which all the German states shed together on the fields of France, cemented the bonds of race as nothing else could have done. The factious opposition of feudal traditions and local jealousies could not longer continue. The Reichstag in an address to the king of Prussia, presented on December 18, 1870, employed these words: "The North German parliament, in unison with the princes of Germany, approaches with the prayer that your Majesty will deign to consecrate the work of unification by accepting the imperial crown of Germany. The Teutonic crown on the head of your Majesty will inaugurate for the reëstablished empire of the German nation an era of honor, of peace, of well-being and of liberty secured under the protection of the laws."

The Palace of Versailles is the architectural masterpiece and favorite residence of Louis XIV, the arch-enemy of the Germans. More than half a century ago it was converted into an enormous historical picture-gallery and its walls were covered with countless splendid paintings representing all the French conquests and triumphs during hundreds of years. In the gorgeous throne-room of this palace, hung all around with the royal glories of its founder, the German Empire was proclaimed on January 18, 1871, and the king of Prussia accepted for himself and his descendants the imperial crown. No coronation at Frankfort or Berlin could have been so eloquent and so impressive. The shouts of the victorious assemblage, hailing a resurrected and united Germany, announced a new era, and woke echoes in the neighboring room where Louis XIV had died.

VI

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

(1871–1898)

The Commune (March 18–May 28, 1871). — A majority of the members of the National Assembly, though not venturing to overthrow the republic, inclined to a monarchical form of government. Therefore they were regarded with suspicion and even hated by a large section of the Parisian populace. The sufferings of the siege, indignation at the triumphal entry of the Germans and the exasperation of failure had wrought the lower classes to frenzy. It was easy for the so-called Central Committee, representing every radical and anarchistic notion and strong in the support of the dregs of the people, to rouse the mob, unfurl the red flag, seize the city and all the fortifications except Mount Valerian and proclaim the Commune. Some of the still armed national guard rallied to their side. Eager for blood, they assassinated General Lecomte and General Thomas, who had fought well for France. M. Thiers, the government officials, and the members of the Assembly had time to withdraw to Versailles.

Marshal MacMahon, now healed from his wounds, and many French prisoners of war had already returned. The marshal had the melancholy duty of placing himself at their head to put down an insurrection of their fellow-countrymen. It was necessary to undertake a regular siege and bombard the capital. Inside the city any semblance of order soon gave way to anarchy, but the insurgents fought with ferocity. They butchered Monseigneur Darboy, — the third archbishop of Paris who has fallen victim during this century to a Parisian mob, — the curate of the Madeleine, and the President of the Court of Appeals. In the quarter of Belleville they slaughtered sixty-two soldiers and priests whom they held as hostages. After the government troops had forced their way through the gates, a murderous hand-

to-hand fight in the streets continued for seven days before resistance was quelled. Maddened by rage at defeat the communists sought to destroy all Paris and bury themselves in its ashes. The women were more demoniac than the men. They succeeded in burning the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, and many other public and private buildings. The column of the Place Vendôme they threw to the ground. The horrified troops showed scant mercy to their miserable captives. For a year there were court-martials and executions. Thirteen thousand persons were transported or condemned to prison for the crimes of the Commune. In the wars of 1500 years Paris had never suffered as at the hands of her own children in this insurrection.

M. Thiers, President of the Republic (1871–1873). — Thus, at the beginning of his presidency had devolved upon Thiers two cruel tasks. The one was to make peace with a foreign invader gorged with victory. The other was to extinguish civil war.

The sight of an army of occupation wounded the nation to the quick. With tireless energy and wonderful skill Thiers devoted himself to discharging the war indemnity of $1,000,000,000. By September, 1873, it had all been paid, not in paper but in hard coin, and the last German soldier had recrossed the frontier. The president well deserved the title of "Liberator of the Territory," which was decreed him in public opinion.

