

as was shown by the elections of 1869. Therefore the Emperor renounced his personal authority, and in April, 1870, proposed to the French people the transformation of the authoritative Empire into a liberal Empire. On the 8th of May, 7,300,000 citizens answered yes to his proposition, against 1,500,000 who answered no.

In order to make the organization of the country conform to the new constitution, great reforms were necessary. France had long been excessively centralized. It was necessary to rest the institutions of the State upon broad communal and departmental institutions, and in some instances even provincial institutions. It was necessary furthermore to simplify and rejuvenate the central administration, to instruct and arm the people, to make citizens by the practice of an austere liberty, and to make patriots by the national and moral education of the whole French people. But for all this, time and men were wanting.

Approach of War with Prussia. — A great mistake had been made before Sadowa. Thinking that the unity of Germany was possible with and by the aid of Austria, the Emperor allowed that power to be crushed. In reality, the peril for France was not at Vienna, but at Berlin. Prussia, which since Frederick the Great had dreamed of reconstructing the Germanic Empire, knew well that she could attain that good fortune, so menacing to Europe, only after a military humiliation of France, and made preparations for the accomplishment of this end, with indefatigable perseverance. German patriotism was excited against "the hereditary enemy." She armed all her people from the age of twenty to sixty; she required of her officers the most complete instruction, of her troops the strictest discipline, and by an organization which left no portion of her national forces inactive, by a foresight which utilized all the resources of industry and science, she constituted, in the centre of Europe, the most formidable machine of war that the world had ever seen, — 1,500,000 trained and armed men; every man a soldier. And this formidable machine she confided to men held back by no scruple where Prussian aggrandizement was concerned.

France saw nothing, or wished to see nothing, of these immense preparations which were achieved even on her own territory by the minute and secret study of all her means of action or resistance. Ideas of economy dominated the

Corps Législatif; a blind confidence in her military superiority hindered her from proportioning her forces to the greatness of the approaching struggle, and through the incapacity of men, and the insufficiency of the administrative system, those at hand were ill-employed.

CONTINUATION.

THE GERMAN WAR AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

(1870-1896 A.D.)

Origin of the War with Germany. — Ever since Sadowa, the relations between France and the North German Confederation then formed had been strained. In 1867 the attempt of the French Emperor to obtain possession of Luxemburg by purchase from its grand-duke, the king of the Netherlands, was foiled by the opposition of Prussia; but war was for the time averted. But Napoleon was surrounded by influences hostile to the maintenance of peace with Prussia, and was also urged towards war by considerations of the internal politics of France. Towards the end of May, 1870, the Duke of Gramont, a bitter opponent of Prussia, was made minister of foreign affairs. The actual occasion of the outbreak of war between the two rival powers was a proposition respecting the throne of Spain, which had now been vacant since 1868. In the beginning of July the Spanish ministers announced their intention to recommend to the throne Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a Catholic German prince remotely related to the Hohenzollerns of the royal family of Prussia. Gramont protested to King William, through the French ambassador, Benedetti. The king disclaimed all responsibility. At the same time Prince Leopold declined the proffered crown. Benedetti was instructed to demand from the Prussian king an assurance that the candidacy should not be renewed. The king refused, declined to hold further intercourse with Benedetti, and recalled his own ambassador from Paris. On July 19 the French government declared war.

Beginning of the War; Weissenburg to Sedan. — Both governments began pushing forward troops into the narrow space of eighty miles between Luxemburg and the Rhine.

It was the Emperor's plan to gather one hundred thousand men at Strassburg, his main army of one hundred and fifty thousand at Metz, retaining a reserve of fifty thousand at Châlons, and, with the two hundred and fifty thousand men thus concentrated on the frontier, to cross the Rhine opposite Carlsruhe. Then he proposed to push in between North Germany and the South German states, expecting the latter to join him against Prussia. But his preparations for war were most incomplete, especially in comparison with those of the Germans. By August 2 the latter had four hundred and fifty thousand men gathered in the space between Trier and Landau; the South Germans enthusiastically joined in the war. On the 4th and 6th the left wing of the German army, under the crown prince of Prussia, attacked and defeated portions of Marshal MacMahon's army at Weissenburg and Wörth, and forced him to retreat. At the same time the French left was driven back at Spieheren.

