ception became apparent. but too late to be remedied. The French were as thoroughly deceived by the traditions of the First Empire and the supposed invincibility of the soldiers of France as were the Prussians when they confronted the great Corsican with the boasted soldiers of Frederick the Great. On the German side. Moltke in his cabinet busied himself with the strategy and tactics of the coming war. while Bismarck peremptorily demanded and obtained the necessary legislation. An alleged cause being necessary, it was not difficult to find. In 1870 the Spaniards, who had dethroned Queen Isabella in 1868. offered the crown of Spain to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a descendant of a younger branch of the house of which the King of Prussia was a member. Napoleon at once objected, announcing that France would never consent to such an extension of the German power. On the advice of King William, Leopold declined the proffered crown. The French minister then demanded that the Prussian king record a pledge that he would never support the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince for the Spanish crown, and also that the king write a letter of apology to the French emperor. Both propositions were received with a curt refusal, and the French ambassador at Berlin was dismissed. On the insult to the Prussian king, a great wave of patriotism rolled over Germany and the voice of the nation was raised for war. The dismissal of the French minister was received in France as an attack on the national honor, and the French people became as eager for hostilities as were the Germans. A diet of the north German Confederation met July 19th, 1870, and unanimously placed the military resources of the nation at the disposal of the government. In France orders were issued for the mobilization of the army, and war was declared. Napoleon had received assurances which warranted him in thinking that Austria, Denmark and Italy would join him in the war. It was also supposed that the dislike of Prussian methods among the south German states would secure their aid for the French cause. Revolts were even expected in Saxony, Hesse and Hanover. Napoleon was leaning on a broken reed, for both Italy and Austria maintained a strict neutrality, and all the German states under an irresistible impulse of race pride leagued their forces with the armies of the Confederation. Napoleon knew that his troops were numerically inferior to the united German forces, but hoped to imitate the lightning-like movements of the First Emperor, and dash upon a dispersed German army, giving it no time to concentrate. The conditions, however, were entirely different from those which existed at the time of the great campaigns of 1805, 1806 and 1809. The admirable discipline which then characterized the veteran French army was now found transferred to the German forces, and a silent. stern soldier, without the commanding genius of the great Napoleon, but fully as expert in strategic combinations held the Teutonic troops in leash. The French emperor collected one-hundred thousand troops at Strasburg. His main army, which he proposed to command in person, was assembled, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, at Metz. A reserve of fifty thousand men garrisoned the fortified camp at Chalons. A junction was to be effected between the army at Strasburg and the one at Metz, the two to cross the Rhine together.

The German plan contemplated an invasion of south Germany by the French. which would be neutralized by the assembling of the German army in the Palatinate on the French flank. In the first days of August four hundred and fifty thousand Germans were concentrated between Treves and Landau, while one hundred thousand more were on the march to the front. The French emperor advanced first, moving upon Saarbrucken on the 2nd of August and driving out a small German detachment which occupied the town. This affair was proclaimed in France as a great victory. On August 4th, the Crown Prince of Prussia moved across the frontier, attacking a French division at Weissenburg. The French fought heroically, but were forced to retire with heavy loss. Marshal MacMahon, in command of this division of the French army, hastily withdrew to Woerth, but before he could collect his forces, a part of whom were coming up from the rear. the Crown Prince attacked him. on the 6th of August, and after a severe contest. in which the French Turcos and Zouaves distinguished themselves, drove MacMahon from the field into the passes of the Vosges Mountains. Part of the discomfited French army fled to the south and took refuge in Strasburg. On the same day a Prussian force assaulted General Frossard, who had taken position on the Spicheren Heights near Saarbrucken, and at the close of the fight Frossard retired to Forbach. beyond the frontier of Lorraine. By these operations MacMahon was cut off from a junction with the main French army at Metz. By a circuitous march he reached Chalons. So far the whole French plan of campaign, which contemplated an immediate advance on Berlin, was defeated. but the reverses already sustained were not yet beyond remedy, for the finest part of the French army had not been engaged. and in the defensive campaign forced upon them, advantages of position might be made to compensate for inferiority in numbers.

Retreat of the French.

A rapid concentration of the imperial armies was attempted by a backward movement to the Moselle. The three German armies advanced into France at once. The passes of the Vosges were forced and the retreating French under MacMahon were pursued by a division while the remainder of the Germans moved toward Metz. Abandoning everything to the eastward except Metz and Strasburg, the French army under Bazaine endeavored to concentrate near Chalons, with the design of ultimately falling back on Paris. Passing through Metz, Bazaine reached the left bank of the Moselle. but at Courcelles his rear-guard was overtaken and compelled to fight. In this battle the French Third and Fourth corps were beaten and driven under the walls of Metz. Bazaine moved out toward Verdun.

Battle of Vionville

Arriving at Vionville on the 16th, he was attacked in flank, and as the successive divisions of the two armies came up a desperate battle was fought, which resulted in such an obstruction of the road toward Verdun that Bazaine gave up his attempt. He held his position with the intention of continuing the battle, but his danger was extreme, because of the heavy reinforcements which the enemy were receiving.

Battle of Gravelotte

On the 17th two hundred thousand Germans were concentrated before Gravelotte, commanded by the king in person. The French force was decidedly inferior in numbers. In the maneuvers which preceded the battle the positions of the two armies were so changed that the German line faced the east, and the French stood with their backs toward Germany. The latter, intending to fight a defensive battle, strengthened their line and took all possible advantage of the heights and the numerous ravines with which the position was intersected. The Germans attacked at nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th. The fighting was desperate, and the assailants were unable to force the position until, toward evening, a flank attack by their Twelfth corps compelled the French to give way. During the night Bazaine withdrew into Metz. The French loss was about twelve thousand, and that of the Germans twenty thousand, but the disparity in losses was more than compensated for by the shutting up of the French army in Metz. Masking that fortress with a force of one hundred and sixty thousand men under Prince Frederick Charles, the German army moved toward Chalons. In the meantime the French in Paris had turned against their emperor, deposing him, and declaring for a Republic. A plan was devised by General Palikao which required the French at Chalons, under Napoleon and MacMahon, to move along the Belgian frontier in order to effect a junction with the army of Bazaine at Metz. The Germans, receiving information

