its influence. Days were wasted in sterile debates on trivial matters.

At the same time, at Berlin, the Prussian national Assembly was holding stormy and fruitless sessions and the city itself was for months in a condition little better than anarchy. Tired of oratory and street turmoil, the Prussians were not displeased when royal decrees placed their capital under martial law and dissolved their Assembly. This failure of the Prussian Assembly at Berlin had an injurious effect upon the General Assembly at Frankfort.

Nevertheless, it patched together a constitution for the whole empire and elected as emperor Frederick William IV the king of Prussia. The constitution was at once rejected by Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover, and Frederick William in a guarded manner declined the crown. The Assembly daily dwindled away until less than a hundred delegates remained. It was removed to Stuttgart on May 30, 1849, and was finally dispersed by the police. Nothing had been gained. All things continued as they were before.

IV

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

The Plebiscites of 1851 and 1852. — A French plebiscite is an expression by universal suffrage wherein only "yes" or "no" is answered to a question submitted for decision. The constitution proposed December, 1851, was accepted and the presidential power for ten years conferred on Louis Napoleon by a plebiscite of 7,437,216 "yes" and 640,737 "no."

The decennial presidency heralded the empire. A year afterwards the Senate asked for a plebiscite on the proposition that the empire should be restored in the person of Louis Napoleon and of his descendants. The affirmative vote was 8,157,752, the negative 254,501. So the empire was solemnly proclaimed on December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon. The crowned president was speedily recognized as Napoleon III by all the courts of Europe. In the following January he married a Spanish lady of Scottish ancestry, Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba.

Worn out by the turmoils of the preceding years, indignant at the secondary rôle she had filled in Europe since 1815, France desired a strong government which would ensure tranquillity at home, and hence restore credit and develop material prosperity while at the same time making her respected abroad. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of the people were content to leave in the hands of the new "emperor of the French" a power hardly inferior to that exercised by a sultan or shah. The constitution centralized all authority in the person of its elected chief. He alone could command the army, direct public policy, decide upon war, and conclude peace. The ministers, appointed by him, were responsible only to him. They were rather his secretaries or functionaries than a cabinet. The legislative body, elected for six years, voted upon the taxes and the laws submitted to it by the Council

of State, but could of its own initiative propose nothing. The Senate consisted of 150 members, who were appointed for life by the emperor. It revised the laws voted by the legislative body and could accept or reject them as it deemed best. The Council of State was likewise named by the sovereign.

The Crimean War (1853–1856). — A famous apothegm of Napoleon III, "The empire is peace," was to be refuted by events in Eastern Europe. Since the days of Francis I and Souleïman the Magnificent, France had been the traditional ally of the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes, as under Napoleon I, such relations had been interrupted, but the sentiment none the less existed. Furthermore, France was recognized by the Ottomans as the protectress of Latin Christians in the East. So, when troubles broke out in 1853 between Russia and Turkey, — nominally over a monkish question as to the guardianship of certain holy places in Jerusalem and as to the claim of the Tsar to exercise protection over the Orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan, — Napoléon found a felicitous occasion to draw the sword.

Great Britain was above all other states interested in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. The sovereign of the French, though officially recognized, was everywhere regarded as an imperial parvenu. An alliance between him and Queen Victoria, granddaughter of George III, — the only sovereign in Europe who had persistently refused to acknowledge Napoleon I as emperor, — would dazzle the French and add a peculiar splendor to his crown. His overtures were well received. When the Ottoman fleet in the bay of Sinope was destroyed by the Russians (November 30, 1853), the French and British squadrons entered the Black Sea. A few months later, France and Great Britain signed a treaty with Turkey and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with each other.

Prussia though inactive sympathized with Russia. Austria hesitated, remembering that her endangered political existence had been preserved by Russia in 1849, and yet not unwilling that the overshadowing Muscovite Empire should receive a check. Without allying herself with the Western Powers, she demanded that the Russians should evacuate the Danubian principalities which they had occupied.