The German armies now made a general advance into France. The main army of the French, under Bazaine, retreated to Metz, and attempted to cross the Moselle at that point in order to retire upon Châlons. But the German forces overtook them and, by the terrible battles at Mars-la-Tour, Vionville, and Gravelotte, fought before Metz on August 16 and 18, cut off their retreat westward from that city. At Gravelotte the Germans lost twenty thousand killed and wounded; the French lost twelve thousand, and were shut up in Metz. Three days later Marshal MacMahon, accompanied by the Emperor, set out from Châlons with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and marched northeastward toward the Meuse. His plan was to cross that river at Stenay, and then, approaching Metz from the north, to release Bazaine. But the Germans, learning of his design, sent two armies down the Meuse, which anticipated him, secured Stenay, prevented his advance to Metz, cut off his retreat to Paris, and hemmed him in at Sedan, near the Belgian frontier. Here, on the first of September, a great and memorable battle occurred, in which the French were entirely defeated, failing in all efforts to break through the German lines. On the 2d the Emperor surrendered, with all his army. Three thousand had been killed and fourteen thousand wounded in the battle; one hundred and four thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans as the result of the battle and the capitulation. Napoleon was

given the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, as a residence during his captivity.

Establishment of the Republic; Sieges of Strassburg, Metz, and Paris. — When the news of the disaster of Sedan reached Paris, the lower house, in a tumultuary assembly, deposed the Emperor and proclaimed France a republic, September 4. A provisional government was set up called the Government of National Defence, and consisting of eleven members, of whom the most noted were MM. Favre, Gambetta, Simon, Ferry, and Rochefort. General Trochu was made president and governor-general of Paris. MM. Favre and Thiers vainly attempted to negotiate with the Germans, who on the 19th arrived before Paris with one hundred and fifty thousand men. A month later the forces amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand. The wide circuit of the fortifications of the city was defended by four hundred thousand men, of whom only a small part were regular or highly disciplined troops. Sorties were made, but repulsed. Gambetta, escaping from Paris, actively organized armies for the relief of the city. One of these advanced from the Loire in October and November, but was repulsed. Meanwhile Strassburg had been forced to surrender at the end of September, with its garrison of nearly eighteen thousand, and at the end of October Bazaine surrendered Metz, with his great army of one hundred and seventy-nine thousand. This released two hundred thousand German troops, its besiegers, who thereupon marched toward Paris.

Defeat of the Armies of Relief. — The organization of forces for the relief of the capital was pushed with such energy that by the end of the year there were probably a million Frenchmen in arms. But most of these were imperfectly trained. The repulse of the army of the Loire, already mentioned, led to the occupation of Orleans by the Germans on December 5. In the north, Rouen was occupied on the same day.

Communication between the city and the relieving armies was kept up by various ingenious means, and the advances of the latter were accompanied by sorties on the part of the former. The army of the North, under General Faidherbe, was destroyed after much obstinate fighting. The army of the Loire, compelled to retreat after a four days' battle at Beaugency under General Chanzy, was divided. A part was joined with the army of the West, under

Chanzy's command. This army was routed at Le Mans on January 11 and 12, 1871, by Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, and having also suffered intensely from hunger and cold, for the winter was a very severe one, was unable to engage in further operations of any importance. The remainder of the army of the Loire had been joined to the army of the East, under Bourbaki, who was ordered by Gambetta to march eastward and relieve Belfort, and then, turning northward, to free Alsace and Lorraine from the Germans, cut off the communications between the besiegers of Paris and their own country, cross the Rhine, and invade South Germany. Werder, strongly intrenched behind the Lisaine, sustained a three days' attack from Bourbaki (January 15-18), who was then driven southward by Manteuffel. The retreat of this army was cut off, and it was compelled, to the number of ninety thousand men, to pass over the frontier into Switzerland, where it was disarmed (February 1). Another force in the southeast, under the Italian liberator Garibaldi, was compelled to remain inactive.