of the movement, marched across the country to intercept it. The French were moving on an arc of a circle, while the Germans marched on a chord of the same arc. The German advance encountered the French on the 29th of August at Nouart. On the 30th a part of the French army was beaten in the battle of Beaumont, and by the 31st their whole force was hemmed in by the Germans. Under these circumstances the battle of Sedan was fought on the 1st of September. After a day of fighting, the French were driven into Sedan, where they were subjected to a murderous fire from the German artillery. Reduced to despair, Napoleon surrendered. Paris having declared against him, he was compelled to throw himself on the generosity of the Germans, who assigned him as a residence the castle of Wilhelmshohe in Cassel. MacMahon was severely wounded during the combat. The surrendered army numbered between eighty and ninety thousand men, with three hundred and thirty pieces of artillery. At Metz, Bazaine made several unsuccessful sorties, and was forced by lack of supplies to surrender the fortress on the 27th of October, with about one hundred and eighty thousand men. Meanwhile Strasburg had been besieged, and held out under General Uhrich until September 28th, when the city was surrendered with eighteen thousand troops.

After the capitulation of Metz the German army advanced on Paris and besieged it. Upon the deposition of Napoleon, the city had been placed under a provisional government and General Trochu intrusted with the defense. Paris was defended by about three hundred thousand men, including the troops of the line, the marines and the national guard. The German force was numerically inferior, but the disparity in numbers was more than made up by the indecision of Trochu's character and the superior organization and discipline of the besieging army. The marines, who manned the forts, and the troops of the line as well as the mobiles from the provinces who fought outside the walls of the city, sustained the old-time reputation of the French as a martial race, but the national guard of Paris did little more than consume provisions and indulge in mock heroics.

Siege of Paris

The German lines of investment were drawn about the city in the fall and early winter, and the siege resolved itself into a starving-out operation with occasional sorties by the beleaguered French. While the siege was in progress several armies were raised in the provinces and advanced to the relief of the capital. One of these exterior forces, commanded by Garibaldi, carried on a partisan warfare in the southeast of France, but was defeated by Gen. Werder at Pasque, near Dijon, in the latter part of November. A German division under Gen. Von der Tann advanced to Orleans, where it was attacked by an improvised French army and driven back. Reinforced by the troops under Prince Frederick Charles, who took command of the whole German strength in this part of France, the invaders moved on Orleans and drove across the Loire the army of Aurelles de Paladine. The hastily raised French Army of the North, commanded by Gen. Bourbaki, was confronted by Gen. Manteuffel at Amiens and forced back to Arras. Manteuffel then occupied Rouen and stretched his lines across the country to protect the besiegers of Paris from attack on the north and west. Late in November a sortie was made by the French from Paris in a southeasterly direction for the purpose of effecting a junction with the Army of the Loire. Moving toward Paris. the Loire Army was checked by Frederick Charles at Beaune la Rolande. The sortie from the capital, which was led by Gen. Ducrot, was unsuccessful, the French being thrown back into the city after a fierce struggle in which both armies sustained heavy losses. The German force at Orleans pushed out southward in the first days of December. A detachment of the French was driven through Tours to Gien. where it was dispersed. The main body of the Army of the Loire, under Gen. Chanzy, who had succeeded Paladine, met the enemy at Beaugency, and, after several days of skirmishing and fighting, was defeated and pushed back to Le Mans. On December 18th Gen. Werder engaged a French division at Nuits in the eastern department, but fell back to Vesoul on the reception of a report that he was about to be attacked by a large force under Garibaldi and Bourbaki.

About the middle of December the French Army of the North, now under Gen. Faidherbe, advanced upon Amiens in concert with a projected sortie from Paris. Manteuffel attacked the northern army, and after a well-fought battle the French retreated to Arras. From Paris the French moved out to the northeast and reached the village of Le Bourget; here their advance was stayed. and they were soon pressed back into the city. Provisions in the besieged capital were nearly exhausted, and the troops and inhabitants were fed on a reduced ration. Horses were slaughtered and eaten, and the fine collection of rare animals in the Jardin des Plantes was converted into food. There was as yet no actual starvation, but the pinchings of hunger began to be felt. Notwithstanding this, the citizens and soldiers unitedly cried out against surrender. The organized French forces outside of Paris were included in Faidherbe's army of sixty thousand at Arras, the force under Gen. Chanzy, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, near Le Mans, and about twenty thousand under Garibaldi and Crémer in the eastern districts. In addition to these, numerous bands of Franc-tireurs carried on a sort of guerilla warfare in the rear of the German armies. In the beginning of January, 1871, Frederick Charles moved against Chanzy, who was himself on the march to attack the Germans. The French fell back fighting to Le Mans, where, in a decisive battle, the Germans beat and dispersed their opponents. Bourbaki, with the Army of the East, numbering about one hundred and fifty thousand undisciplined and ill supplied men, undertook to cut the enemy's line of communication with Germany, designing ultimately to invade that country. Gen. Werder occupied a position near Montbéliard, where the French attacked him, but were compelled to retreat after an indecisive action. Bourbaki was pursued to Pontarlier, near the Swiss line, and was there attacked by Manteuffel on the first of February. Several thousand of the French were captured and the remainder escaped into Switzerland, in which neutral territory they were disarmed. Faidherbe, with his little Army of the North, advanced resolutely to St. Quentin, where, in a battle with a superior force on the 19th of January, he was decisively defeated. In the meantime the fortresses of Thionville, Montmedy and Mézières, with others, fell into the hands of the Germans, to whom scarcely any organized resistance was opposed except at the capital. The bombardment of Paris began January 5th. Trochu conducted a last desperate sortie toward St. Cloud on the 19th of the same month, but made no permanent impression on the German lines. Food supplies were now so reduced, and the impossibility of relief from the outside was so evident, that the capitulation of Paris was seen to be unavoidable. That city surrendered January 28th, 1871, and during an armistice of twenty-one days a National Assembly met at Bordeaux and agreed to the German terms. A treaty of peace was negotiated at Frankfort on the 10th of May, by which France ceded to the victors the German part of Lorraine, including the fortress of Metz, and all of Alsace except Belfort. The French also agreed to pay to Germany five thousand millions of francs as a war indemnity. As security for the payment of the indemnity, the Germans were to occupy with their troops the forts north and east of Paris and the northeastern departments of the country. In the war the Germans captured nearly four hundred thousand men and more than seven thousand cannon. While the Siege of Paris was in progress a proposition to reconstitute the German Em-

