but one vote, a representation more nearly proportioned to population was now accorded. In 1885, after the fall of the Ferry cabinet, a law was passed providing for scrutin de liste; each department being entitled to a number of deputies proportioned to the number of its citizens, the deputies for each were to be chosen on a general or departmental ticket. In the same year a law was passed declaring ineligible to the office of President of the Republic, senator or deputy, any prince of families formerly reigning in France. -The session of 1885 was marked also by the imposition of protective duties on cereal and meat products imported into France; the financial policy of France is now completely one of protection.

The Elections of 1885. — The partial elections to the Senate at the beginning of this year resulted in a Republican gain of twenty-two in that body. But when, in the middle of the year, the time approached for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, it was found that the dissensions between the different groups of the Republican party, and especially the wide divergence between the Opportunists or Moderates and the Radicals, threatened to bring about a large increase in the number of the reactionary deputies. At the first elections in October, this in fact resulted. But the number of the second elections necessary being large, the Republicans united their forces, and, carrying most of these elections, maintained their majority. The new Chamber consisted of about three hundred and eighty Republicans and about two hundred Monarchists; a much larger part of the Republican body than hitherto consisted of Radicals and Socialists. In December the National Assembly re-elected M. Grévy President of the Republic.

Party Contests; Expulsion of the Princes. - In the ministry led by M. de Freycinet which held office during the year 1886, great prominence was attained by the minister of war, General Boulanger, whose management of his department and political conduct won him great popularity. The ministry contained an unusual number of Radicals, and was involved in frequent conflicts with both the followers of M. Ferry and the Monarchists. These latter have in recent years often joined with the extreme Radicals in attacks upon Republican ministers. The political situation was still further disturbed by the prevalence of strikes and socialistic agitations.

The increasing activity of the agents of the Monarchist party, the strength which that party had shown in the elections of the preceding year, and the demonstrations which attended the marriage of the daughter of the Count of Paris to the crown prince of Portugal, incited the Republican leaders to more stringent measures against the princes of houses formerly reigning in France. The government was intrusted by law with discretionary power to expel them all from France, and definitely charged to expel actual claimants of the throne and their direct heirs. The Count of Paris and his son the Duke of Orleans, Prince Napoleon and his son Prince Victor, were accordingly banished by presidential decree in June, 1886. General Boulanger struck off from the army-roll the names of all princes of the Bonaparte and Bourbon families. The Duke of Aumale, indignantly protesting, was also banished; in the spring of 1889 he was permitted to return.

Meanwhile, within the Republican ranks, dissensions increased. The popularity of General Boulanger became more and more threatening to the cabinets of which he was a member. An agitation in his favor, conducted with much skill, caused fear lest he were aspiring to a military dictatorship of France. The illegal arrest of a French commissary of police on the German side of the Alsatian frontier produced strained relations with Germany, which at one time seemed likely, so warlike was the attitude of General Boulanger, to provoke a hostile collision. Soon, however, pacific counsels prevailed; General Boulanger was forced to resign, and, in order to check the constant agitations and demonstrations in his favor, was removed to a military command in the South. A law equalizing military service by making a three years' term compulsory upon all was passed.

Fall of M. Grévy; Election of M. Carnot. - The Republican party and the parliamentary régime in France were becoming constantly more and more discredited, by reason of constant dissensions, of frequent cabinet changes, and of consequent instability of policy and executive inefficiency. To these evils of factiousness and weakness was now added a series of damaging scandals. The use of public office as a reward for partisan services lay at the bottom of many of these; in others, there were evidences of more direct and flagrant corruption. Finally, in the autumn of 1887, an inquiry into the conduct of General Caffarel, deputy to the commander-in-chief, accused of selling decorations, implicated M. Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of M. Grévy, who was alleged to have undertaken to obtain appointments to office and lucrative contracts in return for money. M. Grévy's unwise attempts to shield his son-in-law brought about his own fall. The chambers, determined to force his resignation, refused to accept any ministry proposed by him. After much resistance and irritating delays he submitted, and resigned the presidency of the Republic on December 2, 1887.