Cronstadt in the Baltic was the key of St. Petersburg.

Failing in attack upon this fortress, which the British admiral in command, Sir Charles Napier, declared was impregnable, the allies resolved to concentrate their efforts in an invasion of Russia from the south. Odessa had been successfully bombarded in April.

A French army under Marshal St. Arnaud and an English army under Lord Raglan landed at Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. The Russians, who were furthermore threatened on the west by the Austrians, evacuated the principalities and recrossed the Pruth. Austria at once occupied the abandoned provinces, promising to restore them to the Sultan on the conclusion of peace.

It was decided to attack Sebastopol, the great arsenal of Russia in the Crimea and the military centre from which she threatened the south. The city was at that time utterly unprepared to withstand a siege. On September 24 a fleet of 500 ships disembarked 30,000 French, 27,000 British, and 7000 Turks at Eupatoria, thirty miles to the north.

The operations against the beleaguered city went on under various forms for 351 days. The Russian generals, Mentshikoff, Todleben and Korniloff, strengthened the defences and resisted with Russian obstinacy. The battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman were favorable on the whole to the allies. Meanwhile St. Arnaud died and was succeeded by Marshal Canrobert, who, exhausted, gave way to General Pélissier. Lord Raglan died and was replaced by General James Simpson. The soldiers, especially the British, suffered horribly in a winter of unusual vigor. In a single storm twenty-one transports were wrecked. Piedmont, glad to make its existence remembered, sent to the assistance of the allies a little army of 18,000 well-equipped men. Together with the French they won the battle of Tchernaya (August 16), the decisive action of the campaign. By September 8 everything was ready for the final assault. The two chief defences of the city were the Malakoff and the Great Redan. The French successfully stormed the former, but the British, despite their desperate courage, were unable to capture the latter. However, the Malakoff taken, further resistance was useless, and the Russian army withdrew.

In Asia the Russian arms had been successful and they had captured the stronghold of Kars, which commanded the eastern approaches to Asia Minor.

Sebastopol was in the hands of the conquerors. To make themselves masters of it, the allies had sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 of their troops. Russia's losses were even greater. Nevertheless the utmost efforts of four Powers, assisted by the military interference of Austria, had only sufficed to reduce a fortress on the extreme southern verge of her empire. Her frontier had been touched but she had not been really invaded. The Tsar Nicholas I had died on March 2, 1855, and been succeeded by the milder and less persistent Alexander II.

The treaty was signed at Paris on March 30, 1856. It neutralized the Black Sea, guaranteed liberty of navigation in the Danube, from which it removed Russia by a slight rectification of her western frontier, and abolished the protectorate of Russia over the Danubian provinces and over her coreligionists in Turkey. Turkey was admitted to the international concert of states, and the Hatti Sherif of the Sultan, promising religious privileges to his non-Mussulman subjects, was incorporated in the treaty as a contract between him and Europe.

However gravely accepted and proclaimed, most of these conditions could be regarded only in the light of temporary accommodation. The really important achievement of the congress was its enunciation of the four following principles in international law: privateering is abolished; the neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, except contraband of war; neutral goods, except contraband of war, are exempt from capture even under an enemy's flag; a blockade to be respected must be effectual.

It was a splendid triumph for the French emperor and for France when the congress assembled at Paris to determine the conditions of peace. In the eyes of his people Napoleon III appeared to be the arbiter of the continent. The distant campaign had been attended with frightful loss in money and men, but it was forgotten in such glory as had not attended the French arms since the first Napoleon invaded Russia.

