard, at once consul, missionary and apothecary, stirred up the natives against France. The unworthy agent was driven from the island (1844). His complaints were listened to in Parliament, and the French Cabinet demanded from the Chambers an indemnity for the intriguer who had caused the shedding of blood. The official disavowal of Rear-Admiral Dupetit Thouars, who had tried to extend the French establishment in Oceanica, increased the public irritation. This disavowal was regarded as a humiliation before the British government. A more serious concession, made to the English, was the recognition of England's right of search for the suppression of the slave trade. This time the opposition was so vigorous throughout the land that the Chamber forced the minister to repudiate the treaty and to place the French merchant marine by fresh conventions once more under the exclusive protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

The Chamber and public opinion desired the conquest of Algeria to be completed. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who was able to inspire the Arabs with both respect and terror. Abd-el Kader was preaching a holy war and by the rapidity of his movements had spread terror through the province of Oran and even to the gates of Algiers. The emir was defeated and his family and flocks were captured. Taking refuge in Morocco he prevailed on the emperor of that country to join his cause. In reply France bombarded Tangiers and Mogador and gained the victory of Isly. The emperor was glad to sign a treaty of peace on easy conditions. France was rich enough, said her minister, to pay for her glory.

The Anglo-French alliance was of no direct advantage to France, but was supposed to assure the general tranquillity.

Louis Philippe sought above all the welfare of his family. Marrying his son, the Duke of Montpensier, to the sister of the Spanish queen, he aroused the resentment of the British, who considered that the king was seeking to render France and his dynasty preponderant in the peninsula. Alarmed at the alienation of England and the general isolation of France, the ministry made advances to Austria, and in order to win her favor sacrificed Switzerland and Italy. Switzerland wished to remodel her constitution and give more authority to the central power. Such a change would have benefited France, whose frontier would be better protected by a strong than by a divided Switzerland. But this reform, urged by the liberals, was opposed by the seven Roman Catholic cantons. M. Guizot went so far as to accept the diplomatic intervention of the foreign Powers, although that might be followed by military intervention. However, the Separatists or Sonderbund, whom he favored, were defeated in a nineteen days' campaign, and the Jesuits were expelled (November, 1847).

On the banks of the Po the Austrians had occupied Ferrara. Pope Pius IX, who was then arousing Italy from her torpor, protested and was not supported. At Milan the Austrian garrison committed outrages in February, 1848. M. Guizot contented himself with negotiations in favor of the victims. Thus France became the ally of an empire which maintained itself only by causing the various peoples which it held in servitude to oppress each other. When the opposition complained, the minister replied by pointing to the national prosperity. Popular instruction was developing, the penal code had been modified and lotteries suppressed. The law of appropriation for public purposes rendered it possible to carry on works of public utility without hindrance from private interests. Industry sprang into life and vigor, commerce extended its domain, the sea-coasts were lined with lighthouses, the public roads were improved, and the construction of a vast network of railways was decided upon. This prosperity, as often happens, gave rise to frantic speculation. The evil was of wide scope. One of the king's ministers was condemned for having sold his signature, and a peer of France for having bought it.

The elections of 1846 were carefully manipulated by the administration and gave it a majority. But among the

deputies chosen were many officials. It became evident that in the very small class of electors, who numbered only 220,000, political feeling hardly existed and that calculation was taking the place of patriotism. Electors sold their votes to deputies. The persons elected sold their support to the ministers. Thus the representative system was vitiated at its source. Hence a ministry, rejected by public opinion, was retained in power by an artificial majority. The President of the Council thought himself strong because he counted upon a Chamber made up according to his will. So he assumed a lofty tone with the parliamentary opposition, the only antagonists whom he consented to notice. He had said at the time of the elections: "All platforms will promise progress; the conservative platform alone will give it." Meanwhile he granted no concessions under the pretext that one must not allow anything to be extorted from him.

England. Free Trade. The Income Tax and the New Colonial System (1841–1849). — Such resistance was very impolitic at a moment when liberal ideas, though repressed by the governments, were everywhere springing up again. The leader of the Tories, Sir Robert Peel, had kept his ministry in office from 1841 to 1846 only by becoming more of a reformer than the Whigs. Snatching from his adversaries their own weapons, the ideas of Huskisson and Canning, he abolished the corn laws, favored free trade, and reëstablished the income tax. In this manner he destroyed what had been looked upon as the corner-stone of aristocratic power. He abolished the Navigation Act, which had served to establish the maritime greatness of his country, but which had already become a piece of warlike machinery fit only for a place among other antiquated machines. Lastly, he made the rich pay in order that the poor might live cheaply.