On the next day the houses met in National Assembly at Versailles to choose the successor of M. Grévy. The members of the Right voted for Generals Saussure and Appert. The most prominent candidates for the Republicans were M. Ferry and M. de Freycinet; the former, however, was unpopular with the country. The followers of both, finding their election impossible, resolved to cast their votes for M. Sadi Carnot, a Republican of the highest integrity and universally respected. M. Carnot, a distinguished engineer, grandson of the Carnot who had, as minister of war, organized the victories of the armies of the Revolution, was accordingly elected President of the French Republic. The elections for the partial renewal of the Senate in January, 1888, resulted in slight Republican losses. A Radical cabinet under M. Floquet soon took office.

General Boulanger.—The chief difficulties encountered by the cabinet arose out of the active propagandism exercised in behalf of General Boulanger. The extraordinary popularity of this military hero who had never held an important command in war, seemed not to be reduced by his removal to the retired list for insubordination. Thus made eligible to the Chamber of Deputies, General Boulanger began actively to contest vacant seats. Returned first for the department of Dordogne, and then by an enormous majority for the important department of Nord, he seemed to have entered on the direct path leading to military dictatorship. A duel in which he was wounded by M. Floquet did not injure his cause. Having resigned his seat, he was triumphantly elected on one and the same day by the three departments of Nord, Charente-Inférieure, and Somme. Finally, in January, 1889, after a most exciting contest in Paris itself, between the upholders of the parliamentary system and the Boulangists, with whom the Royalists and many of the Radicals made common cause, he was by an enormous majority elected as a representative of the department of the Seine. The only programme which he put forward was a demand of revision of the constitution and dissolution of the Chamber; his name therefore became the rallying-point of those who were hostile to the parliamentary system, or to the Republican government in its present form. Alarmed both by his singular popularity and by his political intrigues, the government instituted a prosecution of him before the High Court of Justice; upon this he fled from the country, and the dangers of the agitation in his favor were, for the time at least, quieted.

1889.—On May 5, 1889, the one-hundredth anniversary of the assembly of the States-General was celebrated at Versailles. On the next day, President Carnot formally opened the Universal Exhibition at Paris, the greatest of the world's fairs which have been held in that city. The speeches which were made on these occasions congratulated the nation on the material progress of the past hundred years, expressed the national gratitude for the beneficent results of the Revolution, and in spite of the difficulties of the political situation, gave utterance to high hopes and patriotic confidence in the future of France.

Constitutional Changes. — Early in the year the Floquet ministry proposed the abolition of scrutin de liste, as giving too great an advantage to the Boulangists, and a return to scrutin d'arrondissement, which had been abandoned in the revision of 1885. The bill was passed by a vote in the Chamber of the entire Left against the combined Right, and by a very large majority in the Senate. The ministry, having pledged itself to a revision of the constitution, next brought forward a comprehensive Revision Bill; but the Chamber refused to take the bill into consideration, and the ministry resigned. M. Tirard, senator from the department of the Seine, formed a new ministry, which gave its attention to industrial matters. Both the ministry and the President of the Republic devoted themselves to making the Exhibition a means of restoring confidence in the Republic. During the existence of this ministry, the Army Bill, which had long been under discussion, was finally passed. Its chief provision was the substitution of three years' service in the army instead of five. Students of the liberal professions and priests were to serve one year. A law against multiple candidatures was also passed, forbidding a citizen to present himself for more than one seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

The reason for this enactment was the dangerous use of

multiple candidature made by General Boulanger.

Trial of Boulanger.—The trial of Boulanger before the High Court of Justice, begun April 8, dragged slowly through the summer. In June, an enormous quantity of papers belonging to the general was found in a draper's shop. These papers not only revealed the plots of General Boulanger, but also implicated a number of government officials. Finally (August 12, 14) General Boulanger was found guilty of conspiracy against the State, and of misappropriation of public money, and was condemned, in his absence, to imprisonment for life. With him were condemned as accomplices Count Dillon and M. Henri de Rochefort.

