passed resolutions charging the Pope with insulting the German nation and praising the emperor for his reply. Catholics and Protestants of Augsburg united in a letter expressing satisfaction and pride in view of the independent attitude of the emperor. The papal complaint that the Catholic religion was persecuted was declared to be a wanton perversion of the truth; and the emperor was earnestly entreated to continue to enforce the laws against the Ultramontanes, — "those dishonest, ambitious, and frivolous enemies of the German Empire." The papal attack was treated by Protestants as a sequel to the French invasion, and the rebuff administered to the Vatican compared to the crushing prowess of the German hosts. The Prussian elections occurring shortly afterwards resulted in increasing the strength of the government party in the Diet from a hundred and sixteen to a hundred and seventy-eight.

The Ultramontanes met the onset bravely, being sustained by the Vatican and the great mass of the Catholic population. Bishops and priests went to prison rather than yield, and many congregations were left without pastors. The excitement was great, and accompanied in some places by scenes of disorder and violence. The salaries of archbishops, bishops, and priests were withheld; and the Prussian Government issued a decree imposing a stringent oath upon all the bishops. Each one was required to swear that he would "be subject, true, obedient, and devoted to his Majesty, carefully observe the laws of the State, and especially strive that the sentiments of honor and fidelity to the king, love of country, obedience to the laws, and all those virtues which denote at once the good of the

subject and the Christian, shall be carefully cherished among the clergy and congregations intrusted to my episcopal guidance, and that I will not allow the clergy subject to me to teach or act in an opposing sense." But Bismarck might as well have attempted to bind the winds as the bishops to allegiance by such means. When did pains and penalties ever make men willing to dishonor the claims of their religion?

The next move of the government was more effective. First in the Prussian Diet, and next in the German Parliament, laws were enacted requiring that all marriages, births, and deaths should be registered by a magistrate, as matters primarily concerning the State, and to be under its direction. There might be marriage, baptism, and burial-rites by the Church, but only at the discretion of the parties concerned. Marriage was entirely legal when sanctioned and recorded by the State, no consent or agency on the part of the clergy being required; children might, or might not, be baptized, at pleasure of the parents; and people might be buried in consecrated ground, though of no defined creed. Churchyards, so long in control of the priests, were thrown open to people who owned no denomination while alive. Clergymen were to be heavily fined or imprisoned for performing marriages before civil registration. The civil courts had the power of divorce without consent of the clergy, and monks and nuns were allowed to marry. And this was soon followed by a law to suppress the religious orders of Prussia, the orders devoting themselves to the care of the sick being excepted.

The laws to which we have referred — known as the "Falk laws" — have not been repealed, but some of

them are not now enforced. Owing to various causes, Bismarck has somewhat relaxed his iron policy toward the Catholic Church. The failure of the Liberal party to support some of his measures of domestic policy constrained him to conciliate the Ultramontanes at the risk of being thought inconsistent. He probably feels that he has gone far enough on the line of repression to insure the State against the intrigues of the Vatican, and that a more conciliatory policy may now safely be pursued, especially as the present Pope is believed to be at heart opposed to the belligerent course taken by his predecessor. There is no danger whatever that Germany will relax her hostility to the temporal power, or cease to exert her utmost influence to prevent its restoration.

We cannot enter upon any exposition of the various other questions which divide the German Empire and are sources of trouble in the administration of the government. They create strong party feeling, personal animosities, and, to a certain extent, social disturbance; but they do not at present endanger the solid foundations of the empire. The press-laws and the laws relating to public meetings are very severe, as well as rigidly enforced. Bismarck finds his excuse for them in the dread of socialism, which sometimes discloses itself in attempts upon the life of the sovereign or his minister. It is clear that the government dares not expose itself to unrestrained discussion. It fears the people, adhering tenaciously to the absolutism which monarchs relax only when they must. That the reader may see to what lengths Bismarck carries his opposition to the freedom of the press, it is only necessary to say that the following fable was held to be an offence

against his dignity for which the author could only atone by an imprisonment of two weeks!

"*A Fable.* — There was once a schoolmaster who used a great many canes, and was much given to putting his pupils in solitary confinement. Once the inspector called on him, and found the school in a very bad state. 'My friend,' said he, 'you have unlimited control over every thing here: how is it that your school gets worse and worse every year?' — 'Ah!' replied the tyrant, 'I have a wicked, wild lot to rule. Give me another hundred of canes a year, and build me one or two more cells for the confinement of the refractory, or I really cannot answer for the consequences.' — 'Why,' exclaimed the inspector, 'you have already given ten times as many floggings as any of your colleagues. If flogging were the remedy, the vilest jailer would be the best mentor, and your school an example for the whole world. But the stick is the measure of your pedagogy; and, what you ought to have taught, you have still to learn. When the pupils are fit for nothing, that shows the teacher is fit for nothing: so be good enough to march out. What we want is, a schoolmaster who has no need for canes, and is satisfied with one cell.'"