Centuries had been required for the parliamentary institutions of Great Britain to react upon other governments. But only a short time was necessary for Sir Robert Peel's economical revolution to issue from the island where it had its birth. Enacted in the name of the principles of free trade and applied to the greatest market of the world, it possessed a character of universal expansion. This great act, which presented such a contrast to the trivial anxieties of France, was destined accordingly to exercise a great in-

fluence over the custom-house legislation of the continent. But things are bound together. The triumph of liberty in the realm of economics necessarily paves the way for its victory in the realm of politics.

Already, under the control of these ideas, England had renounced the colonial system which modern Europe had inherited from ancient Rome and which some states still retain. She no longer sought the absolute domination of the mother country over her colonies that they, like docile slaves, might exist only for her, and toil, produce and purchase for her profit. That outworn system had cost North America to the English; South America to the Spanish and the Portuguese; and Canada and Louisiana to the French. To the new system England was led moreover by her own genius. Reserving to the mother country only the appointment of a governor, the colonies were allowed to manage their own affairs by a legislative body elected by themselves. Thus was developed the prosperity of the colonists and that of the mother country. The constitutional liberty granted to Canada was productive of marvellous progress. All the English colonies, with the exception of India and the purely military outposts, found themselves endowed with this fruitful liberty in 1849. Liberty is not only a noble thing, but is also a useful thing. Thus England could abolish some of her taxes, while in the ten years between 1832 and 1842 her commerce nearly doubled. The budget of the continental states showed a deficit, while that of England presented a surplus.

England does not like revolutions. Her government resembles a skilful pilot who always keeps an eye on the horizon to discern the great currents and steer the ship into them. So, since 1832, she escaped political storms by following the impulse of the public mind. Thus between 1822 and 1826 Huskisson's reforms were accomplished. In 1829 came Roman Catholic emancipation. In 1832 electoral reform was decreed. In 1841 the income tax was revised, not indeed as a war measure, but for the purpose of freeing from all imposts bread, beer and the raw materials which feed manufactures. In 1846 the corn laws were suppressed and free trade established. For these reasons England escaped bloodshed and revolution.

Establishment of the Constitutional System in Prussia (1847). — In the time of Voltaire and Montesquieu echoes

from the House of Commons rarely crossed the Channel and reached only a few superior men. Now, thanks to the press, they were heard everywhere and awoke and excited men's minds. In 1845 the states of Silesia, of the grand duchy of Posen and of royal Prussia demanded freedom of the press, publicity of debate and a penal code in accordance with the principles of modern legislation. The king refused everything. To those who asked for a constitution, he replied that he would never allow a sheet of paper to interpose between his people and himself. Two years later he was obliged to convoke a general Diet, although he was willing to recognize in it solely a consultative character. But the Diet claimed the right of receiving the annual account of the administration of the public debt and of deliberating upon all general laws, including taxation. At once it arrogated to itself the superintendence of the finances with legislative power. To guarantee against all surprises it declared in advance that it would recognize in no other assembly or commission, even if sprung from its own ranks, the right of exercising its functions. Thus the constitutional system was set up in Berlin. Only two great states, Austria and Russia, were left to represent unyielding opposition to the new ideas.

Liberal Agitations in Austria and Italy. — Nevertheless the general movement was invading even changeless Austria. In Styria and Carinthia, her oldest duchies, men desired reforms. In Hungary a great constitutional party was already organized. Bohemia also was in a ferment. But, as the country was divided between two hostile populations, the Germans and the Czechs, Prince Metternich was able to rely upon the one to resist the other. In 1847 he deprived the state of Bohemia of the right to vote the taxes.

His policy had just suffered a signal check on the western frontier of the empire, by the prompt defeat of the Sonderbund which he had tried to save. The victory of the Swiss liberals was only one more bad example given to the docile subjects of the Hapsburgs and did not constitute a danger. But on the other side of the Alps a storm was muttering, all the more threatening because this time the tempest came from Rome.

The disastrous attempt of the Bandiera brothers, sons of an Austrian admiral, who tried to stir up the Calabrians