War with Austria (1859). — Piedmont, the only independent and constitutional Italian state, had won the gratitude of France and of Great Britain by her coöperation in the Crimean War. Her prime minister, Count Cavour, had taken part in the Congress of Paris and had dexterously improved the occasion to denounce the misgovernment of central and southern Italy and to arraign the Austrian occupation of Lombardy and Venice. Thereby he thrust the Italian question to the forefront of Europe. In 1858 he made a secret treaty with Napoleon, the object of which was the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula, and in January, 1859, cemented the relations of France and Piedmont by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, cousin of the emperor, to the Princess Clotilda, daughter of Victor Emmanuel.

While all Europe was considering a proposition from the British court for general disarmament, Austria committed a political blunder disastrous to herself. She addressed a note to the Piedmontese court, demanding the disarmament of their troops in the space of three days. Cavour gave a diplomatic reply, though gross provocation had come from Austria. Six days later she crossed the Ticino, this act being equivalent to a declaration of war against not only Piedmont but France. Napoleon wished to win for himself some of the military laurels his generals had gained in the Crimea, and took command in person. In his progress southward through France he was hailed with tremendous enthusiasm by the citizens, who rejoiced that their armies were again to fight the battles of Italian liberty.

The campaign was short but eventful. A main factor in determining the result was the proverbial slowness and indecision of the Austrian generals. General Forey with inferior forces defeated the enemy at Montebello (May 20). Marshal MacMahon gained a battle at Magenta (June 2), where the Austrians lost 20,000 killed and wounded and 7000 prisoners. The victors entered Milan amid a delirium of joy. Abandoning Lombardy, the Austrians concentrated 160,000 troops for a decisive action at Solferino. The French and Piedmontese forces were almost as numerous. The two emperors were in command. After a ten hours' battle the Austrians were compelled to retreat, leaving 30,000 men upon the field (June 24). Napoleon slept that night in the chamber which his imperial antagonist had occupied in the morning.

Napoleon had declared that he would free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But his position was one of extreme peril. The famous quadrilateral was still held by the enemy. Numerous reënforcements were pouring into the

Austrian camp. Prussia and the southwestern German states, dismayed at the progress of revolutionary ideas and unwilling to see France too victorious, showed a disposition to take part in the war. A proposition for an interview was made to Francis Joseph, and at Villafranca the two sovereigns signed the preliminaries of peace, afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Zurich. Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont. The sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states, but no foreign armies were to aid them in securing repossession. An Italian federation was to be formed under the presidency of the Pope. Piedmont skilfully kept herself free from entangling promises as to the future of Italy. Savoy and Nice, after a plebiscite of their inhabitants expressing the desire therefor, were annexed to France.

Material Progress (1852–1867). — These years are marked by brilliant prosperity. Under a strong and presumably stable government the people were no longer disturbed by fear of revolution and devoted themselves with ardor to every branch of activity. Whoever wished could obtain work at a fair remuneration, and capital found lucrative avenues everywhere open. Private and public enterprise covered France with a network of railroads. Highways were laid out and bridges constructed in all directions. Easier and cheaper means of communication were both a cause and result of wonderful development in manufactures and trade. Docks were constructed and harbors dug or enlarged. Great loan companies assisted labor and savings-banks sprang up to receive its earnings. Numerous chambers of commerce and agriculture were founded. Duties on grain were abolished. Sagacious commercial treaties with Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and other states favored the export of French products and introduced foreign products at cheaper rates. In thirteen years the exports and imports trebled in value.

Hospitals were multiplied. Convalescent homes, as at Vincennes, Vésinet, and Longchêne, orphanages, asylums and all conceivable institutions of beneficence and philanthropy were established. Here governmental and private generosity rivalled each other. Popular education developed as never before in France. The pupils increased by 1,000,000 in fifteen years. Special attention was paid to professional, industrial and technical schools. The law

of April 10, 1867, specifically provided for the education of girls. An immense number of school libraries were founded. Instruction seemed an antidote for crime. "According as the schools filled up the prisons emptied."