There is a sting in this which Bismarck keenly felt. As a satire upon his constant demands upon the parliament for laws of greater severity against the press, it was indeed effective. But that he could openly resent it without blushing, is a wonder. It was a lesson in statesmanship which he might well have taken to heart.

The party of freedom in Germany is powerful, and the day cannot be distant when it will find means to assert itself. The extravagances of a few ignorant and

unscrupulous men, grown desperate under oppression, and who make radicalism a hated and odious word, cannot always avail as an excuse for muzzling the press, and prohibiting freedom of consultation among an intelligent people. Bismarck cannot live forever; and, when he dies, it is probable that some of the chains wherewith he has bound the German people will snap asunder. A wiser schoolmaster may arise, who will know how to govern without using so many canes and cells.

II. — FRANCE.

The history of France during the nearly twelve years that have elapsed since the overthrow of the empire, and the loss of an important portion of her territory by means of the war with Germany, demands attention here. A very brief sketch, however, is all that the circumstances require.

It affords us great pleasure to say that the sad forebodings expressed by Mr. Abbott in his closing chapter have not been fulfilled. If he were here to write the story himself, with what joy would he make this acknowledgment! It is no wonder that he doubted whether France could be long governed under republican forms, and so regarded the fall of the empire as a great national calamity. That in spite of all his fears the French people have for nearly a dozen years maintained a Republic and enjoyed under its protection all the blessings of order, peace, and prosperity, is a truth which it would have given him, as an American and a lover of republican institutions, great satisfaction to record. The most marvellous of all the phenomena of these eventful years was the patriotism of the French people as displayed in the rapid payment, mainly from

their own private resources, of the immense sum ($1,000,000,000) which Germany exacted as a condition of peace. The war closed by the capitulation of Paris in January, 1871. According to the stipulations of the treaty of peace, France was not required to pay the last instalment of the indemnity until near the close of the year 1875; but by the extraordinary exertions of M. Thiers, the octogenarian President of the Republic, and the equally extraordinary enthusiasm of the French people, the last cent was paid in September, 1873, when the last German soldier marched out of the country. The government asked for a loan of three and a half milliards of francs. The rate of issue was eighty-four and a half per cent, the rate of interest five per cent. In two days the subscriptions amounted nearly to twelve times the sum required. Vast amounts were proffered from England and Germany, but the greater part of the subscriptions were from the French people themselves. What may we not hope from a nation capable of such patriotic devotion, and faith in itself?

The National Assembly elected at the close of the war, and which met at Bordeaux, Feb. 13, 1871, addressed itself promptly to the task of making peace and securing the withdrawal of the German forces. To this body the Government of National Defence, that had been appointed after the fall of the empire, resigned its powers. M. Grévy was elected President of the Assembly, and the venerable M. Thiers placed at the head of the executive administration. The latter, in accepting the position to which he had been elected, said "it would be his purpose to pacify and re-organize the country, to revive credit, and set in motion the wheels of labor.

Questions relating to the permanent form of the government," he said, "should be held in abeyance, by consent of all parties, until France could be delivered from the enemy's grasp." The terms of peace were speedily settled; and, hard as they were for France, the people readily acquiesced in the decisions of the new government. The Assembly, by an almost unanimous vote, expelled the emperor and his dynasty from the country, declaring him responsible for the ruin, invasion, and dismemberment of France. This called forth a reply from the emperor: "In the presence," he said, "of those wonderful events, which impose upon all of us self-abnegation and disinterestedness, I would fain have kept silence; but the declaration of the Assembly forces me to protest in the name of truth outraged and the nation's rights abused." Prince Bismarck, I believe, held that it was not the emperor who was responsible for the war so much as the people of France themselves; but, in the then excited state of public feeling, he was made the scapegoat of the nation.

I have said that there was a general acquiescence on the part of the people in the authority of the Assembly. But to this there was a marked and very important exception. The Red Republicans of Paris refused to acknowledge the authority of the government at Versailles, and set up the Commune in its place. Thus France, while yet the soldiers of Germany held possession of large portions of her territory, became involved in a civil war for the possession of her own capital. The struggle was desperate and bloody, but the insurgents were finally overcome; and Paris, despoiled by fire of many of her public buildings, her streets piled with corpses of the slain, and her inhabitants almost starved, came under the control of the Assembly.