Capitulation of Paris; Conclusion of Peace. — Meanwhile the army besieging Paris, under the command of King William, with Count von Moltke as his chief military adviser, had, on December 27, begun the bombardment of Paris. A desperate attempt to break through the besieging army on January 19 was defeated. The city had now been under siege for four months; it had endured great sufferings and privations, and its stores of provisions were almost exhausted. Negotiations were entered into, and on January 28 an armistice for three weeks was signed, during which a National Assembly was to meet to decide whether peace should be signed on the terms offered by the Germans. Bourbaki's army, then near its destruction, was not included in the armistice. Paris was to pay a war contribution of 200,000,000 fr. within a fortnight.

The elections to the National Assembly resulted in the choice of a body mostly belonging to the conservative parties. It met at Bordeaux on February 13. The Government of National Defence resigned its powers to the Assembly, which elected M. Thiers head of the executive department. On the 26th, to which date the armistice had been prolonged, he and two of his ministers signed preliminaries of peace with the Germans, which were ratified by the National Assembly on March 1. These preliminaries

provided that France should cede to Germany Alsace, excepting Belfort, and that portion of Lorraine in which German is spoken, Metz and Thionville being included, — a cession of 5500 square miles of territory, with a population of 1,500,000; that she should pay the sum of five milliards (billions) of francs, one milliard in 1871, and the rest within three years; and that German troops should occupy parts of her soil until the whole was paid. The definitive treaty, signed at Frankfort on May 10 by M. Favre and Prince Bismarck, did not greatly differ from these preliminaries. During the war the South German states had joined themselves to the North German Confederation, and on January 18 the German Empire had been formally proclaimed at Versailles with the king of Prussia as Emperor.

The Commune. — The National Assembly removed from Bordeaux to Versailles. Already, however, a dangerous internal enemy had appeared in Paris. The extreme or Red Republicans had twice during the siege broken out in insurrection. They now, in wild excitement, seized possession of a large number of cannon, fortified the heights of Montmartre and Chaumont on the north and northeast parts of Paris, and then occupied the Hôtel de Ville and obtained control of the city. These movements were undertaken under the authority of a Central Committee of the national guard. The ideas lying at the basis of this insurrection were not simply the old revolutionary ideas of political equality, but also those more modern ideas of social equality which fanatical socialists, aiming at the abolition of religion, marriage, inheritance, and individual property in land, had propagated through the "International Workingmen's Association." With these were joined certain extreme notions of local self-government or the independence of communes. The Central Committee ordered the election of a Commune of Paris on March 26; a body of Radicals was chosen and installed as the government of Paris. It organized in committees, each presiding over one of the departments of government, passed much revolutionary legislation, and prepared to hold the city against the National Assembly and the Versailles government.

M. Thiers' government delayed decisive measures until, by return of prisoners from Germany, a sufficient force of regular troops was at hand. Hostilities between the Versailles troops and the insurgents began on the 2d of April.

On the next day a sortie from Paris toward Versailles was repulsed. Marshal MacMahon was given the command of the Assembly's troops, the investment was made complete, and by the middle of May the southwestern forts were in possession of the besiegers. Within the city, meantime, all was in a state of rapid disorganization. Jealousy and distrust prevailed within the Commune and the Central Committee. Frequent changes of commanders resulted, each in turn being removed or resigning on finding it impossible to maintain his authority. Confiscation within and the pressure from without increased the disaffection of the inhabitants toward the insurrectionary government.

Finally, on May 21, the government troops entered the capital. The insurgents, driven back, shot a large number of prisoners held as hostages, conspicuous among whom was Mgr. Darboy, archbishop of Paris, drenched the chief public buildings with petroleum and set fire to them. The greater part of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, a portion of the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, a part of the Luxembourg, and many other public buildings were destroyed. After an obstinate and savage conflict the insurrection was completely stifled. Severe military executions accompanied the suppression of the revolt, members of the Commune in particular being shot whenever captured. During the week's fighting ten thousand insurgents were killed.