Paris, congested in narrow and crooked streets, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale by Baron Haussmann, prefect of the Seine. Even the Louvre, hitherto unfinished, was completed. Lyons and Marseilles were almost transformed. The same thing went on upon a proportional scale in the other cities and towns. Public gardens and parks were created for the diversion and health of the people. Sanitary measures diminished the death-rate. A sense of well-being and comfort pervaded the country.

The Universal Exposition of 1867. — This was the visible expression of all the material prosperity under the empire. It may be called also the culmination of its glory.

The Champ de Mars was converted into a city of exhibition, or a world bazaar. In the centre rose an enormous palace in iron and glass, enclosing an area of thirty-six acres, packed in bewildering fashion with whatever was most valuable and rare. This palace was over 1600 feet long and almost 1300 in width. It was surrounded by gardens adorned with works of art and edifices representing the architecture, manner of life and occupations of all nations. From all over the globe manufacturers, inventors, agriculturists, artists, merchants flocked to Paris to there exhibit and behold all the achievements of peace and to vie with one another in the display of their various products. It was a tournament of all mankind, where international juries awarded prizes for the best things which the human hand and brain had done. No equal international exhibition had ever been held. It surpassed every other in the number, variety and excellence of the articles displayed, and these articles represented every department of human science and activity. There were 51,819 exhibitors, and it was visited daily during six months by over 70,000 persons.

Inevitably, because held in France and other nations were more or less remote, the French exhibit was superior to the rest. The French might take a legitimate pride, not only in the fact that the marvellous exhibition was devised by them, but in the preëminent splendor of their share in the exhibit. Napoleon and France occupied

the proud position of hosts. The most enlightened foreigners by tens and hundreds of thousands thronged their capital as guests. The emperors of Russia and Austria, the queen of Great Britain, the kings of Italy, Prussia, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and numerous other rulers of civilized or barbarous states by their presence added to the dignity and enhanced the magnificence of the occasion. Paris for half a year was decked as in a perpetual fête.

Humiliations of the Empire. — Two were of such a nature as to be peculiarly galling to a sensitive people. The first and most important was administered by the United States. In 1862 France, Great Britain and Spain sent a joint military expedition to Mexico to enforce the payment of certain claims. When their ostensible object was attained Great Britain and Spain withdrew. The United States were then engaged in a civil war, which Napoleon believed would end in the dissolution of the Union. Therefore he judged the occasion favorable to set up a Latin empire, which should conterpoise any Anglo-Saxon republics in the Western world. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, consented to accept the crown to be wrung for him from Mexico, Napoleon promising to maintain an army of 25,000 French soldiers for the protection of the new emperor. The American government had refused to recognize any authority in Mexico except that of the dispossessed president, Juarez, but, its hands tied by the civil war, was unable to do more. After the confederacy was overthrown, it notified Napoleon that his soldiers must be withdrawn. The French emperor judged it expedient to comply, though in so doing he violated his promise to Maximilian and ignominiously left him to destruction. Meanwhile Carlotta, the devoted wife of Maximilian, journeyed from court to court in Europe, entreating assistance for her husband and denouncing the desertion of him by Napoleon. Successive disappointments overthrew her reason. The Mexican Empire was destroyed by Juarez, and Maximilian was finally captured and shot as a usurper (June 19, 1867). The news of the terrible disaster reached Europe while Paris was in the full tide of the Universal Exposition and cast a gloom upon the gayety and brilliancy of the occasion. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure.

The second humiliation was the work of Count von Bismarck, president of the Prussian Cabinet. In the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866 it was of supreme importance to the Prussians to prevent the interference of France whose sympathies lay with Austria. So Bismarck gave Napoleon to understand that in case Prussia was victorious and increased her territory, France should receive an equivalent by the annexation of Luxemburg on her northeastern frontier. The war ended in the aggrandizement of Prussia. Thereupon Napoleon demanded the cession of Luxemburg, but Bismarck now informed him that the Germans were opposed to any such arrangement, and that hence it was impossible. Napoleon had thus been ridiculously outwitted in the face of all Europe. But France was utterly unprepared for war and could only submit to the blow dealt her own and her emperor's prestige.