How long the deputies of the Assembly should hold their seats had never been determined, and they governed without a constitution. Thiers was a liberal monarchist, but a patriot above all. He believed that under the circumstances only a republican form of government was possible for France. Thereby he incurred the hostility of the majority which was made up of legitimists, Orleanists and imperialists. These groups were at variance with one another and agreed only in antagonism to the republic. Some were moved by loyalty to a dynasty; others by the dreaded spectre of radicalism and the red flag. On May 23, 1873, by a test vote of 360 to 344 the Assembly expressed its desire that the president should change his policy. The old man, whose life of seventy-six years had been consecrated to his country, preferred to resign.

Presidency of Marshal MacMahon (1873–1879). — On the same day the Assembly elected Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, as his successor. This soldier of the empire was supposed to be Orleanist at heart. He was a man of upright character, universally esteemed, but cast in the mould of a general rather than of a statesman. The Orleanist Duke de Broglie was made minister of foreign affairs. In the new ministry all the three monarchist groups were represented. The republicans were likewise split into three sections: the Left Centre or conservative republicans; the Left or more advanced republicans; the Extreme Left or radicals. The last faction were under the control of Gambetta, a natural orator and skilled politician who, despite his restless temperament, knew how to temporize and wait.

The Republic existed de facto, but had never been officially decreed. The Orleanists fused with the legitimists and consented to proclaim the childless Henry, Count of Chambord, as king, the succession to devolve on the Count of Paris, the head of the house of Orleans. The vote of the Assembly seemed secured for the grandson of Charles X, when the monarchist schemes were wrecked on the question of the color of a flag. The Count of Chambord refused to recognize the tricolor, associated with the Revolution and the empire, and made his acceptance of the throne conditional upon the restoration of the white flag. Henry IV had declared that Paris is worth a mass. His descendant, Henry of Chambord, chose to reject a throne rather than abandon the symbol of his house. Negotiations could go no farther, for the tricolor was interwoven with all the later life of France. The disappointed monarchists together with the republican Left Centre voted that the presidency of Marshal MacMahon should continue for seven years (November 20, 1873). Alarmed by the progress of imperialism, the Assembly, on January 30, 1875, by a majority of one recognized the Republic as the definite government of France.

Meanwhile the deputies toiled laboriously at the formation of a provisional constitution, which was finally voted on February 25, 1875. This constitution was added to or modified several times in the course of the year. It provided for a Chamber of 733 deputies elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years, and for a Senate of 300

members, 225 to be elected by the departments and colonies for a term of nine years — seventy-five going out of office every three years — and seventy-five by the national assembly for life. The president of the Republic was to be chosen, not by a plebiscite, but by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting in joint session. He was to hold office for seven years and could be reëlected. His power was to resemble that of a constitutional sovereign and his ministers were responsible to the Chambers. The attributes of the two houses were poorly defined, and were sure to be the cause of future contention. Distrust of or indifference to the will of the people was a marked feature in the elaboration of the constitution. Thus Versailles, and not Paris, was declared the seat of government and legislation. Moreover, each faction sought to so adjust the provisions as to perpetuate itself. The Senate was carefully designed as a bulwark of conservatism or an obstructive force.

The Assembly dissolved in December, 1875. The elections gave a strong majority in the Chamber to the republicans. M. Dufaure became President of the Council, or prime minister, with M. Leon Say as minister of finance. He was succeeded a few months later by M. Jules Simon, an orator and versatile writer as well as accomplished statesman. He endeavored to serve the nation rather than a party, and to maintain a middle course between the conservatives and the radicals, who daily became more hostile to each other. Religious questions intensified the dispute. The prime minister satisfied none and alienated all.

The republican sentiment was daily becoming stronger in the country, but Marshal MacMahon was too much bound by traditions and of too inflexible a nature to understand or conform to the march of public opinion. On May 16, 1877, he brought about the resignation of M. Simon, and appointed a monarchist ministry whose principal members were the Orleanist Duke de Broglie and the imperialist M. de Fourtou. The Senate was compliant and approving, but the refractory Chamber of Deputies was prorogued for a month. When it reassembled, by an immense majority it passed a vote of lack of confidence in the ministry. The Senate authorized the dissolution of the Chamber, which was at once dissolved. A coup d'état was dreaded, whereby some sort of monarchy should be imposed, but the monarchists could not agree upon whose brow to place the crown.