in 1844, and the insurrection of Rimini in 1845, undertaken to obtain the application of the Memorandum of the Great Powers in 1831, had been the last appeals to arms on the part of the Italians. But what the propaganda of gunshots did not succeed in effecting, the propaganda of ideas brought about among that intelligent people. Gioberti, with his book, *Del primato . . . degli Italiani*, in 1843 had won over a part of the clergy to the national cause. Later on he had tried in the *Modern Jesuit* to remove the Pope from the fatal influence of "the degenerate sons of Loyola." Father Ventura, a famous preacher, exclaimed: "If the Church does not march with the age, the nations will not halt, but they will march on without the Church, outside the Church, against the Church." What pontiff would be capable of comprehending that religion must be reconciled with liberty! The Italians believed they had found such a Pope, a reformer for the universal Church and a national ruler for Italy, in Pius IX, elected in June, 1846. At the very beginning he dismissed his Swiss guard, threw open the prisons, recalled the exiles, subjected the clergy to taxation and prepared the way for reform in the civil and criminal laws. He instituted an assembly of notables, chosen by himself, but possessing only a consultative voice. He created a Council of State, restored municipal institutions to Rome, and for the first time published the budget of the papal states. The king of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed his example. Italy again revived with the double hope of regaining her political liberty and her national independence. On December 5, 1846, fires were kindled from one end of the Apennines to the other. The hundredth anniversary of a defeat of the Austrians before Genoa was being celebrated to the cry of, "Expel the barbarians!" "*Fuori i barbari!*" England, governed after June, 1846, by the Whig ministry of Lord Russell, sent the Mediterranean fleet into Sicilian waters, and Lord Minto, her ambassador, travelled all over Italy urging the princes into constitutional paths. The opposition in the French Chamber cried aloud to the Pope, "Courage, Holy Father! Courage!" But the Cabinet of the Tuileries, while favorable to administrative reforms, discouraged political reforms, so as to keep on good terms with Austria, alliance with whom seemed necessary in consequence of the Spanish marriages.

By joining in the liberal movement Austria might have restrained and guided it; but that Power was still under the fatal influence of the party, which accused "the carbonaro Mastaï" of having usurped the Holy See by intrigue, and which even dared to call him, "A Robespierre wearing the tiara." She addressed to the Pope a severe note against his reforms in June, 1847, fomented a conspiracy in Rome itself, and, contrary to all treaties, occupied the city of Ferrara in August. Cardinal Ferretti sent to Vienna an energetic protest, which was backed up by the courts of Turin and Florence, but of which M. Guizot expressed disapprobation. "Father Ventura," said Pius IX, discouraged, "France is deserting us. We are alone!" "No," replied the Theatine monk, "God is with us. Forward!"

And Italy did move forward. At the end of November the Roman Council opened. Leopold II and Charles Albert effected reforms which were equivalent to the promise of a constitution and their ministers signed with the Papal Cabinet an alliance "for the development of Italian industry and the welfare of the peoples" on November 3. The Duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were invited to adhere to the treaty. This union was a threat against Austria, to which she replied by the military occupation of Parma and Modena in December. The extremities of Italy immediately caught fire.

Three months previously an insurrection at Reggio and Messina and a disturbance in Naples had been severely put down, but promises of reform had been made. On January 12, 1848, as these reforms had not been effected, Palermo took up arms to the cry of, "Long live Pius IX." On the 16th the insurrection had mastered the whole island. On the 18th 10,000 men marched upon Naples demanding, as in 1821, a constitution. On the 28th Ferdinand II yielded; two weeks later a charter, modelled on the French charter of 1830, was promulgated at Naples, and four days afterwards at Florence, and on March 4 at Turin.

The Italian peoples were quivering with excitement, especially in the Lombardo-Venetian territory, where exasperation against the Austrian had seized even the women and children. On January 3 Austrian dragoons put to the sword groups of people in the streets of Milan. Troubles broke out in Pavia and Padua on February 8; on the 15th at Bergamo. On the 22d Marshal Radetzki proclaimed

martial law at Milan, saying to his soldiers, "The guilty efforts of fanaticism and of rebellion will be shattered upon your courage like glass upon a rock."

Almost at the same moment a revolution burst out at Paris which, seventeen days later, found its echo in Vienna. Nothing remained to Austria in Italy at the end of March except the fortresses of the quadrilateral.

The general situation of Europe at the beginning of the year 1848 indicated that the critical hour had come. After a struggle, lasting more than a generation, between the old régime and liberal ideas, the latter felt themselves strong enough to look upon their approaching triumph as sure. But was that victory to be won peaceably, by intelligent and patriotic agreement of the government and the governed, or was a blind resistance to arouse useless riots and even war, and thus open up the way for republican adventures and socialistic violence? The answer depended upon France. If she leaned to the side whither all civilized Europe was proceeding, free institutions would be peaceably established. Prussia and Austria, weakened by internal disorders, would have recoiled before France and England, united in one thought and at need in one action. The old system, like a corpse still erect though long since bereft of life, would have fallen to rise no more. Such was the grand opportunity which the French ministry then held in its hand, and which it threw away.

XL

AMERICA FROM 1815 TO 1848

American Progress. The Monroe Doctrine. Advantages of Liberty. — During all this period the New World furnished little to general history. Spanish America writhed for a long time in periodical convulsions, the fruit of a double despotism under which the political education of the citizens was impossible. Portuguese America was slowly developing her riches and her population, under the protection of a constitutional government. Canada prospered through liberty. The United States, having behind them no past to arrest their movements or excite their violence, and having before them infinite space, were engaged in expending upon nature the forces of an exuberant youth without yet turning those forces against themselves, as in the old states of the European West. Faithful to the institutions with which they had endowed themselves, they tilled the prairies, cleared the forests, and covered the Indians' hunting-grounds with cities to which flocked a population that often doubled itself in twenty years.