The third humiliation of the empire was inflicted upon it by the people in the plebiscite of May 8, 1870. By various modifications, introduced voluntarily by the sovereign, the government had passed from the absolute autocracy of 1852 to the constitutional or parliamentary monarchy of 1870. Political exiles had been amnestied and made eligible to office. Gradually concessions, although not extorted, had been granted until the country enjoyed freedom of the press, of parliamentary criticism and debate, responsibility of the ministers to the Chamber, and a constitution revised in a liberal sense. By the latter, granted April 20, 1870, the legislative power was shared by the Senate and the Chamber, while all power to further change the constitution was intrusted to the people. Upon the advice of his minister, M. Rouher, the emperor asked a plebiscite concerning the reforms successively introduced and the revised constitution. An affirmative vote was furthermore understood to mean attachment to the reigning dynasty. Though there were only 1,500,000 nays to over 7,000,000 yeas, the negative vote was surprisingly large and also alarming in what it represented. While the rural districts were to all intents unanimous, an immense dissatisfaction with the state of things was revealed by the vote of Paris, the larger cities, and the army. Moreover, many of its adherents were indignant at the recent course of the government in despatching French troops to put down Garibaldi and in declaring its intention to maintain by arms the temporal

power of the Pope. The plebiscite, despite the immense majority of 5,500,000, was considered a rebuff.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). — An increasing exasperation of the French against the Prussians and a growing animosity between the two states had existed ever since the Prusso-Austrian war. An ultimate conflict was inevitable. Events concurred to hasten the catastrophe.

The Spaniards, who had expelled their Bourbon dynasty, offered the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a near kinsman of William I, king of Prussia. All France was on fire with excitement. Nor was the agitation allayed when it was heard that the prince had declined the offer. The foreign minister, the Duke de Gramont, the Empress Eugénie, the Chamber and the populace of Paris did their utmost to fan the flames. Napoleon and the calmer heads, like Thiers, were averse to war. But the emperor, exhausted by the ravages of an incurable malady, was no longer the cool, firm man who had executed the coup d'état or commanded at Solferino. The Duke de Gramont asserted, "We are ready, more than ready," and the prime minister, Ollivier, announced, "We accept the responsibility with a light heart!" War was declared by France on July 15, 1870. Never was a war a more rapid succession of disasters.

Prussia, under William I, Von Moltke, minister of war, and Von Bismarck had for years been steadily preparing for the struggle which she knew was to come. No nation was ever more terribly ready. Not a shoe-latchet was wanting to the troops. Treaties assured her the active support of all Germany. Even the plans of campaign were all matured. France had not an ally on whom to depend. Her regiments were incomplete, ill provisioned and ill armed. Yet, intoxicated with rage and overweening confidence in herself, she threw herself into the conflict as a gambler risks his all upon a throw.

The French armies were mobilized with distressing slowness. Twenty days after the declaration of war the hostile forces had invaded France. The crown prince of Prussia defeated General Douay at Weissenburg (August 4), and, two days later, with 100,000 men destroyed an army of 45,000 men under Marshal MacMahon at Wörth. Then, as all through the war, the French fought with desperate courage and determination. But heroism without plan and

with inferior arms was of no avail against equal heroism attended by superior numbers and skill. The battle of Wörth was decisive of the campaign. By the victory the Prusso-German forces projected into France like a mighty wedge, and afterwards the French main armies, pressed to the right and left, could never unite. Moreover, Austria and Italy, who might have assisted France, were disinclined to join their fortunes to a lost cause. Skilful manœuvres and the victories of Forbach and Gravelotte succeeded in hemming the commander-in-chief, Marshal Bazaine, with 173,000 men, inside the fortifications of Metz. There he was at once besieged by the crown prince of Saxony.