The Assembly and M. Thiers. — A majority of the National Assembly belonged to one or another of the Conservative groups. Of these one, called the Legitimist party, desired that the direct line of the Bourbons should be called to the throne of France in the person of the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X., called by his party Henry V. Another, the party of the Orleanists, desired the restoration of the limited or July monarchy in the person of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, or of the latter's son, the Duke of Aumale. There was also a group of Bonapartists, whose candidate was the young Prince Imperial. M. Thiers, personally inclined to constitutional monarchy, considered himself bound to uphold the Republic. The Count of Chambord returned to France, but issued a manifesto so uncompromisingly royalist as to make difficult his candidacy. The Orleanist princes were also allowed to return to France and eventually were permitted to take their seats in the Assembly to which they had been elected.

The Assembly frequently found itself in conflict with M. Thiers. Yet in the present divided state of parties he was felt to be indispensable, as the only possible executive. At the end of August he was accorded the title of President of the Republic for as long a time as the present Assembly should last. Although the framing of an entire new constitution was deferred, an important measure dealing with the government of departments was passed: it provided for the election, in each department, of a *conseil général* or local legislature, and was thus a measure of decentralization, abridging the powers of the prefects appointed from Paris. In the ensuing spring the council of state was again called into existence.

The Millions; Reorganization of the Army. — Both M. Thiers and the Assembly united in desiring to pay to Germany as soon as possible the stipulated indemnity, and rid the French soil of the demoralizing presence of the army of occupation. When, in 1876, subscriptions were invited for a loan of two and a half millions for this purpose, seven and a half millions were subscribed; while toward the loan of three and a half millions in 1872, subscriptions to the amount of forty-three millions were received. This not only demonstrated the confidence which French and foreign capitalists, in spite of the recent disasters, had in the future of France, but enabled the German evacuation to take place before the appointed term: the last German soldier crossed the frontier in September, 1873.

While thus paying for its military reverses, France was determined that they should not occur again. After animated debates, a bill for the reorganization of the army was passed in July, 1872. It provided for universal military service during a period of five years as the maximum, but of a considerably less extent in many cases. Trials of communists went on during 1872, and at the end of 1873, a court-martial condemned Marshal Bazaine to death for the surrender of Metz; but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment.

Constitutional Questions; Fall of M. Thiers. — The death of Napoleon III., at Chislehurst, in England, in January, 1873, seriously weakened the Bonapartist cause. Meanwhile, however, movements towards a more definitive settlement of the constitution, which had occupied a great portion of the year 1872, were continued. Though the less

conservative Republican members, under the leadership of Gambetta, maintained that the Assembly had no authority to frame a constitution, not having been elected for that purpose, the principal struggles were between M. Thiers and the majority of the Assembly, consisting of the three sections of the Right, or monarchical party. The aged president endeavored with much skill to maintain the power of the executive and, with that end in view, to secure the establishment of a second Chamber. The Right strove to limit the president's right of participation in debate, which, in the hands of so eloquent a speaker and so skilful a parliamentarian as M. Thiers, was a formidable power, which they opposed the more strenuously as they saw him gradually inclining to advocate the Republic as the definitive form of government for France. Finally, on May 24, 1873, after prolonged conflict, the Assembly passed a vote adverse to M. Thiers and his ministry. He resigned his office, and on the same day Marshal MacMahon was chosen by the Assembly to succeed him as president.

Marshal MacMahon and the Septennate. — Marshal MacMahon was an elderly soldier, who had given little attention to politics, but was regarded as an honest and trustworthy man. A conservative ministry was formed under the Duke of Broglie, and many reactionary steps were taken. The Count of Chambord was visited at his residence at Frohsdorf, in Austria, by the Count of Paris, and by some leading members of the Orleanist Right, and hopes were for some time entertained that he would so far accommodate himself to ideas of constitutional monarchy as to enable the two Royalist parties to unite, and perhaps to unite successfully, in support of his candidacy for the throne. But at length the count, by declaring that if he accepted the monarchy it would be his duty to take it without compromises or conditions, with devotion to the Papacy, and under the white flag of the old Bourbon monarchy, frustrated these attempts at union. Marshal MacMahon now demanding an extension of powers, in the interests of good order and stability of government, the majority voted him possession of the presidency for a term of seven years (November, 1873). The control of the central government over the mayors of communes was made more complete. The Broglie ministry set about the preparation of a constitution for France, but in May, 1874, succumbed to the difficulties of the political sit-

uation. These difficulties arose mainly from the continued postponement of the fundamental question, whether the ultimate form of government in France was to be that of a republic or that of a monarchy. This gave a provisional character to the government of the Marshal-President, in the face of mutually hostile parties which were constantly manoeuvring for partisan advantage.