pire as a Confederation by a union of all the states except Austria, with the King of Prussia as emperor, was accepted generally throughout the nation. On the 3rd of December, 1870, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in the name of the German governments, tendered the Imperial Crown to the Prussian Monarch. The necessary legislation was had in the various states, and at Versailles, on the 18th of January, 1871, King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany. The German army made a triumphal entry into Paris on the 1st of March, and retired after occupying the city thirty-six hours. On the 7th of March the German headquarters were removed from Versailles, and the Emperor set out on his return home, whither his chancellor had preceded him. He passed over the memorable fields of Vionville and Gravelotte on his way, and it was not until the 17th of March that he arrived in Berlin. That was a day long to be remembered in the Prussian capital. The venerable Marshal Wrangel, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, Steinmetz and Falckenstein were on the platform to meet him, and the greetings which the veteran Emperor received from these tried and trusted servants, from the members of his own household, and from the people were full of affection and patriotic enthusiasm. On the 19th, a solemn thanksgiving service was held at the cathedral. On the 22nd, the Emperor's seventy-fifth birthday was celebrated, the festivities being attended by most of the German princes in person, while Austria, Spain and Italy sent congratulations. The Emperor took occasion to reward his officers who had so well stood by him in the past troubles; Bismarck was created a prince, and General Moltke was raised to the peerage with the title of Count. On the 16th of June a grand military display was held in honor of the success of the war, when 50,000 troops who had borne a part in it entered Berlin in triumph and were reviewed by the Emperor, who had stationed himsel under the statue of Blucher. After the review, William unveiled a statue of his father, Frederick William III, and at night the city was illuminated—the only dark spot being the building occupied by the French embassy.

Peace being assured abroad, the Emperor and his chancellor set about consolidating the institutions of the new empire. They soon found that they had two antagonistic parties above all to deal with—the Ultramontane Catholics on one hand and the socialists on the other—and for the next ten years the history of the empire is mainly concerned with the struggle between these two parties and the Imperial Government. Trouble came almost immediately from the Ultramontanes, spurred on by the Vatican, which viewed the rise of a powerful Protestant German empire with dismay. The first united German parliament met on the 21st of March, 1871, and a passage in the Emperor's opening speech, in which he said that Germany would leave to every nation to find its way to unity, and to every state to determine the form of its own constitution, was interpreted by the Catholics as an intimation that the Imperial Government would not interfere in behalf of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. They moved an amendment to the Address to the Throne, but Bismarck's influence was too powerful for them. They were defeated by 243 votes to 63, a few socialists voting with the minority. Shortly after this, a manifesto was addressed to the Emperor by the Archbishop of Cologne and twelve other prelates, complaining of the course of the Minister of Public Worship in retaining in office a religious teacher who adhered to the Old Catholic doctrines. The Old Catholics were a party who opposed the new dogma of papal infallibility, which the Vatican Council had proclaimed during the Franco-Prussian war. The Emperor replied that, whether his hopes of harmonious co-operation in promoting the new empire were fulfilled or not, he would continue as before to grant to each community the fullest liberty consistent with the rights of others, and their equality before the law. The religious freedom thus accorded to the Old Catholics was very distasteful to the Ultramontane bishops. A further blow to their intolerance was dealt by the Bavarian minister, Von Lutz, who introduced in the diet a bill making it penal for clergymen to abuse their office by political agitation in the pulpit. In the Rhenish provinces, the Roman Catholic priesthood had been in the habit, during elections, of delivering sermons describing in pathetic terms the situation of the Pope, and urging their hearers to elect Ultramontane candidates. The bill was carried by a large majority.

In 1872 the conflict with the Romish party deepened in intensity. Both sides were in an uncompromising temper; and Bismarck was determined that the state should not yield. "We will not go to Canossa," he said. He resolved to settle once for all the old quarrel between Pope and Emperor, and to crush the priest under the supremacy of the sovereign. William was convinced that the Catholic clergy were wanting in loyalty, and adopted entirely the views of his ministry. He placed at the head of the Department of Public Worship Dr. Falck, a Protestant advocate, who was thoroughly in sympathy with the policy of the government, and under Falck's administration a system of legislation was inaugurated for the purpose of placing the Romish church in Germany and all its institutions, clerical, monastic and educational, under the control of the state. It was a struggle, the Berlin cabinet declared, for the well-being of civilization, of which the Church of Rome had become the declared enemy; it was a "kulturkampf"—a battle for culture—as an eminent Deputy of the advanced Liberal party termed it. The collision between the State and the Romish church was precipitated by an occurrence purely accidental. Bismarck happened to enter the House of Deputies one day when Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Catholic reactionary party, was making a speech, in which he complained of the diminished advantages open to Catholics in the state and in education. The chancellor delivered an impromptu reply, severely arraigning the clerical party for their disloyal attitude. "When I returned from France to devote myself to home affairs," he said, "the Clerical, or Centre party, which had just been formed, seemed to me a party whose policy was directed against the predominance and unity of the state. I will not conceal from you that the Government had hoped to rely upon the assistance of the orthodox element. I thought it had a right to expect that they, above all, would render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Instead of this we find ourselves systematically withstood in the South, and most violently attacked in the papers and in speeches destined for the instruction of the lower classes." The first fruit of this debate was the introduction of a School Inspection bill, providing that the state should have the supervision of all educational institutions, public and private; and that all officers appointed as inspectors should be servants of the state, and in no way responsible to the various religious denominations. The Catholics, of course, opposed the bill strenuously, but, oddly enough, the orthodox Protestants united with the Ultramontanes, while the Poles were against it because they looked upon it as a step toward Germanizing the Polish provinces. The Liberals, however, of all shades of opinion, supported the chancellor. In the royal circle, the only friend of the measure was the Crown Prince, both the Emperor and Empress being very lukewarm, but inclined to favor the old denominational system. Bismarck's vigorous pleading carried the bill by a majority of 197 to 171. The bill then went to the Upper House. An unforeseen circumstance strengthened its chances there. A Polish youth was arrested on a charge of conspiring to assassinate Prince Bismarck, and his examination revealed the fact that he had been living in the house of a Jesuit priest, where the police seized some important papers. When the School Inspection bill