Then followed all over the country the most genuine electoral campaign in which France had ever engaged. The government applied all the pressure in its power to determine the result. The marshal traversed the country, his partisans believing many votes would be influenced by his military renown and by the memory of his great services under the empire. Gambetta organized the opposition and everywhere delivered impassioned and convincing speeches. For a time he allowed his radicalism to slumber that he might rally under one banner all the anti-monarchists of whatever camp. A practical theorist, he had declared that a principle must not be pushed too far and that one must make the best of opportunity rather than risk everything and so perhaps lose all. For this he was later called an opportunist, and the name was applied to those who followed his lead.

In the heat of the electoral battle Thiers died at St. Germain. He, more than any other man, had been the acknowledged chief of the liberal party. National gratitude conspired with party loyalty to make his funeral the occasion of an imposing and overwhelming demonstration.

The republican victory was magnificent. In the new Chamber the opponents of the marshal had a majority of 110, which was further increased by invalidating the elections of fifty-two government candidates. They refused to vote the budget unless the president chose his cabinet from the parliamentary majority. He yielded, and called to the ministry MM. Dufaure, Waddington, Marcère, de Freycinet and Leon Say.

The following year there was a truce in political strife. France and Paris united to further the International Exposition of 1878, endeavoring to eclipse its brilliant predecessor of 1867. The seats of seventy-five senators became vacant in 1879. The success of the republicans was so complete as to assure them henceforth a majority in that hitherto conservative body. Marshal MacMahon judged his position untenable and resigned the chief magistracy (January 30, 1879).

His presidency was the long crisis in the history of the France of to-day. The longer the crisis continued, the more definite and stable the result. Since then president, Chamber and Senate have been in political accord as to the

system of government. That 16th of May, 1877, when M. Simon was dismissed and the Duke de Broglie appointed prime minister, was the Sadowa of monarchical restoration in France.

Presidency of M. Grévy (1879–1887). — M. Grévy was at once elected president of the Republic. Gambetta succeeded him as president of the Chamber of Deputies. Frequent changes in the ministry followed one another, the conservatives growing weaker and the radical tendency becoming continually more marked. The death of the Prince Imperial in South Africa (June 8, 1880), where he had joined a British expedition against the Zulus, blasted the rising hopes of the imperialists, who could not agree as to who should be regarded as heir of his claims.

The seat of government was removed from Versailles to Paris. The schools and convents of the Jesuits were suppressed. A special authorization was required for the existence of the other religious orders. Public education was extended while removed from the hands of the clergy. All persons still under condemnation for participation in the commune were amnestied. The 14th of July, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, was declared a national holiday. M. Jules Ferry replaced as prime minister M. de Freycinet, who was not considered sufficiently energetic in enforcing the decrees against the religious orders. An expedition to Tunis forced the bey to sign a treaty, placing his country under the protectorate of France. Gambetta at last became prime minister (November 14, 1881). Much was expected of him, but his old-time energy and fire seemed to have disappeared. Nor did he receive the support of the Chamber in the measures he proposed. After holding office for a little more than two months he resigned, and died soon after, never having attained the presidency, the goal of his ambition.

In Egypt complications arose. The khedive had confided the supervision of the finances to two controllers, appointed by Great Britain and France respectively, so as to protect the French and British holders of Egyptian bonds. Judging the interests of their subjects endangered, the two Powers determined to interfere (1882). After much indecision France refused to coöperate in the military intervention, which was carried out by Great Britain, and the dual control abolished.

In Madagascar the Hovas encroached on the privileges of certain French residents. The French admiral who commanded the squadron in the Indian Ocean demanded that the northwestern part of the island should be placed under a French protectorate and a large indemnity be paid (1883). The queen of the Hovas refused. Her capital, Tamatave, was bombarded, but the French afterwards were signally defeated. Finally by treaty it was arranged that administration of internal affairs should be left to the queen, but that France should control the foreign relations of the island.