Elections of 1889. — It was felt that upon the elections of 1889 largely depended the fate of the Republic. In the midsummer elections for the renewal of one-half the Conseils-Généraux the Republicans held their own, despite the activity of the Boulangists. The fugitive general offered himself in as many as 120 cantons, but was elected in only 12. The elections for the Chamber of Deputies were set for September 22. All parties were unusually active in the canvass. The first ballot showed the strength of the Republicans, and the second or supplementary elections announced a Republican triumph, giving 365 seats to the Republicans as against 211 to all shades of opposition. Among the losses, however, which the Republican party had to deplore was that arising from the defeat of M. Jules Ferry. As many as 282 deputies were elected for the first time. On the reassembling of the Chamber (November 16), M. Floquet was elected its president on the first ballot.

The Tariff Question.—The most important question which came before the Chambers in 1890 was the settlement of the tariff. In 1892 all the commercial treaties between France and other nations would expire, and it became necessary to determine what the future policy of France should be. A customs committee, fifty-five in number, was constituted to examine the question. The protectionists secured a two-thirds majority of this committee. Shortly afterward the cabinet was reorganized under the leadership of M. de Freycinet, and a ministerial programme of economical and social reforms was laid before the Chambers. The discussions upon the tariff and other economic

measures continued during the sessions of 1890 and 1891. Finally at the beginning of 1892 a bill was passed placing high duties upon nearly all imports. A special tariff with much lower rates was constructed to offer to nations which would accord to France reciprocal advantages. In view of the increase of revenue expected from the tariff, railroad fares were reduced twenty-five per cent. and reductions in certain taxes were also made.

Labor Agitation. — Elections for the renewal of one-third of the Senate occurred in January, 1891, and resulted in giving 72 out of 82 seats to the Republicans. Among the number elected was M. Ferry, returned for the Department of the Vosges. About the same time a call for a national loan of 8694 millions of francs resulted in subscriptions of sixteen and one-half times that amount. Whilst the Government thus perceived that it no longer need have any serious fear of Boulangism, it found a cause for no little apprehension in the disorders accompanying the regularly recurring May-day labor demonstrations. They were a means by which the anarchists and other enemies of the government could too easily affect public opinion. In 1890 an effort was made in most European cities to organize a grand international strike for May 1. In Paris the energetic precautions of M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, had prevented any serious trouble, but in the north of France the strikes and disturbances had assumed considerable proportions. In 1891 strikes occurred on a still larger scale. In many places conflicts between the authorities and the crowd took place. At Fourmies there was a fight between the soldiery and the mob, and several were killed. Large numbers were arrested. Whilst the government showed a determination to preserve order, it recognized the importance of the movement, and created (January, 1891) a Labor Bureau to collect and distribute trustworthy information on labor questions. Bills were passed regulating the conditions under which women and children should labor in factories.

The Parties.—The death of Prince Napoleon at Rome (March 17, 1891) brought about the collapse of the Imperialists. Refusing to the last to be reconciled to his son, Prince Victor, he named his second son, Prince Louis, as his successor; but the refusal of this prince to antagonize his brother's rights left the fatal division unhealed. The Royalists seized this opportunity to reorganize, hoping to attract

to their standard all the anti-Republicans. The Count of Paris chose Count d'Haussonville as leader of the party, and an active propagandism was begun It was only too successful, and the government put a stop to it. A few months later (September 30) General Boulanger, dishonored and

forsaken, committed suicide near Brussels.

Church and State; Fall of the Freycinet Cabinet. - Another change in the aspect of affairs was produced by the attitude of the Catholics. Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, had urged all Catholics to rally to the Republic. The result was the formation in 1891 of a Catholic and Conservative party, professing, however, complete freedom on the part of the Catholics. On the other hand, the French cardinals and bishops issued a severe criticism of the Republic, making complaints against the education and military laws, and accusing the Republic of a persistent antagonism to the Church. The Pope, nevertheless, came out boldly against the cardinals, and counselled adhesion to the Republic. At the beginning of 1892 a bill was brought forward by the ministry to abolish the licenses necessary for associations, and to require only that a copy of the regulations be delivered to the magistrates. On the ground that it was a step toward the separation of Church and State, the bill was defeated, and M. Freycinet and his colleagues resigned. The ministry which followed under M. Loubet, a moderate Republican, declared itself not commissioned to prepare a separation of the Churches and the State. The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Bourgeois, brought forward a proposal to make university faculties independent organic bodies instead of mere administrative officers subject to the ministry. But the proposal met with obstructions in the Senate, chiefly from an unwillingness to leave to the government the selection of the towns which should be made seats of learning, and was withdrawn.