came before the Upper House, Bismarck read aloud several passages from the confiscated correspondence which were very damaging both to Dr. Windthorst and to the Bishop of Mayence, in regard to ultramontane intrigues. He charged that the aims of the Clerical party were incompatible with the interests and policy of the new empire, and read a dispatch from one of his diplomatic representatives to the effect that France hoped to gain revenge by stirring up religious trouble in Germany, and that the Pope sought to overthrow the empire so that he might re-establish his secular power in Italy. He concluded with a powerful appeal to the Conservative opposition. "While two Catholic powers existed on our borders," he said, "each supposed to be stronger than Prussia, and more or less at the disposal of the Catholic church, we were allowed to live in peace and quiet. Things changed after our victory of 1866, and the consequent ascendency of the Protestant dynasty of Hohenzollern. And now that another Catholic power has gone the same way, and we have acquired a might which with God's help we mean to keep, our opponents are more embittered than ever, and make us the butt of their constant attacks." The chancellor was again victorious. The bill passed the Upper House by 125 votes to 56. Soon afterward there was an open quarrel between Germany and the papacy, owing to the Pope's refusal to receive Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe as the German representative at the Vatican. The Prince was "*non grata*" because he was not only a Liberal German unionist, but an opponent of the infallibility dogma as well. The matter was discussed in the Reichstag on the 14th of May, when Bismarck, after expressing regret at the discourtesy of the Pope, said that regard for the interests of the Catholic population of Germany alone determined him to nominate another envoy. A majority of the Deputies were for striking out of the estimates the cost of an envoy to the Vatican, but Bismarck again prevailed, and the charge was sanctioned. On the 15th of May, petitions for the expulsion of the Jesuits were presented by the hundred, and it was shown that while in 1864 that order had only 69 convents in Germany, they had increased to 243 in 1865, to 481 in 1866, and in 1869 to 826. In accordance with a resolution of the House, the Government introduced a bill placing the Society of Jesus under police supervision, giving the Federal Council power to remove its members from any part of Germany where their presence seemed inconsistent with the public interests, abolishing all Jesuit convents, and expelling all foreign members of the order from German soil. The bill was passed, and received the Emperor's sanction. Among those who advocated it was Prince Hohenlohe, the late Bavarian premier. The suppression of the Jesuits threw the Roman Catholic church into a militant attitude. A union of German Catholics was organized at Mayence with the avowed object of supporting that church in its conflict with the empire. The members of the union met at Fulda in September, and issued a memorial explicitly asserting that the canon laws were more binding than those enacted by the secular power, and that the Church and not the State was supreme in ecclesiastical matters, in education, and in marriage contracts. They also upheld the Episcopal right of excommunication. The Pope's Christmas allocution contained a reference to the situation of affairs in Germany, which added fuel to the flame on both sides.

Bismarck and the papacy.

The Jesuits curbed.

The response of the Imperial Government to the Fulda manifesto and the Pope's allocution was the introduction on the 9th of January, 1873, of the celebrated Falck laws, called also the "May laws," from the month in which they were passed. The Prussian Minister for Public Worship, Dr. Falck, brought in four important bills, by which the state proposed to take into its own hands the supervision of the education of the clergy, and to ensure the training of a German national instead of an ultramontane clergy. Hitherto all churches had been left free to govern themselves and to educate their own clergy, and in the case of the Roman Catholics special seminaries had been established for the education of those destined for the priesthood from their youth upward. All institutions of the kind now in existence were by the proposed law to be placed under rigorous state inspection, while the opening of new ones was forbidden. Candidates for the priesthood were required to attend the State Gymnasia and Universities, so that a portion at least of their training might be received among the laity, and before they could be ordained they must pass a state examination. The Government was henceforth to exercise supervision over all clerical appointments, and heavy fines were imposed for violations of this law.

A supreme court was to sit at Berlin to deal with cases involving ecclesiastical discipline. These bills were discussed at great length and with much fervor, but ultimately all of them were passed by both Houses of the Prussian Parliament. The German diet opened on the 12th of March. In consequence of a report prepared by the committee on religious orders, the Federal Council decided to expel from the Empire the monastic orders of Redemptorists and Lazarists, and the congregations of the Holy Cross and the Sacred Heart. This decision gave rise to a warm debate in the diet, when Bismarck again denounced the ultramontane leaders as enemies of the empire, and appealed to the judgment of history against them. The Prussian Catholic bishops met at Fulda in April, and drew up a solemn protest against the ecclesiastical laws, which was circulated amongst the clergy in their dioceses. Active resistance to the law began to be offered, and prosecutions were promptly instituted, the most notorious of those against whom criminal proceedings were taken being Ledochowski, Archbishop of Posen, who had systematically made appointments to benefices in defiance of the laws. He was condemned to a fine of 200 thalers, or four months' imprisonment, but he still kept on the same course. The conflict between the government and the Ultramontanes continued all through the year. In October, a great sensation was caused in Germany and throughout Europe by the publication of a correspondence between the Pope and Emperor William. Writing on the 7th of August, the Pope charged the German government with aiming more and more at the destruction of Catholicism, but said he had heard that the Emperor did not approve of the harshness of the measures adopted by the government, and that those measures could have no other effect than to undermine his Majesty's own throne. "I speak with frankness," Pio Nono added, "for my banner is truth. I speak in order to fulfil one of my duties, which consists in telling the truth to all, even to those who are not Catholics, for every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other—which to define more precisely would be here out of place—belongs, I say to the Pope." On the 3rd of September the Emperor replied saying that he was glad his Holiness had done him the honor to write to him, because it afforded him an opportunity to correct errors which must have occurred in the communications his Holiness had received relative to German affairs. "If the reports which are made to your Holiness respecting German questions only stated the truth," wrote William, "it would not be possible for your Holiness to entertain the supposition that my government enters upon a path which I do not approve. According to the constitution of my states, such a case cannot happen, since the laws and government measures in Prussia require my consent as sovereign. To my deep sorrow, a portion of my Catholic subjects have organized for the past two years a political party which endeavors to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the state, the religious peace which has existed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have unfortunately not only approved this movement, but joined in it to