The Constitution of 1875. — After prolonged struggles and exciting discussions, a vote favorable to the definitive establishment of the Republic was passed by one majority on the 30th of January. This principle once established, a permanent constitution for France was framed, not in one document, as in the United States, but in the form of a series of laws passed at intervals during the year 1875. The outlines of the constitution thus constructed, were as follows. Legislative power was to be exercised by two assemblies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to consist of three hundred members, each forty years old. Of these, two hundred and twenty-five were to be elected by the departments, the electoral body in each department consisting of its deputies, its *conseil général*, its *conseils d'arrondissement*, and delegates elected by each commune. These senators were to have a term of nine years, one-third retiring by rotation every three years. The remaining seventy-five were to be chosen for life by the existing National Assembly; future vacancies in their number were to be filled by the Senate itself. The Chamber of Deputies was to consist of members chosen by universal suffrage, under the arrangement called the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, as opposed to the *scrutin de liste*. The latter plan was one in accordance with which, each department having a number of deputies proportioned to its population, each voter in the department was to vote for the whole number, on a general ticket. By the plan adopted, each *arrondissement* was entitled to one deputy, and if its population exceeded one hundred thousand, to two or more, but with division into single-member districts. Each voter thus voted for but one candidate. The executive government was to be in the hands of a President, chosen for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in a single body called the National Assembly. He was to be re-eligible, to have the initiative of legislation concurrently with the two chambers, to execute the laws, to dispose of the armed forces, and to

appoint to all civil and military offices. With the assent of the Senate, he might dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the conclusion of its four years' term. He was to have a responsible ministry. In general, his position resembled that of a constitutional monarch, with other resemblances to that of the President of the United States. Amendments of the constitutional laws could, under certain forms, be effected by the two chambers united in National Assembly. The seventy-five senators chosen by the existing assembly were mostly eminent members of the Left. The last day of the year 1875 saw a final prorogation of this monarchist assembly which had established the Republic. It had been in existence nearly five years. The elections to the Senate gave a small majority to the Republicans. Those to the Chamber of Deputies (February, 1876) gave about two-thirds of its five hundred and thirty-two seats to Republicans, mostly moderate Republicans.

Ministry of M. Dufaure.—The ministry to which the leadership of this assembly was soon confided, was therefore naturally a ministry of moderate Republicans. M. Dufaure was prime minister, and M. Léon Say minister of finance. The latter, a distinguished economist and financier, addressed himself to the task of promoting order and economy in the national finances. The general spirit in which they have since been managed has not been marked by the same degree of sobriety and caution. The long period which elapses before the publication of the definitive accounts of a given year, the frequency of the introduction of supplementary estimates after the passage of the annual budget, and the facility with which additional loans have been resolved upon, have not tended toward either economy or system. The result is that deficits occur each year, and that in the middle of the year 1889 the debt of France is much the largest in Europe, probably amounting, all things included, to not less than 40,000,000,000 francs, or about \$8,000,000,000, which is more than twice as great as that of the United Kingdom, the next largest of the public debts of the world.

The Dufaure ministry was not long-lived, being succeeded before the year 1876 closed, by a ministry led by M. Jules Simon, a distinguished orator and writer. The tenure of French cabinets in general has been so little permanent under the Third Republic, that in the nineteen years which

have elapsed since the fall of the Empire, twenty-five cabinets have had charge of the executive government. The chambers have not been divided, as has been usual during the period of cabinet government in England, between two clearly defined political parties, so that changes of cabinet consist in the substitution of an executive committee drawn from one party, for an executive committee made up of its opponents. In the French chambers, on the contrary, although Monarchists and Republicans have stood opposed in most matters, the most significant divisions have been into groups or factions, representing successive shades of opinion from the extreme Right to the extreme Left; and successive cabinets have differed from each other by shades, cabinet crises often bringing about a modification of the composition of the ministry rather than a complete change. Nearly all cabinets have been Republican, now approaching the Right Centre, now shifting further to the Left.