Not to be disturbed in this work they had used haughty language toward Europe. After having recognized in 1821 the independence of the Spanish colonies, President Monroe, in 1823, in a message to the Senate, established the principle which has remained the rule of the Cabinet at Washington in its foreign policy. "The American continents . . . are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by European powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. Any such interference would be regarded as the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit to the United States." This declaration was renewed in decided terms when the success of the French invasion of Spain aroused fear of an attempt at restoration in Buenos Ayres, Lima, or Mexico. The Old World, separated from the New by 1500 leagues of sea, dared not accept the challenge.

Nevertheless, although since the war of 1812–1815 against England, the United States had been at peace with Europe, and though the European courts received from Washington nothing but proposals for treaties of commerce or the regulation of unimportant matters, the spectacle of that nation waxing great day by day with the most liberal institutions in the world was contagious to the society of the Old Continent. Every year the latter sent across the ocean many thousands of their poor in quest of land and liberty. Every year, also, there returned engineers, merchants and politicians who had admired on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi the power of individual energy. The tales which were told concerning the greatness of the American republic encouraged the liberal party and made it desire still more to limit the rights of the state and advance the rights of the citizens.

This young republic lacked, it is true, the elegances and distinction of old societies where aristocracy has left behind something of its refined manners, of its tastes for the arts, of its sentiment of honor which is a sort of personal religion. In haste to live and to enjoy life, the Americans advanced little beyond the useful. But the useful is one of the two necessities of life. The other, the ideal, was sure to come later on with hereditary wealth and leisure. Some day they would no longer be obliged to say, "Time is money." Some day, when their soil was placed under cultivation and their railways and canals were completed, they would devote time to solitary meditation, to pure art, to theoretical science, and in a word to all the glorious but immaterial pursuits which make great peoples.

Reading this history of Europe and of the New World between 1815 and 1848, it would seem as if kings and peoples all had but one idea during those three and thirty years; as if they sought only either to destroy or to save political liberty. Nevertheless men's minds were occupied with art, poetry, science, thought, religion, and a thousand matters besides. Manufactures and commerce were in process of transformation. Useful reforms were made. The general welfare increased. Ignorance and crime were on the decrease. In short, almost everywhere there was security for property and persons. But under absolute government those great and beneficent things which they enjoyed lacked guarantees and could possess them only under constitutional

government. Civil liberty is indispensable for every citizen. Each individual needs it that he may live like a man. Political liberty, on the contrary, would be merely a luxury, necessary to a few but useless to the majority, if, like a faithful guardian of a house, it were not there for the purpose of giving warning when thieves approach and of preventing their entrance. Since its part is to assure the safety of our welfare, we must draw the inference that, the richer and happier societies are, so much the greater is the fruitful development of the active faculties and so much the more indispensable is political liberty. It is the only pledge that their welfare shall endure. For this reason it was, and deserved to be, the object of the great battle which we have sketched so rapidly.

XLI

REVOLUTION OF 1848

The victory of liberal Switzerland and of the constitutional party in Prussia, the agitation of Germany, Hungary and the Austrian duchies, the conduct of Pius IX, and the efforts of Italy to escape from the despotism of her rulers as well as from the grip of the Hapsburgs, had caused an immense sensation in France. In the legislative body the deputies of the Left Centre and of the Dynastic Left, led by MM. Thiers and Odilon Barrot, called upon the ministry to fulfil its promises. They demanded the modification of certain taxes, and electoral and parliamentary reform. The latter had been proposed in vain at each session since 1842. The ministry rejected these harmless demands and ridiculed the opposition for its ineffectual efforts to awake the country from political torpor. To this challenge the opposition replied by seventy banquets in the most important cities. These national complaints found a voice. They deplored the degradation of France, which no longer possessed its legitimate influence in Europe. They showed how the most legitimate reforms had been refused, and denounced the electoral and parliamentary corruption fostered by the government. Their demands were most moderate. They asked only the addition of 25,000 persons to the voters and that government officials should be refused membership in the Chamber.

Paris, by instinct and tradition fond of fault-finding when free from fear, was entirely devoted to the opposition. In the recent municipal elections not a single candidate of the ministry had succeeded in the richest and, consequently, the most essentially moderate quarter. A journal founded by the conservatives was unable to live. Dissatisfaction showed itself in the very heart of that party. Many influential members of the majority passed over to the opposition. Prince de Joinville openly showed his disapproval and went to Algiers in a sort of voluntary exile with his