the extent of open revolt against existing laws." The Emperor expressed a hope that his Holiness would, upon being informed of the true position of affairs, use his authority to put an end to the agitation carried on amid deplorable distortion of the truth and abuse of priestly authority. He could not pass without contradiction the expression that every one who has received baptism belongs to the Pope. He accepted no other mediator with God than Jesus Christ. "This difference of belief," he concluded, "does not prevent me from living in peace with those who do not share mine, and I offer your Holiness the expression of my personal devotion and esteem." It was generally conceded that William had the best of the argument, and congratulations poured in upon him from all parts of Germany. The city of Augsburg in particular sent a remarkable address signed by Catholics and Protestants alike, expressing satisfaction and pride at the independent attitude of the Emperor, declaring the papal complaints of persecution to be a wanton perversion of the truth, and urging his Majesty to continue to enforce the laws. As the Emperor's letter came opportunely just before the elections to the Prussian and Imperial diets, it had the effect of gaining many votes in favor of the policy of William and his premier. In the session now inaugurated another important bill was passed, sanctioning civil marriage and civil registration of births and deaths throughout the Prussian dominions. The functions of the registrar were made obligatory, while those of the clergy were left optional. On the 7th of December, William, as King of Prussia, issued a decree requiring all Catholic bishops, previous to receiving recognition from the state, to take an oath to observe the laws of the Prussian kingdom, and not to allow the clergy subject to them to teach resistance. They had hitherto sworn only to obey the laws, but reserved to themselves all rights with regard to their spiritual obligations. Pius IX grew more and more morose over the state of things in Germany, and in an encyclical described the Old Catholics as "wretched sons of perdition," and excommunicated their newly appointed leader, Bishop Rheinkens.

The year 1874 was marked by continual friction between Bismarck and the Catholic party. Although both the Ultramontanes and Social Democrats opposed his repressive ecclesiastical policy, it was supported as a necessity by nearly all the influential and liberal classes of Germany. Bismarck had said, "We will not go to Canossa." He now considered it necessary to supplement the Falck laws by three additional bills. The first simply explained certain terms which had been obscurely worded in the first laws, and had received conflicting interpretations in the law courts. The second and third provided for the administration of dioceses which might be deprived of their bishops. Before many weeks had elapsed, four out of the twelve Roman Catholic bishops of the Prussian kingdom came to a rupture with the government. Three of these, Archbishop Ledochowski, the Archbishop of Cologne, and the bishop of Treves, were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to pay the fines imposed upon them for their persistent violation of the Falck laws. A bill was passed during the spring session of the Reichstag to prevent the re-assertion of their claims by offenders whose terms of imprisonment should expire. Such persons could be ordered by the administrative authorities of their several states to leave, or take up their residence in districts assigned to them. Should an offender still decline to conform to the law, the government of his state was authorized to strip him of his citizenship, and to expel him from the territory of the German empire. The Imperial Diet passed this measure by the enormous majority of 257 to 95. The supplementary Falck laws were likewise confirmed, and it was decreed that under certain conditions Roman Catholic congregations should be permitted to choose their own priests, and have a hand in the management of church property. Prince Bismarck went to drink the waters at Kissengen in July, and while there a journeyman cooper named Kullmann, imbued with hatred of the ecclesiastical laws, fired a pistol at him. The Prince escaped unhurt, and his would-be assassin was arrested, tried, and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. In 1877 a colossal statue of Bismarck was unveiled at Kissengen near the spot where this attempt upon his life was made. Throughout the year 1874 Bismarck's anti-Romish policy was pursued with vigor. Numerous arrests of recalcitrant priests were made, and diplomatic relations with the Vatican were entirely broken off. This led to another vehement debate, in which Dr. Windthorst attacked the foreign policy of Bismarck. In the course of his reply the chancellor said, "I know from the very best sources that Napoleon was dragged into the war very much against his will by the Jesuitical influences rampant at his court; that at the eleventh hour be determined to maintain peace; that he stuck to this determination for half an hour; and that he was ultimately overpowered by persons representing Rome." This speech made a deeper and more lasting impression than any yet delivered by Bismarck since the commencement of the conflict with the church. One of the first acts of the German Diet in 1875 was to pass a comprehensive measure extending the civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages over the whole empire, abolishing clerical jurisdiction in suits for divorce, and allowing Catholic priests, monks and nuns to marry. The Pope issued an encyclical declaring the Falck laws to be invalid and contrary to the divine institution of the church. Bismarck replied by giving the Ultramontanes another stringent Falck measure. In March a bill was passed by the Prussian Diet withdrawing the state grants from Roman Catholic bishops. Another bill was passed excluding all religious orders and societies of the Catholic church from Prussian territory. The elections to the German Reichstag of 1877 were less favorable than formerly to the government. The Ultramontanes lost considerably, but there was a great Conservative reaction as well as a notable increase in the socialist vote. Bismarck was not slow to perceive that with the complete triumph of his ecclesiastical policy the tide of feeling against the Catholics had about reached its culminating point, and began quietly to shape his course towards reconciliation with the Vatican; but it was not until after the accession of Pope Leo XIII in 1878 that a *modus vivendi* between the Romish church and the German government was finally established.

Next to the Ultramontanes, the most formidable opponents of the imperial government were the socialists, who had been secretly organizing and growing in numbers since 1862, when Ferdinand La Salle began his agitation by addressing audiences of working men in Berlin and Leipsic. La Salle was a gentleman of fortune and a philanthropist, and his views were moderate from the socialistic standpoint. He thought the method by which working men might rise above their condition was by forming protective associations with the aid of the state. Those who championed the cause after his death were extremists who aimed at nothing short of communism, and did not hesitate to advocate revolution if necessary to bring about their Utopia. After the close of the war with France, this party began to figure more and more largely at the annual elections, until in 1877 it was estimated that they could control one-tenth at least of the voting power of the state. They thought the time had come for them to show their hand openly as early as 1871, when Herr Bebel gave utterance to their views in the Prussian Parliament. After remarking that what the Communists had done in Paris was but an outpost skirmish, which would be followed up some day by a great European battle, he exclaimed, "War to the palaces, peace to the cottages, and death to luxurious idleness, is and ever will be the watchword of the proletariat in all parts of the world." Several strikes of workmen, notably in