It will not be necessary to take up the history of each of these cabinets. That of M. Dufaure was much occupied with the question of amnesty for persons engaged in the insurrection of the Commune, with questions respecting the privileges of Catholic universities, etc.

The President's Appeal to the Country.—Few events had marked the history of the Simon ministry when, suddenly, in May, 1877, the President of the Republic demanded its resignation. Much influenced of late by Monarchist advisers, he had concluded that the moderate Republican cabinets did not possess the confidence of the chambers, and, feeling that the responsibility of maintaining the repose and security of France rested upon him, had resolved, rather than allow the management of the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of M. Gambetta and the Radicals, to appoint a ministry of conservatives, trusting that the country would ratify the step.

A ministry was organized under the Duke of Broglie, and the Chamber of Deputies was first prorogued, and then, with the consent of the Senate, dissolved. The death of M. Thiers in September caused a great national demonstration in honor of that patriotic statesman, "the liberator of the territory." The result of the ensuing elections was a complete victory for the Republicans, who secured nearly three-fourths of the seats in the new Chamber. The Marshal, appointing a ministry composed of adherents of his policy

who were not members of the Assembly, attempted to make head against the majority, but was forced in December to yield to the will of the people and of their representatives, and to recall M. Dufaure and the moderate Republicans to office. The year 1878 therefore passed off quietly, being especially distinguished by the great success of the universal exhibition held at Paris under the auspices of the government, and by the successful participation of the latter in the negotiations of the Congress of Berlin. France was able to pursue on that occasion a policy of disinterestedness and mediation; M. Waddington, its representative, exercising an especial care for the interests of Greece.

Resignation of Marshal MacMahon.—At the beginning of 1879 elections were held in pursuance of the provisions of the constitution, for the renewal of a portion of the Senate. That body being considerably more conservative than the Chamber of Deputies, Republicans had looked forward to these elections with much anticipation, meanwhile waiting with patience, under the counsels of M. Gambetta, who had grown increasingly moderate in policy. Elections were held for the filling of eighty-two seats. Of these the Republicans won sixty-six, the Monarchist groups sixteen. This was a loss of forty-two seats on the part of the latter, and assured to the Republicans a full control of the Senate. It had also the effect of definitively establishing the Republic as the permanent government of France. The Republican leaders therefore resolved to insist upon extensive changes in the personnel of the Council of State and the judiciary body, both of which, in spite of all the changes of recent years, still remained principally composed of members of the reactionary parties. When they also proposed to make extensive changes in other departments, Marshal MacMahon, who foresaw the impossibility of maintaining harmonious relations with the cabinets which the Republican majority would now demand, took these new measures as a pretext, and, on January 30, 1879, resigned the office of President of the Republic. On the same day the Senate and Chamber, united in National Assembly, elected as his successor, for the constitutional term of seven years, M. Jules Grévy, president of the Chamber of Deputies, a moderate Republican who enjoyed general respect. M. Grévy was seventy-one years old. M. Gambetta was chosen to succeed him as president of the Chamber. The cabinet was remodelled, M.

Dufaure resigning his office and being succeeded by M. Waddington.

M. Ferry's Education Bill.—In the reorganized ministry one of the most prominent of the new members was M. Jules Ferry, its minister of education. He soon brought forward two measures which excited violent discussion: the one dealing with the regulation of superior education, the other with the constitution of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction. The object of the latter was to exclude from the Council the ecclesiastical element. The former, also intended to put education beyond ecclesiastical control, confined academic degrees to candidates from State universities, and prohibited the use of the title university or faculty by any but State institutions; its famous Clause 7 also provided that no person should be allowed to direct a public or private educational establishment of any kind, or to teach therein, if he belonged to a non-authorized religious community. This provision was directed especially against the Jesuits and their twenty-seven colleges; but twenty-six other communities would be affected, and an aggregate of nearly two thousand teachers.