Then followed (1884) an inglorious war with China, in consequence of French incursions into territory over which the Chinese asserted suzerainty. After terrible loss and expense the French were confirmed in the possession of Annam and Tonquin. The by no means fruitful expeditions to Madagascar and China caused the fall of M. Jules Ferry (1885), who had been prime minister for twenty-five months. In 1885 the constitution was revived and some of its conservative features expunged. The Senate was deprived of any right to interfere in the budget, and it was determined that henceforth no senator should be elected for life. A law was also passed enforcing scrutin de liste, or the election of deputies upon a general departmental ticket. By the previous system of scrutin d'arrondissement each deputy had been elected singly by the vote of the district which he represented.

In the elections of 1885 the radicals and socialists, as well as the monarchists, made large gains at the expense of the moderate republicans. Thereupon the government took stringent measures against the princes of houses formerly ruling in France. It was intrusted with discretionary power to remove them all from the country, and was furthermore ordered to expel all claimants of the throne and their heirs. Therefore a presidential decree banished Prince Napoleon and his son, Prince Victor, and the Count of Paris with his son, the Duke of Orleans. The names of all the members of the Bonaparte and Orleans families were stricken from the army roll.

On the expiration of his term M. Grévy had been reelected president. His son-in-law, M. Wilson, became implicated in scandals arising over the sale of decorations and of appointments in the army. M. Grévy unwisely

interfered to protect his son-in-law from justice. Though not accused of complicity in the crime, he was forced by the indignant Chambers to resign (December 2, 1887). He was then eighty years of age.

Presidency of M. Sadi Carnot (1887–1894). — The choice of the Chambers fell upon a worthy and illustrious candidate, M. Sadi Carnot. He was a grandson of that Carnot who, in 1793 during the Revolution, had proved himself unequalled as a military organizer and was called by his countrymen "the genius of victory."

The most prominent figure at that time in France was General Boulanger. His theatrical bearing and his supposed, but unproven, abilities made him a popular idol. For insubordination in the army he had been placed upon the retired list. A duel, in which he was worsted by a civilian, M. Floquet, the prime minister, did not damage his prestige. Elected deputy by enormous majorities, first in the department of Dordogne, and then in the department of Nord, he resigned his seat, but was then triumphantly elected on one and the same day in the departments of Nord, Charente-Inférieure, and the Somme. His political platform of revision of the constitution and dissolution of the Chamber enabled him to draw into his following all the disaffected and discontented of whatever party or class. The government was alarmed at his intrigues and prosecuted him before the High Court of Justice. Struck with sudden panic he did not present himself for trial, but fled to Great Britain. The trial proceeded in his absence. It was proved that he had received 3,000,000 francs from the Orleanist Duchess d'Uzès to further his political machinations. His popularity at once vanished. Finally (September 30, 1891), he committed suicide on the grave of Madame de Bonnemain, who had followed him in his exile and supported him by her bounty for two years.

Despite the fiasco of General Boulanger an urgent demand continued for a revision of the constitution. The revision bill introduced by M. Floquet was received coldly in the Chamber, whereupon he resigned, and M. Tirard, an economist, formed a new ministry. Scrutin d'arrondissement had previously been restored, the government considering the scrutin de liste more favorable to the scheme of political adventurers. Also a law was passed forbidding a citizen to present himself as a candidate for more than one

seat in the Chamber. After long debate a new army bill was adopted, making three years' service requisite instead of five, and compelling students and priests to serve one year.

The ministry of M. Tirard and of his successor, M. de Freycinet, devoted special attention to industrial questions. The system of free trade which had prevailed in France since 1860 was succeeded by high duties on nearly all imports. A special tariff with far lower rates was drawn up to secure reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. Great discontent prevailed among the working classes. The annual May-day labor demonstrations had become a menace to law and order. Frequent strikes produced armed conflicts between the soldiers and the mob. To appease the agitation the government founded a Labor Bureau and introduced bills for the protection of women and children in the factories.