Berlin, occurred in the fall, and before the year closed a meeting of working men was convened in the capital by the Social Democratic Union. Its objects were to protest against the petty remuneration given to the landwehr and reserves as compared with the munificent grants made to the generals and other officers, and to adopt some plan for greater industrial co-operation among the Berlin working men. As a counterbalancing movement, when the manufacturers assembled for their annual meeting at Leipsic, they took into consideration the interests of the capitalists, and sought to contrive measures for overcoming the hostility of the workmen. Notwithstanding the complaints of the socialists, the commercial condition of the empire was very prosperous. The war had not appreciably interfered with business, and the taxes yielded as much in 1870 and 1871 as in the preceding years of peace. The commerce of the country was sound at heart, and after the conclusion of peace with France the commercial prosperity of the German Empire advanced by leaps and bounds, money being so plentiful that means could scarcely be found to employ it. Seven years of tranquillity and prosperity passed, and while Bismarck's hands were full with the Catholic troubles, the socialists made no overt demonstration of opposition to his government. But in 1878 the whole civilized world was shocked by an attempt, as cruel as it was foolish, to take the life of the aged Emperor while he was driving in the avenue called Unter den Linden with his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden. A mechanic named Hœdel came behind the carriage and fired twice at William, missing both times. "Is it possible these shots are intended for me?" was the comment of the astonished Emperor. Hœdel was tried and executed. All Europe joined in expressing detestation of the crime, and among the most gratifying messages of congratulation received by William was one from Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic. In consequence of Hœdel's attempt, the government introduced in the Reichstag an anti-socialist bill of a very stringent character. It was earnestly opposed by Bismarck's own friends, the National Liberals, Herr von Bennigsen and Dr. Lasker making speeches against it. The government was badly defeated, chiefly by liberal votes, and withdrew the bill. But on the 2nd of June a far more serious attack than Hœdel's was made upon the Emperor. As he was passing through Unter der Linden on foot, two shots were fired at him from the second floor of a house by Dr. Nobiling, who was immediately arrested. He fired repeatedly upon those who forced their way into his apartment, and then turned his pistol on himself, inflicting wounds upon his head before he was overpowered, of which he soon died.

Attempted assassination of the Emperor by Hœdel.

The would-be assassin Nobiling.

The Emperor was taken in a carriage to the palace, where thirty small shot were extracted from his arms, neck, and shoulders, when the operation had to be suspended because of the inflammation of the wounds. "It is well thou wast not with me this time," said William to his beloved daughter. He was incapacitated for public business for six months, during which time the Crown Prince Frederick acted as regent. For some time a fatal issue was dreaded. These crimes made a deep impression upon Prince Bismarck. The American general Grant, who was then making a tour of Europe, was in Berlin at the time of Nobiling's attempt, and had a conversation with the Prince on that subject. The American general having expressed the horror with which he and all his countrymen regarded the act, Bismarck gave free vent to his feelings. "We see an attack made on the life of an old man," he said, "one of the best men in the world. There never was a man with a more modest, generous, humane character than the Emperor. He is quite distinguished from those born in so high a position, or at least from most of them. You know that people of his rank, born in the purple, come to believe themselves different from their fellowcreatures. They attach little importance to the feelings and wishes of others. Their whole education tends to suppress human sympathy. The Emperor, on the contrary, is sympathetic and humane in everything. He has never in his life injured anyone, or treated him with harshness. He is one of those whose kind nature wins the hearts of all. He is always occupied with the happiness and welfare of his subjects and his entourage. It is not possible to conceive a type of gentleman more noble, amiable and generous. He is adorned with all the lofty qualities of a Prince, and all the virtues of a man. I thought that the Emperor could pass through his empire alone and unattended without the slightest danger, and yet we see that people have attempted to murder him. Our Emperor is in all things so republican that even the most bitter republican would admire him if his judgments were impartial." The parliament would doubtless now have reconsidered their action, and passed the bill for the suppression of socialistic meetings and publications, but Bismarck would not give them the chance. On the 11th of June an imperial ordinance pronounced the dissolution of parliament in consequence of the rejection of the law. At the elections which followed, the socialists returned fewer members, though they polled a larger number of votes, only 9 instead of 12 being elected. The conservatives largely increased their strength, while the liberals were greatly weakened. The Emperor's speech, which was read by deputy at the opening of the German diet on the 9th of September, dealt chiefly with the attempts made upon his life and the anti-socialist bill to be laid before the house. A hope was confidently expressed that the deputies would not refuse to grant the means of giving the peaceful development of the empire the same security against attacks from within as it had enjoyed against those from without, and that the spread of the socialist movement would be arrested. When the bill was introduced, Count Stolberg, as spokesman for the government, admitted that the measure was one of great severity, but insisted that halfway measures would only do harm. The Ultramontane party opposed the bill, and recommended its reference to a select committee. Herr Bebel denied that there was any connection between the Social democracy and the crimes of Hœdel and Nobiling. Prince Bismarck was reproached for having formerly courted the socialists whom he now sought to repress. In his vindication, the chancellor admitted that he had been on intimate terms with La Salle, but maintained that, so far from being an extreme revolutionist, that prominent socialist was deeply imbued with national and even with monarchical principles. The bill was ultimately referred to a committee of 21 members, was reported back, and finally passed the Reichstag by 221 votes to 149. By this bill it was left to the authorities to decide what socialist and communist doctrines were, and to take peremptory measures for the suppression of socialist writers and agitators. It came into force immediately, and four clubs in Berlin and a large number of publications were at once suppressed by the police. It was as promptly and rigorously enforced throughout the country, and, at the close of the year, 171 associations and 45 newspapers had been suppressed, and 150 books and pamphlets prohibited. In the following year 457 injunctions were issued under the anti-socialist law, 189 being directed against clubs and societies, 58 against periodical publications, and 210 against books and pamphlets. This repressive law was not the only result of the attempts to accomplish socialistic ends by murder. The government undertook a vast legislative labor, embracing the whole social and economical domain; and when Bismarck's projects were rejected by a hostile majority the Emperor openly interposed to give the Prince's proposals the weight of his sanction. At the opening of Parliament on the 12th of February, 1879, William said that repressive laws were not sufficient to solve the socialistic problem, but that it was necessary to do something to cure the evils from which the working classes were