The new government was called republican, but the majority of the Assembly was in favor of monarchy. The monarchical party, however, was divided into three factions, each jealous of the others, and neither willing to relinquish its own claims to precedence. The elder branch of the Bourbons, represented by the Count de Chambord, revived its claims. The house of Orleans, represented by the Count de Paris, was also anxious to gain the ascendency; while a small party would have been pleased to witness the deposed emperor's return to power. No two of these factions were able to unite, while they were all agreed in the determination that a throne of some sort should be established. President Thiers, though a constitutional monarchist by preference, saw clearly that the Republic, in the circumstances, afforded the only guaranty of order and peace. He resolved to maintain the *status quo*, to give the people of France time for deliberation, and to respect their right to determine for themselves what form of government should finally be established. The monarchical parties in the Assembly united in adopting such re-actionary measures as suited their common interests, each one hoping, that, when the crisis should come, it would be able to vault to the seat of authority. Thiers held them at bay, baffling their plottings with remarkable skill until May, 1873, when he resigned; and Marshal McMahon, a Re-actionist, and an old favorite of the exiled emperor, was elected in his place. In accepting the position the newly chosen president said, —

"Gentlemen, I obey the will of the Assembly, the depositary of the national sovereignty, and accept the functions of President of the Republic. A heavy responsibility is thrust upon my patriotism; but with the

aid of God and the devotion of the army, which will always be an army of the law, and the support of all honest men, we will continue together the work of liberating the territory, and restoring moral order throughout the country; we will maintain internal peace, and the principles upon which society rests. That this shall be the case, I pledge my word as an honest man and a soldier."

A re-actionary cabinet was formed, with the Duke de Broglie at its head; and, if the Re-actionists could have agreed among themselves, it would have been no difficult task to transform the Republic into a monarchy. But such an agreement was impossible; and the Republicans took heart, believing that the sentiment of the country was with them. Various re-actionary measures were adopted by the Assembly, which met the sanction of the president. A *coup d'état* was more than once thought to be imminent; but, either through the timidity of the president, or the disagreement of the re-actionary factions, it failed to occur.

It was understood, when the Assembly was first chosen, that its functions should cease with the rescue of the territory of France from the power of the German Empire; but the Re-actionists, finding it subservient to their purposes, were resolved upon perpetuating its existence as long as possible. But, in view of the manifestations of public opinion, the president was constrained to order its dissolution June 25, 1877. The Republican party displayed extraordinary prudence at this crisis, and the majority of the Assembly soon afterwards elected was strongly in their favor. President McMahon, though greatly disappointed by the result, attempted for a time to adjust himself, so far as possible, to the new state of things. But he was at heart unfriendly to the Republic, and in continual conflict with the Assembly. At length, on the 30th of January, 1879, he resigned; and M. Jules Grévy, in joint convention of the Senate and Assembly, was elected by a vote of 563 to 99 for Gen. Chanzy, and 130 abstentions. M. Waddington became prime minister, and Gambetta President of Assembly in place of M. Grévy. Shortly afterwards the Senate and Assembly voted to leave Versailles and return to Paris. All the departments of the government were now in harmony, and acting together for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of the Republic. In the election of councils general in 1880, the Republicans secured 1,018 members, the Re-actionists only 410. In the Assembly elections of 1881 the Monarchists were almost annihilated as a political party. Out of 483 members elected, they had only 30. The extreme Radicals hardly fared better. Of the 403 Republican members, 344 belong to the moderate wing.

Apparently the Republic of France rests upon the actual consent and preference of the great majority of the people, and is constantly growing stronger in their confidence and affection. The Re-actionists, however, are vigilantly watching for an opportunity to restore the old order of things. They have able leaders, and are strongly fortified in the prejudices of a multitude. A serious misstep on the part of the Republic might perhaps prove fatal. The most embarrassing of all the questions with which it has to deal are those growing out of the relations between the Church and the State, —such as the secularization of the schools, the war with priestcraft, the control of the religious orders, and

the claims to secular authority on the part of the Roman-Catholic hierarchy. On all these matters the government appears to be acting circumspectly, not attempting too much at once, but giving time for the growth of an enlightened public sentiment favorable to its measures. As a man can only learn to swim by going into the water, so it may turn out to be a truth that a nation can only learn how to become truly republican through its own experience in administering a republican government. Heretofore the monarchical parties have been able to put an end to the experiment before it could be fairly tried, but now the people of France have found by actual experience that order and peace are the natural fruits of liberty. So well have they learned this lesson, that the power of the Reactionists to frighten them into submission to the old forms of despotism is gone. It was the boast of the empire, that it brought peace and prosperity to France for a period of twenty years. Perhaps the Republic may live long enough to make for itself the same boast.