So far the Catholic Church and the Republic had been generally regarded as hostile to each other. This feeling was an injury to both. In 1890 an illustrious prelate, Cardinal Lavigerie, archbishop of Algiers, published a letter, declaring it the true policy of the Catholic Church to support the Republic. At once the cardinal was bitterly denounced by the reactionary section of his coreligionists, but his policy was warmly commended by Pope Leo XIII. In consequence there have been far more amicable relations between the church and state, and the prevailing system has received the adhesion of many who had formerly opposed it.

In 1892 France was convulsed by the Panama scandal. Twelve years before M. de Lesseps, to whom the Suez Canal was due, organized the Panama Canal Company to construct a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. His immense reputation was supposed to guarantee success. Shares were eagerly subscribed for, especially by the laboring classes, and the government also advanced large loans. In 1889, after $280,000,000 had been expended and small progress made, the company dissolved. Thousands of subscribers were ruined. The government prosecuted the directors for misappropriation of funds and for bribery of public officials. M. Baïhaut, minister of public works in 1886, was proved to have received 375,000 francs, though he demanded 1,000,000. Other deputies and state officers were convicted

and sentenced. M. de Lesseps himself, though on his death-bed, was condemned to five years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of 5000 francs. During the investigation one cabinet toppled after another. In April, 1893, as the storm abated, M. Dupuy formed a ministry. While the French were punishing civilized criminals at home, they were carrying on a tedious war in Africa against the barbarous king of Dahomey. Finally, his capital, Ahomey, was taken, and in 1894 his territories made a French protectorate.

The elections of 1893 revealed the marked progress of socialism, and a corresponding decrease of conservatism among the voters. When M. Dupuy proposed an anti-socialistic programme to the newly elected Chamber, he could not obtain a vote of confidence. M. Casimir-Périer was invited to form a cabinet. Anarchism seemed to terrorize Paris and France. Many magistrates were attacked. In the Chamber of Deputies an anarchist, not a member, hurled a bomb at the president. Though laws were enacted against the propagation of anarchistic doctrines, "there was an epidemic of bombs in Paris in the spring of 1894."

On June 24, 1894, President Carnot paid a formal visit to Lyons. As he rode through the streets an Italian rushed before him and stabbed him, shouting, "Long live anarchy!" The illustrious victim died that same night.

He was universally mourned. His dignified and courtly manners, no less than his spotless character, had commanded the admiration of his countrymen. The perfection of address, with which he had met the Assembly at Versailles on May 5, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the convocation of the States General, and had inaugurated the International Exposition at Paris the following day, indicated the ideal of a French chief magistrate. But it was as a statesman-president, lifted above the burning but puerile contentions of party politics, that he enhanced the reputation of the French Republic and won the respect of the world.

Presidency of M. Casimir-Périer (1894). — M. Casimir-Périer, the candidate of the moderate republicans, was elected by the Senate and Chamber three days after the assassination of M. Carnot. But he was passionately hated by the socialists and radicals, who employed every weapon to break down his authority. Corruption in connection with certain railway franchises was proved against

some of his friends, and this compelled the Cabinet to retire. Finding it difficult to form a new ministry and disheartened by sudden unpopularity, M. Casimir-Périer resigned the presidency.

Presidency of M. Faure (1895–). — The three candidates were M. Brisson, President of the Chamber, M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Felix Faure. The latter was elected (January 17). His occupancy of the chair has been marked by shrewdness and tact. During a tour through southeastern France in 1897 his democratic ways and close attention to whatever had to do with the army increased his popularity. An intimate alliance with Russia has of late years been greatly desired by the French, who regarded themselves as otherwise politically isolated in Europe. They were much gratified, when at the opening of the Baltic Canal in 1895, the Russian and French fleets in company entered the harbor of Kiel and when General Dragomanoff and the Russian ambassador attended the manœuvres of five army corps, numbering more than 120,000 men, in eastern France. Enthusiasm reached its limit on October 5, 1896, when the Tsar and Tsarina reviewed the French fleet off Cherbourg. Afterwards their majesties visited Paris, and the capital abandoned itself to festivities for three days. In August, 1897, President Faure returned the visit of his imperial guests, and was magnificently entertained. Afterwards he received such an ovation in France as is rarely extended a conqueror.