suffering. Two years later, on the 17th of November, 1881, he put forth the same idea still more emphatically. He again recommended the Parliament to adopt laws for the working classes, saying that while the reforms which he desired could not be suddenly realized, he felt himself bound before God and man to take the initiative without considering the probability of immediate success. Dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the parliament in dealing with the Workmen's Accident Insurance bill, which was brought forward by the government and provided for a state insurance, the employers being called upon to guarantee the premiums, William sent them a special message on the 14th of May, 1883, requesting them to terminate the debate on the Budget in the first part of the session, so that they might devote themselves to an examination of the economic measures which were before them. In the session of 1884, a bill for the continuation of the repressive law against the socialists was introduced and met with a violent and tenacious opposition, and on the 22nd of March, when William received the Parliamentary Deputation which came to congratulate him on his birthday, he again expressed in strong terms his surprise at the dilatory manner in which this question was being treated by them. He said that the opposition seemed to have forgotten the circumstances by which the law was called forth. He had to shed his blood before the dangers menacing society were recognized. The opposition to the anti-socialist law was therefore directed against his own person. On the other hand he was firmly attached to the laws for the benefit of the working classes, and he requested the members of the Deputation to use all their influence for their adoption.

The Emperor's allusion to the shedding of his own blood as a result of socialistic agitation was justified not alone by Dr. Nobiling's attack on him. In September, 1883, the national monument at Niederwald near Rudesheim on the Rhine—a colossal figure representing Germania looking out across the frontier—was unveiled by his Majesty to commemorate the victories of the war of 1870. This imposing monument, which strikes the eye of every tourist on the Rhine to-day, was dedicated by William "in memory of those who fell; in gratitude to those who live; in emulation of those to come." Little did he or any of the brilliant staff who were present with him at this ceremony imagine the horrible plot which had been laid at that moment to destroy his Majesty's life. While addressing the assembled throng, William was literally standing upon a volcano, but happily there was no eruption.

Dynamite plot to kill the Emperor.

It was not until some months afterwards that the knowledge of a third diabolical plot to assassinate William was brought to the authorities. A stone bottle containing dynamite was found in a drain running across the road by which the Emperor was to pass. Three men, Reinsdorf, Kuchler, and Rupsch, were arrested and tried for the conspiracy. Rupsch confessed while in prison that he had placed the bottle with the dynamite in the drain at the instigation of Reinsdorf, but said he did not light the match, because he had intended from the first to frustrate the plot. His story was not believed, and he and his accomplices were sentenced to death. The Reichstag at once passed a bill on May 15th, 1884, providing that the manufacture, sale and possession of explosives, and their importation from abroad, should only be permitted by authority of the police, and imposed the punishment of penal servitude upon anyone who wilfully endangered life or property by means of explosives, or incited to the commission of such a crime by speeches or the publication of pamphlets. Another bill provided for the extension of the law against socialism until September, 1886. The parliament made more difficulty about the passage of the latter bill, and the Emperor was obliged personally to remonstrate with them for their slowness. Bismarck spoke earnestly in favor of the bill, and even held out a threat of dissolution; the measure finally passed by the narrow majority of 189 to 157.

Meanwhile the parliamentary policy of Bismarck had been silently undergoing a considerable change. By the help of the Liberals he had carried on the "Kulturkampf," and now that its objects had been attained, he found himself face to face with the equally dangerous problem of socialism, in dealing with which his former allies, the Liberals, had become an opposition. Some of the Falck measures had been distasteful to the Emperor, and all of them especially so to the Dowager Queen Elizabeth, for whom William had a profound regard. Influences from opposite directions were thus operating upon the chancellor to break with the Liberal party. He, therefore, welcomed every chance of renewing old ties with the Conservatives. Both the Emperor and the Empress Augusta deplored the "Kulturkampf" as a national calamity, which could not too speedily be brought to an end. The pressure they put upon Bismarck was strengthened by overtures which Pope Leo XIII made to the Emperor immediately after his accession in 1878. Very soon the German government began a course of legislation which gave the wits of the press and diplomatic circles occasion to suggest that Bismarck was going to Canossa after all.

Reconciliation with the papacy.

On the 7th of February, 1878, Pius IX died, and Leo XIII lost no time in writing to William expressing his regret at the interruption of the friendly relations which had formerly existed between Germany and the Holy See. To this William replied, on the 24th of March, gladly accepting the Pope's assurance that he would use his influence "to induce those who have hitherto proved refractory to follow the example set them by their flocks, and conform to the laws of the land in which they dwell." On the 17th of April, the Pope again wrote to congratulate the Emperor on his escape from Hœdel's murderous attempt upon his life, but declined to use his influence with the clergy in the sense demanded by the emperor, and referred to some of the Falck laws as a direct violation of the rights of the church. This letter arrived in Berlin while the Crown Prince Frederick was acting as regent, and his reply, while expressing the firm determination of the Prussian sovereign to remain independent of the control of the church, professed a readiness to approach the questions at issue in a liberal spirit. "The demand advanced in your letter of the 17th of April, that the constitution and laws of Prussia should be modified to meet the principles of the Roman Catholic church," wrote Frederick, "is one which no Prussian sovereign will be able to admit, because the independence of the monarchy, which it is now my duty to defend as an inheritance received from my fathers and an obligation owed to my country, would cease to be absolute if the free development of its legislation were to be subordinated to the control of another power without. Though it is, therefore, not in my power, and perhaps not in that of your Holiness either, to remove an antagonism of principles which has for a thousand years been more keenly felt in the history of Germany than in that of any other country, I am nevertheless prepared to meet the difficulties which both parties have inherited in this conflict in the peace-loving and liberal spirit which my convictions as a Christian enjoin." The ice being thus broken by Frederick's tact, a high dignitary of the church suggested that Rome might be reached without passing through Canossa, and Bismarck was eager to act upon the hint. His old allies, the Liberals, were going too fast for him, and the alarming spread of socialism and rationalism convinced him that it was full time to break away from them. In June, 1879, he accepted the resignations of Dr. Falck and of the Ministers of Finance and Agriculture, and on the 9th of July openly announced his separation from the National Liberal party. In the session of 1882, Dr. Windthorst carried a bill through the Prussian Parliament for the repeal