The Panama Canal Scandal.—In 1880 M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the promoter of the Suez Canal, organized the Panama Canal Company, for the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Shares were largely subscribed for by people of all classes in France, and in addition large loans were asked for from time to time from the government. Notwithstanding these enormous loans the company came to bankruptcy. It transpired that in obtaining these loans deception and corruption had been practised

on a huge scale. Baron Reinach, the chief agent of this corruption, died in November, 1892, under suspicious circumstances. A large number of public officers were also implicated. Charles Barhaut, Minister of Public Works in 1886, had demanded 1,000,000 francs for his support of a lottery loan, and had received 375,000 francs. Charges were preferred against the directors of the company for misappropriating its funds and violating the laws governing public companies, and against a number of other persons for giving or receiving bribes. MM. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps were condemned to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs. Charles Barhaut was condemned to five years' imprisonment, with civil degradation, and a fine of 750,000 francs. Others received lesser sontences. The sentence against the aged engineer was never carried out, for he lay paralyzed and died a few months later. During the Panama investigation the cabinet had twice been remodelled. The Loubet ministry had given way to one under M. Ribot, which in its turn meekly succumbed. A ministry formed by M. Dupuy, which took office in April, 1893, concerned itself chiefly with laws restricting foreign immigration.

Dahomey.—During 1890 and 1891 frequent raids were made by the Dahomeyans upon Porto Novo, a town on the west coast of Africa, which has been under French protection since 1884. The native villages were destroyed, and hundreds of people carried off to slavery or for sacrifice. The government at last determined to put a stop to these raids. In May, 1892, an expedition was sent out under Colonel Dodds, which, starting from Porto Novo in August, gradually drove the Dahomey warriors back. After several severe conflicts in November, Abomey, the capital, was taken. During the following year desultory operations were carried on, and in January, 1894, Behanzin, the king of Dahomey, surrendered. The people had for the most part already submitted.

Elections of 1893; the "Russian Truce." — During 1892 a law was passed extending the term of the next Chamber to 1898, in such manner that the elections might occur in the spring instead of in the autumn as hitherto. No national questions were prominent in the elections of 1893, though personal and local contests were sharp enough. All members of the Cabinet were elected at the first ballot (August 20), and the final elections gave the Republicans a large majority. A noticeable feature of the new body was the

large number of Socialists. The Right had almost disappeared. Owing to increase in population the number of

deputies was increased from 576 to 581.

For two or three years an alliance of France with Russia had been talked of. In the summer of 1891 the northern squadron, under Admiral Gervais, had visited Cronstadt, and the Czar had visited the admiral's ship, and had listened with uncovered head to the French hymn of liberty. The French had responded by playing the Russian national air. In October, 1893, the Russian squadron came to Toulon, and received the honors of the nation. President Carnot visited the fleet at Toulon, and on the same day the Czar paid a visit to two French ships at Copenhagen. The press of the time spoke at length of the influence which the friendship or league of the two nations would have in giving France a larger voice in the affairs of Europe and in promoting peace. During the stay of the Russian officers in Paris, Marshal MacMahon died, and was buried with state honors.

Ministry of Casimir-Périer. — The new Chamber met on November 14, and re-elected as President M. Casimir-Périer, who had succeeded M. Floquet in the spring session. The Radical candidate was M. Henri Brisson. The Dupuy ministry laid before the Chambers an anti-socialistic programme, but failed to receive a vote of confidence. After repeated failures a ministry was formed by M. Casimir-Périer; M. Dupuy succeeded to the presidency of the Chamber. Only one member of this ministry had served in the preceding, - a

thing unusual in France.