His first prime minister, M. Ribot, was replaced (October 30, 1895) by M. Bourgeois, and France had for the first time a cabinet composed wholly of radicals. Then the newspaper, *La France*, raked over again the embers of the Panama scandal, publishing the names of 104 members of the Chamber belonging to different parties, who, it asserted, had received bribes from the Panama Canal Company. There was a furious stir and further investigation was ordered, but little came of it. Another scandal, as to the concession of phosphate lands in Algeria, also made much noise. The socialists in the two Houses and all over the country redoubled their activity. They determined, on the anniversary of the death of the communist Blanqui, to make a demonstration at his grave in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, but it was broken up by the police and their red flags confiscated. For months the Senate and House were

at variance over questions of taxation, over the appropriation for the International Exposition of 1900 and the policy of the government in Madagascar. M. Bourgeois gave way to M. Méline as prime minister, who formed the thirty-fourth cabinet which had administered affairs since the resignation of M. Thiers in 1873.

During the last two years much progress has been made in reconciling moderate republicanism and the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the antagonism to the Jews has permeated almost all classes. The socialists started the movement, denouncing them as holders of property; but the aversion now shown them in France is based upon religion and race. The Dreyfus case furnishes a deplorable example. Captain Dreyfus, one of the few Jewish officers in the army, was arrested in 1894 on a charge of selling military plans to foreigners. He was tried by secret court-martial. Incriminatory documents were shown the judges, which neither he nor his counsel was permitted to see. He was declared guilty and sentenced to transportation for life. It is commonly believed that he was denied a fair trial because a Jew, and that on a fair trial his innocence would be made clear. When the famous novelist Zola made an effort to have the facts brought out, every obstacle was put in the way by the populace and courts. M. Zola was twice brought to trial on charge of libelling the government. Though he was twice condemned, the agitation increased rather than diminished.

The question took on an international phase. The German government had been accused of complicity in the supposed revelations of Captain Dreyfus. It branded these accusations as falsehoods and demanded that they be officially withdrawn. Careful investigation (August, 1898) proved the truth of the German statement and made evident that at least a portion of the papers employed to convict Captain Dreyfus were forgeries. The chief of the French intelligence bureau confessed a share in these forgeries and committed suicide. The chief of the staff, General Boisdeffre, and some of the highest officials resigned. The government now faces a terrible dilemma. If it revises the trial of Captain Dreyfus and his innocence is demonstrated, popular confidence in the management of the army will be shaken and perhaps destroyed. If it does not revise that trial, it rests under the imputation of denying opportunity for justice to a cruelly accused man.

France in 1898. — The Third French Republic is now completing its twenty-eighth year. It has thus already lasted longer than any other form of government — empire, absolute or limited monarchy — which has arisen in France since 1789. Though differing in many respects, both as to theory and practice, from American ideas of republicanism, it nevertheless appears to be the system most appropriate to the genius of French character and most acceptable to the French people. The French have not long centuries of self-government behind them, and for generations a French republic must be a trial of experiments. This Republic has reorganized an effete and shattered military system and has rendered the French army to-day one of the most powerful militant forces in Europe. It has reorganized a defective system of instruction and developed and popularized both lower and higher education. Though attended more than once with corruption and scandal in high places, it has surpassed both the empire and the monarchy in official purity and honesty, and under it the public conscience has become more enlightened and hence more sensitive.

At the same time in few preceding periods of twenty-eight years has French influence counted so little among the nations. The Franco-Prussian War left France politically effaced. Her ablest foreign ministers, like M. Hanotaux, when dealing with the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions, have been able to do nothing more than follow in the wake of the great Powers.

Since 1824 every French ruler — Charles X, Louis Philippe, Napoleon III, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, Carnot, Casimir-Périer — has been driven from his place by revolution or assassination or the overwhelming force of hostile public opinion. It may be so eventually with M. Faure. But, while his three and a half years of presidency offer little as yet of permanent interest or importance, he certainly has consolidated the Republic and brought Frenchmen nearer each other.