The former of these bills passed through both houses, as did a measure for the reform of the Council of State. But Clause 7 of the bill respecting universities excited vigorous and extensive opposition. The bill passed the Chamber, but was delayed in the Senate until the new session, when (November 27, 1879) the chambers reassembled, not at Versailles, but at Paris. Another change in the aspect of affairs resulted from the death in Zululand of the young Prince Louis, son and heir of Napoleon III. This event weakened the hopes of the Bonapartists, and later divided their suffrages between two candidates,—Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome Bonaparte, and Prince Victor, son of Prince Napoleon. In March, 1880, the Senate rejected the bill respecting universities. The ministry, now composed of members of the "pure Left" (instead of a mixture of these and the Left Centre) under M. de Freycinet, resolved to enforce the existing laws against non-authorized congregations. The Jesuits were warned to close their establishments; the others, to apply for authorization. Failing to carry out these decrees, M. de Freycinet was forced to resign, and was succeeded as prime minister by M. Ferry, under whose orders the decrees were executed in October

and November, establishments of the Jesuits and others, to the number of nearly three hundred, being forcibly closed and their inmates dispersed. Laws were also passed in the same year and in 1881 for the extension of public education, and a general amnesty proclaimed for persons engaged in the insurrection of the commune.

Tunisian Expedition; Elections of 1881.—In April and May, 1881, on pretext of chastising tribes on the Tunisian frontier of Algeria, who had committed depredations on the French territories in Northern Africa, a military force from Algeria entered Tunis, occupied the capital, and forced the Bey to sign a treaty by which he put himself and his country under the protectorate of France. The French were given the right to maintain a military occupation of the country, to manage its foreign relations and its finances, and virtually to govern it for the Bey, at the same time agreeing to maintain existing treaties with foreign powers. These results of the expedition were received without protest by most of the powers; the Porte, however, asserted suzerainty over the province, and Italy was profoundly incensed, and perhaps permanently alienated from the Republic.

It was ardently desired by M. Gambetta, now the recognized leader of the Republicans, that the impending elections for the Chamber of Deputies, whose four years' term was now expiring, should take place, not by the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, but by the *scrutin de liste*, i.e. on a general ticket for each department; but this proposition was rejected by the Senate. The elections, in August, resulted in a Chamber composed of 467 Republicans, 47 Bonapartists, and 43 Royalists, whereas its predecessor had consisted of 387 Republicans, 81 Bonapartists, and 61 Royalists. In response to a general demand, M. Gambetta became prime minister on the meeting of the new Assembly in the autumn, with a cabinet composed mostly of men somewhat obscure, among whom the most conspicuous was M. Paul Bert, appointed minister of education and worship, whose appointment to that position scandalized a large portion of the nation, because of his well-known anti-religious sentiments.

To the disappointment occasioned by the composition of M. Gambetta's cabinet was soon added a disappointment at its failure to achieve the great things which had been expected of that statesman. He put forward an elaborate



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programme of constitutional revision, including the introduction of election to the Chamber by *scrutin de liste*, of election of all senators for nine years, none for life, and of a representation of communes proportional to their population, in the bodies choosing senators. But his measures failed to receive the support of the Chamber, and he was forced to resign after having held the office of prime minister but two months and a half (January, 1882). On the last day of that year M. Gambetta, still the most eminent French statesman of the time, died at Paris, aged forty-four.

Egyptian Affairs; the Princes.—The Khedive of Egypt had in 1879 entrusted the supervision of the financial administration of his country to two controllers, appointed by England and France respectively, in the interests of the citizens of those countries who were holders of Egyptian bonds. Difficulties arising in 1882 between the Khedive and his council, led by Arabi Pasha, England and France determined to intervene in behalf of the threatened interests of their subjects in that country. But after many negotiations among the powers of Europe, the military intervention was carried out by England alone, and France was obliged not only to remain aloof, but to submit to the abolition of the Dual Control.

The death of Gambetta aroused the Monarchists to renewed activity. Prince Napoleon issued a violent manifesto, and was arrested. Bills were brought in which were designed to exclude from the soil of France and of French possessions all members of houses formerly reigning in France. Finally, however, after a prolonged contest, a decree suspending the dukes of Aumale, Chartres, and Alençon from their functions in the army was signed by the President. Some months later, August, 1883, the Count of Chambord ("Henry V.") died at Frohsdorf; by this event the elder branch of the house of Bourbon became extinct, and the claims urged by both Legitimists and Orleanists were united in the person of the Count of Paris.