Sedan. — A forlorn hope remained for the deliverance of Bazaine. Marshal MacMahon, the ablest general of France, with 130,000 troops marched to his relief. But he was hampered by the presence of the emperor, who had left the Empress Eugénie as regent, and by the constant interference of the French minister of war, Count Palikao. While in the valley of Sedan his army was surrounded by 250,000 Germans, who, by forced marches and in perfect obedience to concerted plans, had closed in upon them. Retreat or advance was impossible. After three days of hopeless fight and terrible loss, the French surrendered, Napoleon himself offering his sword to King William. Together with the emperor 104,000 men had been taken prisoners.

Fall of the Empire (September 4, 1870). — The news of the surrender was received at Paris with frenzy. The mob took control, pronounced the deposition of the emperor and proclaimed the republic. On the pillars of the Palace Bourbon they chalked the names of those whom they wished to direct affairs and who, without further election, assumed authority as the Government of National Defence. General Trochu was made President, Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs, Gambetta, minister of the interior, Jules Simon, minister of public instruction, and General Le Flô, minister of war. Their attempts to place the responsibility for the war upon Napoleon were coldly received by the Germans, who furthermore showed unwillingness to treat with an irresponsible government. M. Thiers was sent to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence to beg assistance, but everywhere in vain. Jules

Favre declared that France would not yield an inch of her soil, and the Germans had resolved to consider no propositions of peace that did not include the acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine.

Surrender of Metz (October 27). — Completely shut in, Marshal Bazaine received only such news of the condition of France as the enemy judged expedient. Cut off from all hope of rescue, his cavalry and artillery horses killed for food, his provisions exhausted, he surrendered. His army of 173,000 men was sent to Germany to share the captivity of the prisoners of Sedan. A capitulation on such an enormous scale was unexampled. No event in the war has been more bitterly criticised and its necessity more angrily disputed. After the cessation of hostilities Bazaine was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death.

In spite of obstinate resistance, Toul (September 23), Strasburg (September 28), Verdun (November 8), and all the fortified places of northwestern France, except Belfort, were one after the other forced to capitulate.

Siege and Surrender of Paris (January 28, 1871). — The siege of Paris began on September 19. Gambetta escaped in a balloon (passing over the German lines), and reaching Toul became a virtual dictator. Infusing his own wild energy into the people of central and southern France, he induced them to prolong a hopeless struggle. Yet each day's added resistance could only increase the general suffering and force harsher terms upon France in the end. Meanwhile the enemy, leaving sufficient forces for the siege of Paris, deluged the country on the west and south. The untrained levies under Generals Aurelle de Paladines and Bourbaki could only delay but not prevent their advance.

Paris held out for 142 days. The city, esteemed frivolous, showed such sternness and tenacity in defence as no other great capital has ever equalled. Each desperate sortie drew the iron bands tighter around her, and she yielded at last, not to the Germans but to famine. The German Empire had been proclaimed in the Palace of Versailles ten days before. Even then Gambetta was unwilling to give up, and resigned his office only when he had been disavowed by the government of Paris.

The Treaty of Frankfort. — In the hour of her extremest distress France turned to her one statesman, Thiers. He could not save her, but he might somewhat alleviate the miseries of her fall. The National Assembly, elected by German consent, met at Bordeaux. The Government of National Defence laid down its powers. Thiers was appointed to form a ministry and negotiate terms of peace. With Count Bismarck he wrestled over each point in the Prussian demands. Hard though the terms imposed, they would have been still harder but for him. It was agreed that France should pay $1,000,000,000 indemnity in the space of three years, and that all Alsace except Belfort, and one-fifth of Lorraine including Metz should be annexed to Germany. The evacuation of territory was to take place proportionally as the indemnity was paid.

This preliminary treaty was approved by the French Assembly on March 2 and formally ratified at Frankfort on May 10, 1871.