of the law prohibiting the exercise of ecclesiastical functions without authority from the government, and another measure was also passed restoring to their sees several of the deposed bishops, who had for some years been living in Rome. A plenipotentiary was appointed to the Vatican, and at last the Emperor was able to announce to the Prussian Chambers that the "Kulturkampf" was ended, and that Prussia was once more on friendly terms with the Pope. One by one the offensive features of the "laws of May" were relaxed. The grants from the state to Catholic bishoprics and parishes, which had now been provided with pastors acceptable both to the Pope and the government, were restored. The Prussian government, however, held out firmly against allowing Ledochowski to return to the archbishopric of Posen, and refused to permit a Polish priest to be his successor. The Pope settled the difficulty by making Ledochowski a cardinal and nominating a German priest of East Prussia to the archbishopric of Posen. The Crown Prince Frederick was sent on a mission to strengthen still further the new friendship between Berlin and the Vatican. In December, 1883, he paid a visit to the King of Spain at Madrid, and returned home by way of Italy. Victor Emmanuel had paid his respects to Emperor William at Berlin in 1873, and William had in return visited him in 1875 at Milan, then the Italian capital. The relations between Germany and the Vatican at that time prevented William from going to Rome, but in the spring of 1884 the Crown Prince, on his way home from Spain, paid a visit as his father's representative to both the King of Italy, now installed in the palace of the Quirinal, and to the Pope. Frederick's tact enabled him to perform both errands without offending the susceptibilities of either King or Pope. The Pope received the Prince with cordiality and with royal honors, and expressed a hope that he might live to see all differences between the church and the German government terminated by a lasting peace. Bismarck still further gratified his Holiness in the course of the year 1885 by asking for his mediation between Germany and Spain in regard to the protectorate of the Caroline islands. Spain had claimed the suzerainty of these islands since the seventeenth century, but had never taken actual possession of the territory. In pursuance of Bismarck's new colonial policy, of which we have yet to speak, Germany had repudiated the Spanish claim and hoisted her own flag upon one of the islands. Spain protested, and Bismarck asked for the Pope's mediation. By this stroke of policy he not only gratified the Pope, but silenced for the time his clerical opponents, the "party of the Centre," at home. Spain could not do otherwise than consent, and in a month the decision of Leo XIII was given, upholding the claim of Spain to the sovereignty of the islands, but granting to Germany the right of forming agricultural colonies there, and establishing coaling and naval stations. Further concessions were made to the Vatican by the Prussian parliament in the same year, amounting almost to a total abandonment of the famous "laws of May." A bill was passed restricting government control over the Catholic seminaries, abolishing the ecclesiastical tribunal, and giving back to the Pope and the bishops supreme jurisdiction over the clergy. The truce thus concluded has remained unbroken through the reigns of William's successors to the present time.

The modern empire has had two other disturbing elements to deal with, one dynastic and the other national and it has dealt with them successfully. Several of the princes who had been deposed in 1866 made their peace with William after the war of 1870. The Elector of Hesse Cassel having died in exile in 1875, his son made a compromise with the Emperor, by which he and his family renounced all their claims to the Electorate. The Duke of Nassau had long resigned himself to the loss of his crown, and the marriage of his daughter in 1885 with the eldest son of the Grand Duke of Baden and grandson of Emperor William I, confirmed his reconciliation to the court of Berlin. Another marriage removed the last trace of the ill feeling caused by the Schleswig-Holstein question, when Prince William, the eldst son of the Crown Prince Frederick, married Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Augustenburg, in 1880. The emperor made his consent to this match conditional upon the acknowledgment of the status quo by Duke Frederick; and the Duke issued a declaration stating that the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein having been liberated from Denmark and become an integral part of Germany, he relinquished his personal interest to that of German unity. He died at Wiesbadén in January, 1880, at the very moment when this declaration was placed in the Emperor's hands. Frederick's son and heir, Duke Ernst Gunther, as well as Prince Christian, brother of the deceased duke and son-in-law of Queen Victoria, confirmed that declaration and received pecuniary indemnities for so doing. The King of Hanover still remained unreconciled, and had partisans in both the Prussian Chamber and the Imperial Parliament, calling themselves the Guelph faction, who always voted with the opposition. George V of Hanover died on the 12th of June, 1878, but his son and heir followed the same course as his father. He took the title of Duke of Cumberland, and in December, 1878, married a daughter of the King of Denmark. When the Duke of Brunswick died in 1885, he was the next heir, but the Federal Council of the empire declared him incapable of succeding to the vacant duchy, and appointed Prince Albert of Prussia, a nephew of the emperor, as regent. "The future will show," says a French writer, M. Simon, "whether this regency is the prelude to the creation of a state for the younger branch of the house of Hohenzollern, or to incorporation with the Prussian monarchy; in any case it adds another success to the many successes of the Emperor William."

Alsace and Lorraine.

The government of the conquered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine was a serious problem for the cabinet of Berlin. These provinces could not be placed under the rule of Louis of Bavaria, the promoter of William's imperial dignity, passing by the Grand Duke of Baden, William's son-in-law; and William himself was aware that there were insuperable obstacles to their annexation to his own hereditary dominions. The inhabitants of Alsace, who had been in sympathy with France in the Waterloo era, were so still, and Bismarck concluded that the best way to humor their susceptibilities was to make of the conquered provinces a "Reichsland," an autonomous state, governed by a lieutenant of the emperor. But as a first experiment he decided upon a dictatorial regime, and obtained the passage of a law on the 3rd of June, 1871, providing that these provinces should be governed by imperial decrees from Berlin until the first of January, 1873. When the Deputies from Alsace-Lorraine took their seats in the Imperial Parliament, they sided with the other discontented groups who voted with the Opposition. In 1874 the constitution of the empire was introduced into Alsace-Lorraine, and Strasburg became the seat of a deputy of the Emperor, surrounded by ministers and a parliament, who ruled the country independently of the German administration. The spirit of the people has shown little change, but this may be owing to the strict rule of General Manteufiel, the first governor, whose antecedents as Minister of Frederick William IV and as Governor of Schleswig after the Danish war made him singularly unfit for the duties of a pacificator. The Emperor visited Alsace several times to preside over local solemnities or to direct military manœuvres, and always met with the respect due to his great age and personal character, but while welcomed by the upper classes, the multitude stood aloof, and it was not till after the death of Manteuffel, and the appointment of Prince Hohenlohe as his successor in 1885, that the reserve of the people toward the Imperial house began to abate.