Madagascar and Tonquin.—During the year 1882 alleged encroachments upon French privileges and interests in the northwestern portion of Madagascar had embroiled France in conflict with the Hovas, the leading tribe of that island. The French admiral commanding the squadron in the Indian Ocean demanded in 1883 the placing of the northwestern part of the island under a French protectorate, and

the payment of a large indemnity. These terms being refused by the queen of the Hovas, Tamatave was bombarded and occupied, and desultory operations continued until the summer of 1883, when an expedition of the Hovas resulted in a signal defeat of the French. A treaty was then negotiated, in accordance with which the foreign relations of the island were put under the control of France, while the queen of Madagascar retained the control of internal affairs and paid certain claims.

A treaty executed in 1874 between the emperor of Annam and the French had conceded to the latter a protectorate over that country. His failure completely to carry out his agreement, and the presence of Chinese troops in Tonquin, were regarded as threatening the security of the French colony of Cochin China. A small expedition sent out under Commander Rivière to enforce the provision of the treaty was destroyed at Hanoi. Reinforcements were sent out. But the situation was complicated by the presence of bands of "Black Flags," brigands said to be unauthorized by the Annam government, and by claims on the part of China to a suzerainty over Tonquin. A treaty was made with Annam in August, 1883, providing for the cession of a province to France, and the establishment of a French protectorate over Annam and Tonquin. This, however, did not by any means wholly conclude hostilities in that province. Sontay was taken from the Black Flags in December, and Bacninh occupied in March, 1884.

War with China.—The advance of the French into regions over which China claimed suzerainty, and which were occupied by Chinese troops, brought on hostilities with that empire. In August, 1884, Admiral Courbet destroyed the Chinese fleet and arsenal at Foo-chow; in October he seized points on the northern end of the island of Formosa, and proclaimed a blockade of that portion of the island. On the frontier between Tonquin and China the French gained some successes, particularly in the capture of Lang-Sôn; yet the climate, and the numbers and determination of the Chinese troops, rendered it impossible for them to secure substantial results from victories. Finally, after a desultory and destructive war, a treaty was signed in June, 1885, which arranged that Formosa should be evacuated, that Annam should in future have no diplomatic relations except through France, and that France should have virtually com-

plete control over both it and Tonquin, though the question of Chinese suzerainty was left unsettled. The French then had the difficult task of pacifying Annam and Tonquin, and keeping order within them. Altogether it was not felt that the expeditions against Madagascar, Annam, and China had achieved brilliant success. They had, moreover, been a source of much expense to France; at first popular, they finally caused the downfall of the ministry which ordered them.

Revision of the Constitution.—That ministry, the ministry of M. Jules Ferry, which had come into office in February, 1883, had signaled its advent to power by the passage of a law suspending for three months the irremovability of judges. That measure had been resolved upon in order that the judicial body, still composed, in far the greater proportion, of Monarchists, might be brought into harmony with the Republican government. The strength of the Royalists, it should be added, seemed to be increasing in 1884, by reason of important efforts expended upon the organization of the party.

The Ferry ministry remained in power an unusual length of time,—a little more than two years. Its principal achievement in domestic affairs consisted in bringing about the revision of the constitution, which, framed by the Versailles Assembly in 1875, was felt by many to contain an excessive number of Monarchical elements. According to the provisions of the constitution, revision or amendment of it could only be carried out by the National Assembly or Congress, a joint assembly of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, convened for the purpose. Such a congress, restricted in advance to a partial revision, was assembled in August, 1884, at Versailles, but accomplished only a few changes: a restriction of the Senate's right to vote the budget or to interfere with its appropriation, and a provision forbidding any future revision to be carried to the extent of abrogating the republican form of government. Soon after, however, the two houses passed an important law altering the composition of the Senate. It was arranged that hereafter no senators should be chosen for life; if a vacancy should occur by the death of one of the seventy-five members who had been so chosen, his successor should be chosen to serve nine years, like other senators. Moreover, whereas in the departmental electing bodies every commune in France, whether large or small, had by the law of 1875 been given