In 1892 several attempts were made by anarchists against various magistrates by exploding bombs at or near their residences. In these explosions several persons were killed. An anarchist called Ravachol was convicted of some of these outrages and guillotined. In May, 1893, repetitions of these outrages occurred. On December 9 an anarchist named Auguste Vaillant entered the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies and attempted to hurl a bomb at the President. The bomb struck the cornice and exploded, wounding a great many people and among them Vaillant himself. With admirable presence of mind M. Dupuy called the house to order, and the members proceeded with business almost without interruption. A month later Vaillant was convicted of attempted murder and executed. The ministry seized the opportunity to secure the passage of bills giving to the gov-

ernment the power of imprisonment for the propagation of anarchistic doctrines, and applying to anarchists the same penalties as to ordinary criminals. Notwithstanding legislation and precautions there was an epidemic of bombs in

Paris in the spring of 1894.

The senatorial elections which occurred in January resulted in returning most of the senators whose terms had expired. The Royalists lost eight seats. The most important financial measure which the ministry secured was the plan of M. Burdeau, Minister of Finance, for converting the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. government stock into  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cents., by which the next budget would be lightened by 68,000,000 francs. To this ministry is due also the erection of the colonial administration into a separate ministry. It had been first an under-secretaryship of the Ministry of Marine, then of Commerce, and again of Marine. Shortly afterward the ministry was defeated by Radical influences, and once more M. Dupuy became prime minister and M. Casimir-Périer President of the Chamber.

Assassination of President Carnot; Election of M. Casimir-**Périer.** — On June 24, as President Carnot was driving through Lyons, to which city he was paying a formal visit, an Italian anarchist named Santo Caserio rushed out of the crowd and stabbed him. With a cry of "Vive l'anarchie," the assassin attempted to escape, but was captured, and was with difficulty saved from the vengeance of the populace. That night President Carnot died. The whole world was horrified at the outrage. Since his election to the presidency, President Carnot, by his firmness in matters of government and his statesmanlike attitude on public questions, had won universal respect. Three days after the assassination the Senate and Chamber met in National Assembly at Versailles to choose a President, Carnot's successor. The moderate Republicans desired M. Casimir-Périer, whose popularity and strong qualities as a leader made him a desirable candidate. The Radical candidate was M. Henri Brisson. On the first ballot M. Casimir-Périer received an overwhelming majority over all his opponents. In his message to the Chamber on July 3, the President-Elect spoke of the regularity with which the transmission of power had been made as a testimony to the value of republican institutions.

Retirement of M. Casimir-Périer. — The new President and his premier soon found themselves violently opposed by Radicals and Socialists, especially the latter, who poured forth a torrent of accusation against them. Finally, the exposure of corruption connected with certain railroad franchises in which some of the President's friends were implicated brought about the downfall of the ministry. The difficulty of forming a new ministry, and the coolness of the nation toward him, so different from its attitude toward President Carnot, decided President Casimir-Périer to retire. Accordingly his resignation was placed before the Chamber and Senate, and on January 17 the National Assembly met to elect his successor. The principal candidates were M. Henri Brisson, President of the Chamber, M. Félix Faure, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau. At second ballot M. Waldeck-Rousseau retired in favor of M. Faure, who was accordingly elected by 460 votes as against 361 for M. Brisson. An attempt was made to form a Radical ministry under M. Bourgeois, but this having failed, a ministry of Moderates was formed by M. Ribot. That which especially marked the entrance to office of President Faure and the Ribot ministry was a bill giving amnesty for political offences of members of the press and clergy. M. Henri Rochefort, condemned for his connection with Boulangism, at once returned to

Madagascar. — Infractions by the Hovas of the treaty of 1883 led to the despatch in October, 1894, of a demand for complete control of affairs in Madagascar by the French government. This ultimatum being rejected, an expedition was sent out in April, under General Duchesne, to bring the Hova government to terms. Tamatave had already been occupied (December 10, 1894) by French forces in the island. The French slowly made their way toward the capital, meeting with little resistance, though their numbers were reduced one-half by disease. On September 30, 1895, General Duchesne entered Antananarivo, and the queen at once made peace. A French protectorate of the island was definitely established.

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